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THE

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW. ✓

JANUARY AND APRIL, 1876.

VOL. LXIII.

AMERICAN EDITION.

19 ✓

NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED BY THE LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY,
41 BARCLAY STREET.

1876. ✓

S. W. GREEN,
PRINTER, STEREOTYPE, AND BINDER,
16 and 18 Jacob St., N. Y.

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THE

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

FOR JANUARY, 1876.

ART. I.—*Herbert Spencer's Sociology.*

- (1.) *Social Statics; or, the Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified, and the first of them Developed.* By HERBERT SPENCER. Second Edition. Williams and Norgate.
- (2.) *The Study of Sociology.* By HERBERT SPENCER. King and Co.
- (3.) *Essays: Scientific, Political, and Speculative.* By HERBERT SPENCER. Williams and Norgate.
- (4.) *Descriptive Sociology, No. 1.* Classified and Arranged by HERBERT SPENCER. Compiled and Abstracted by J. COLLIER. Williams and Norgate.
- (5.) *Descriptive Sociology, No. 2.* Classified and Arranged by HERBERT SPENCER. Compiled and Abstracted by RICHARD SCHIFFIG, Ph.D. Williams and Norgate.
- (6.) *Descriptive Sociology, No. 3.* Classified and Arranged by HERBERT SPENCER. Compiled and Abstracted by Professor DUNCAN, Madras. Williams and Norgate.

SOCIAL Science, in its origin and growth, is the outcome of a combination of scientific efforts of a more special character, each—though not always with a conscious or realising aim—contributing something that directly or indirectly helped towards the ultimate result. Elements were contributed by various writers on the Philosophy of History from Vico (if not earlier) down to Hegel. For the Philosophy of History and the Science of Society, while they are not to be confounded, are in many points coincident, and contemplate the same facts and phenomena, though in a different relation. The idea of the unity of human society, of the exhibition of law in its movements as a whole and in the interaction of its parts, conceptions of its constitution, progress, and destiny, more or less true and of various degrees of definiteness, were thus arrived at. Much is also

to be ascribed to the gradual advance of the general scientific spirit, which seeks to penetrate and bring under its sway every object of knowledge, every department of mental activity. It may be, too, that the development of Social Science has been owing hardly less to political forces, to the stimulus of practical needs and the problems these suggest, than to any purely speculative impulse. Reflections and inquiries prompted by an immediate regard to definite practical issues, or pursued in justification of measures already adopted on the ground of expediency or at the bidding of feeling and common sense, have led the way and prepared the material for more articulate and scientific treatment of the subject as a whole.

It is with Comte that the floating and incoherent thoughts previously evolved on the subject first take distinct and positive form as a science. It was he who apprehended the several departments as mutually connected, and who detached the idea of Sociology as a whole, constituting a province of its own, and who assigned its place and relation to the other divisions of knowledge. Even admitting, on the one hand, the anticipation of some of his most important doctrines by Aristotle, and, on the other, the influence exerted on him by modern German thought, widely removed as he is from its spirit, Comte may still be regarded as virtually the father of Social Science. If his doctrines were not wholly original, he has the credit of first recognising their importance and emphasising their enunciation, as well as indicating their scientific position and systematic development. The very designation of the science as Sociology is due to him; and he it was who introduced into it, as well as defined the significance of, the important distinction observed in other sciences of

statistical and Dynamical laws, corresponding to the theory of possible social simultaneities—or the theory of Order, and the theory of possible social successions—or the theory of Progress. Whatever opinion may be entertained of his law of development of human thought, or of his classification of the sciences, or of the general claims of the 'Philosophie Positive,' it is to him we owe the first solid achievement, at once comprehensive and definite, in Sociology.

In this country no name is so prominently and specially associated with the subject as that of Mr. Herbert Spencer. With him Sociology is but a part of the general philosophy of Evolution. Its bearings and position in his universal system he has not yet fully developed. His 'Social Statics,' published more than twenty years ago, may be said to be his only complete work devoted to the subject. For his recent volume, 'On the Study of Sociology,' consists rather of discourses *about* Sociology than of discussions of any of the problems of Sociology itself. As the title announces, it is concerned with 'the study,' and not with the thing to be studied, except indirectly as by its nature and conditions determining the peculiarities of the study. Such an indirect treatment, though necessarily bringing many of his Sociological doctrines more or less into view, presents them in a manner too detached, partial, and irregular to serve as a basis for safe or satisfactory criticism. In his volumes of 'Essays' also there are unconnected papers in which special points in social science are ably discussed. But it is in the 'Social Statics' alone that anything like a general and comprehensive view is presented; and, as it appears in a separate and independent form, it may, so far as it goes, be considered to be complete within itself, and, taking into account the interval between the first and second editions, to be expressive of his mature convictions. Strictly speaking, there is no second edition, but only an importation, after the first impression had been exhausted, of an American reprint. This is, however, sanctioned and accompanied by a Prefatory Note by Mr. Spencer, and is thus virtually a second edition. As the text is unchanged, and that Note contains no intimation to the contrary, we are bound to accept it, not only as confirmatory of his early views, but as the only, and still acknowledged, systematic statement of Sociological doctrine he has published. Of the principal features of that doctrine we propose to give an account, as far as possible in Mr. Spencer's own phraseology and from his own point of view, and afterwards to offer some critical remarks on the method employed and the

general characteristics exhibited in its development and exposition.

According to Mr. Spencer, then, it belongs to moral philosophy to expound the law of human conduct, in obedience to which human perfection consists. Its aim is to set forth what is abstractly and intrinsically right. It cannot recognise or allow for defects of human character; if it did, it would sanction behaviour which is not the best conceivable, not perfectly right, therefore, so far, immoral. It is the science of social life, and has to present a systematic statement of those conditions under which human beings can harmoniously combine,* and to this end it requires as its postulate that these human beings be perfect. It thus entirely ignores wrong, and knows no such thing as an infraction of the laws, for it is merely a statement of what the laws are. Pure Ethics declare what are the right principles of human conduct, and, as such, may be called Moral Physiology. To decide what must be done when these principles have been violated is none of its business, but belongs to another science (if, indeed, such a scientific development be possible), viz.,—Moral Pathology or Therapeutics.

From the very nature of Ethical Science, as treating of the relations of a perfect society, as enunciating the moral law, but having nothing to say regarding its violation, it follows that the institution of government, which exists not only *because* of evil, but *by*

* These sentences imply the identity of life under social forms, that is, of the harmonious combination of men, with abstract and absolute rectitude. But, according to Mr. Spencer, as will presently be seen, man's conditions at one time demanded an anti-social form of life and predatory habits, while any want of adaptation to his conditions, of compliance with their demands, gives, and alone gives, rise to evil. If all evil is the result of non-adaptation of constitution and conduct to conditions, and if the conditions of human life were ever unfitted for social and harmonious combination, it is difficult to see how moral science can be limited to association and co-operation, or how these can be abstractly and absolutely right. In fact, if evil and immorality depend on conditions, it seems nonsense to speak of abstract right at all. The mistake consists in placing the conception of right and wrong, of good and evil, above, instead of below, the plane of conditions, so as to rest upon and rise out of them, instead of embracing and discriminating them. If to combine harmoniously be right, it must be because social life itself is right; and this appears to be taken for granted in the above statement, though surely quite inconsistently both with the subsequent definition of evil, and with the justification, nay, the injunction and the alleged necessity in certain circumstances, of an anti-social life and character.

evil, does not fall within its scope. It can recognise no such thing. Government is merely a probationary institution, originating in man's imperfection, begotten by necessity out of an evil, and inconsistent with a perfect condition. As civilisation advances it wanes. The Legislature is with us already dwarfed by a new and greater power, that of opinion, and when men have attained to perfection, and the moral law is voluntarily obeyed by all, its function will be gone.

Such a state of ideal perfection is the goal which, through advancing stages of civilisation, humanity is destined to reach. For all evil results from the non-adaptation of constitution to conditions, and where such non-adaptation exists, it is being constantly diminished by the changing of constitution to suit conditions. In man's present state there is much evil, because he is not constitutionally fitted for his circumstances, foremost among which is the social state. The ultimate purpose of creation being the production of the greatest amount of happiness, each individual must be so constituted as to find his highest enjoyment, not only without diminishing, but in witnessing, if not also promoting, that of others. But in a world already occupied by inferior and hostile creatures this is impossible. One or the other race must give away. Man must either destroy or be destroyed. He is accordingly endowed with a constitution adapted to the work he has to perform, joined with a dormant capability of developing into the ultimate man, when the conditions of existence permit. He must have a desire to kill, for a gratification must attach to every needful act, to afford a stimulus necessary to its performance; and he must be devoid of sympathy, or must have but the germ of it, for he would otherwise be incapacitated for his destructive office. But the blind desire to inflict suffering cannot distinguish between the subjects of that suffering, and must find objects for its gratification in man and brute alike. Thus it is necessary that the primitive man should be one whose happiness is obtained at the expense of other beings.

Man accordingly was originally fitted for an anti-social and predatory life. His primitive circumstances required that he should sacrifice the welfare of other beings to his own. But by the increase of population, the state of existence we call social has been necessitated. In the preordained course of things men have multiplied till they are constrained to live more or less in presence of each other; and their present circumstances require that each should not sacrifice the welfare of other beings to his own. Man thus needed one moral constitution to fit him

for his original state; he needs another to fit him for his present state; and he has been, is, and will long continue to be, in process of adaptation. In so far as his old attribute still clings to him, in so far as he is unfit for the social state. But his progressive adaptation to it is certain; the modification in constitution and character by which it is effected results from a law underlying the whole organic creation, and must end in completeness. In course of time the human faculties must be moulded into complete fitness for the social state: the things we call evil and immorality must disappear.

Accordingly it is the aim of the philosophical moralist to ascertain and expound the principles of conduct that must obtain in a state of ideal perfection. Bentham's greatest happiness principle, as a rule of life, is futile; but it may be postulated as the creative purpose. It may be hopeless for man to make greatest happiness his immediate aim; but *a priori* we may assest it as the Divine idea. This being assumed, we have to consider what are the essential conditions of its realisation. Now, man is an entity having certain properties. In the circumstances that surround him there are certain unchanging necessities. At the head of these stands the unalterable fact—the social state, in which the sphere of activity of each individual is limited by the spheres of activity of others. That human character, therefore, is alone compatible with the greatest sum total of happiness, which can obtain complete happiness within its own sphere of activity without diminishing the spheres of activity required for the happiness of others. For any other character must itself come short of complete happiness, or must make one or more do so. Here, then, is the first and essential condition, the primary rule of social conduct, to which is given the name of Justice. But further to secure the greatest amount of happiness possible, men must be so constituted as to find each his greatest enjoyment without causing pain, directly or indirectly, to others. This may be called Negative Beneficence. Yet another condition (arising from the fact of the social state) of the greatest possible happiness is, that man must be so constituted as to participate sympathetically in the pleasurable emotions of all his fellows. This is Positive Beneficence. In addition to these requirements, which spring from the inevitable circumstance that our form of life must be one of association, there is one obvious condition, that each individual shall so act as to fill up the measure of his own private happiness. With these several axiomatic truths every act must be either in accordance or at variance, and

the task of the moralist is to elaborate a series of theorems for the determination of that relation. Each axiom is the foundation of an independent department of moral science. But the first in the most essential, and affords the principle of social statics. The others are but supplementary restrictions, and of quite inferior authority to the original law. Instead of being, like it, capable of strictly scientific development, they (under existing circumstances) can be unfolded only into superior forms of expediency.

The same result is arrived at by a less abstract train of reasoning, without any appeal to *a priori* considerations.* Still starting from the postulate that the Divine purpose is the greatest human happiness, what, it may be asked, are the means for its obtainment? Happiness arises from the exercise of our faculties. All pleasure is the result of the due exercise of a power, and the combination and balance of all the activities for which we are adapted yields happiness. Freedom to energeise normally is, therefore, a condition of happiness. If God designed our happiness, it follows that we have a right to the unimpeded use of all our faculties. Consequently the only warrantable limitation of every man's right of action is the corresponding right of others. Only by a general exercise of liberty under this single condition, moreover, as a tentative process, can those acts, which though incidentally and temporarily injurious, yet indirectly and permanently promote happiness, be separated from those which are necessarily and eternally injurious; for by such a process of free development alone will conventional feelings give way before necessary circumstances, and conventional circumstances give way before necessary feelings.† Thus the

development of the secondary limits into practical codes of duty can be accomplished only by allowing our natures to expand in all directions, until the true bounds have made themselves felt. Indeed, regarding it from this point of view, we may almost say that the first law is the sole law; for of the several conditions to greatest happiness, it is the only one at present capable of systematic development, and conformity to it ensures ultimate conformity to the others. And even if the assertion of the law of equal freedom should, in our present imperfect state, involve the awkward conclusion that a man may behave in a manner essentially destructive of happiness, provided only he does not refuse a like liberty to every one else, and thus appear to sanction the transgression of the secondary limitations, such an imperfection cannot be admitted to invalidate the absolute obligation of this first and highest principle of social morals; for if it is the *primary* law of right relationship between man and man, then no desire to get fulfilled a *secondary* law can warrant us in breaking it.

The same conclusion is yet again borne out by the fact that we are endowed with a special faculty which discriminates and impels to right action. The analogy of our whole constitution leads us to expect such an agency. Towards every action proper and requisite to our nature we are urged by a desire or appetite, and are not dependent on the promptings of mere intellectual prevision. The due nourishment of our bodies might be neglected if we were incited thereto only by the consideration of its need: hunger is a better monitor. So the necessary rest, warmth, &c., are provided for by certain feelings. The continuance of the race, the protection and rearing of offspring, are secured by certain instincts and affections, in default of which the dictation of the intellect might prove a poor substitute. In like manner, that line of conduct in relation to others which is needful for general well-being is pointed out and prompted by a proper instrumentality—the moral sense,—a faculty which is primarily an instinct of personal

* Does the renewed assumption of human happiness being the Divine will involve no *a priori* considerations?

† If every living organism is capable of being modified by circumstances, even to the extent of evil—of all unfitness—being extinguished, there seems little room for such a distinction as this. According to this view, the element of the essential, permanent, and ineradicable in our constitution, and consequently in the beneficial, and as such moral, character of our conduct and feelings must—if it exist at all—lie within the narrowest limits. For human character and constitution are represented as susceptible of indefinite variation and adaptation in the sphere of social relations, even to entire reversal. In what direction and to what extent can it, in consistency with Mr. Spencer's view, be said that man is not capable of being modified? or, indeed, is there any except that which would destroy his life and being? Wrong, as that which is forbidden by the essential and constant in human nature, would seem to be circumscribed to what is actually suicidal, or destructive of the

race, as a race, to the exclusion even of what may be destructive of others as individuals. For those who are too weak, or too inflexible, to undergo the process of modification, both will and must be got rid of. 'The predatory instinct,' says Mr. Spencer, 'has subverted civilisation by clearing the earth of inferior races of man; the forces which are working out the great scheme of perfect happiness, taking no account of incidental suffering, exterminate such sections of mankind as stand in their way, with the same sternness that they exterminate beasts of prey and useless ruminants.'

rights, and secondarily a sort of reflex function of that—sympathy; the joint operation of which issues in a claim of freedom for ourselves along with a correlative admission of the same to others.

We are thus led by three several lines of thought to the same conclusion. (1) An *a priori* view of creative design, and an examination of the conditions of its realisation; (2) an appeal to the general constitution of man considered as a congeries of faculties; (3) an examination of the indications of a special faculty in that constitution adapted to recognise and respond to such a rule of life;—all concur in evidencing that the primary law of right social relationships is, that 'every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man.' It remains to develop this first principle into a system of equity, by distinguishing the actions it permits from those it forbids.

First, both logically and in importance, among the obvious deductions are the rights of life and personal liberty.

Next comes the equal right of all to the use of the earth. This right forbids private property in land; for if one portion could be so owned, so equally could any other, and our planet might thus lapse altogether into private hands. All save the owners could then exist on the earth only by sufferance, a state of matters utterly outraging the principle of equal freedom. The abolition of private ownership would not involve a community of goods, and need cause no very serious revolution in existing arrangements. Separate ownerships would merge into the joint-stock ownership of the public. Instead of being in the possession of individuals, the country would be held by the great corporate body—Society. Tenancy would be the only land tenure, and rent would be paid to the agent of the community.

But while the principle of equal rights to the use of the earth is inconsistent with private property in land, it is by no means at variance with the right of private property in general; for what is required is, not that all shall have like shares of the things which minister to the gratification of the faculties, but that all shall have like freedom to pursue those things—shall have like scope. To deny the right of private property would interfere with the ordained connection between desire and gratification, and would necessitate an absolute violation of the principle of equal freedom.

The same rule is applicable to mental as to material property. Every man is as well entitled to the produce of his brain as to

that of his hands: hence the right to property in ideas. Nor must it be supposed that the exclusive right by an inventor takes anything from the public: on the contrary, he gives. He cannot derive any benefit from the use of his discovery without in that very use conferring benefit on society. No doubt the existing state of knowledge, the pressure of some social want, and other general conditions concur as causes or occasions of every invention, so that the probability is that the same or a similar invention would ere long have been made by others independently. In consequence of this the right to property in ideas is subject to a qualification which, however, though difficult to specify definitely, does not militate against the right itself.

Reputation, the esteem of others, is not only a possession we value for itself, but has also indirectly a money value. Hence the right to property in character, and consequently the foundation for a law of libel.

Again, if there is a right to property, there must also be a right to exchange that property for other: in other words, freedom of trade.

Speech, being one of our natural forms of activity, must be absolutely free, so long as it neither involves slander nor incites another to injure a third. If unlimited liberty of speech is productive of disastrous results, that is entirely owing to the abnormal condition of the body politic. If a nation cannot be governed on principles of pure equity, so much the worse for the nation. These principles remain true notwithstanding. If evils are entailed upon a people by immediate and entire recognition of the law of equal freedom in the matter of speech as well as in that of action, such evils are merely significant of the incomplete adaptation of that people to the social state, and not of any defect in the law.

And similarly of various other rights, which are nothing but artificial divisions of the general claim to exercise the faculties. Two points of importance remain to be noticed—the rights of women and of children. Equity knows no difference of sex. Hence the several rights deducible from the law of equal freedom must appertain to women no less than to men. To dispute this on the ground of woman's mental inferiority is absurd. For by rights is meant nothing else than freedom to exercise faculties. Supposing, then, that woman is mentally inferior to man, that is, that her faculties are weaker or more limited, that is no reason for refusing her the right to exercise those she has. The subjection of women in the matrimonial or

any other relation of life is, like every exercise of command, a remnant of barbarism.* Political privileges must thus be ceded to women. And why not? If they are ignorant of state affairs, then they will reflect the opinions of the other sex. If they are well informed, and act independently, then, will they not be as competent to use their power with intelligence?

Nor is it otherwise with children. If we are once sure of our law—sure that it is a Divine ordination—then whithersoever it leads us we may safely follow. The child therefore has claims to freedom,—rights, coextensive with the adult. Freedom to do all he wills, provided he infringes not the equal liberty of others, is a universal law that includes both sexes and all ages. To urge that in the child many of the faculties of the future man are undeveloped, and that as rights are primarily dependent on faculties, the rights of children cannot be coextensive with those of adults, because their faculties are not so, is specious, but beside the point. The demand is for *perfect* freedom to exercise *all* the faculties. The right to the exercise of faculty is in each case *complete*, and in all cases therefore equal. It is quite another question whether in any two cases the faculties are equal, and no right or freedom could enable us to exercise faculties we do not have. To say that the rights of this one are less than those of the other, because his faculties are fewer, is to say he has no right to exercise the faculties he has not got—a curious compound of truism and absurdity. This strikes at the root of all coercive education. Coercion in all its forms—educational or other—is essentially vicious. Education itself, indeed, is but a temporary expedient, and must die out. It belongs to our transitional state, has no place in ideal humanity, and is ignored by pure Ethics. When that ultimate state in which morality shall have become organic is arrived at, the young human being will no longer be an exception in nature,—will not, as now, tend to grow into unfitness for the requirements of after life; but will spontaneously unfold itself into that ideal manhood whose every impulse coincides with the dictates of the moral law.

*It might here be questioned whether it is not, on the part of some, the exercise of a natural faculty and disposition, to rule, and on the part of others to obey. May not these correlative attitudes, in many cases, be but the result of the very freedom to develop inherent capacities and tendencies, and as such in perfect harmony with the general principle of equal freedom?

The thorough-going application of the principle would seem to involve the absurd inference that children are equally with adults entitled to citizenship and political power. But if there is an incongruity between the institution of government and certain consequences of the law of equal freedom, it is the former, and not the latter, of these that is at fault. Government itself is the offspring of immorality. Were the moral law universally obeyed, government would not exist, and did government not exist, the moral law could not dictate the political enfranchisement of children.

Having applied the law to the principal relations between individuals, Mr. Spencer proceeds to carry it out to those between individuals and the body politic. The very existence, indeed, of a government at all, as has been already indicated, is inconsistent with the first principles of rectitude. No government can have any ethical authority. The highest form it can assume is that in which the moral law remains passive with regard to it,—tolerates it,—no longer protests against it. In ascertaining the conditions of such a form, the first result obtained, by the application of the general principle of equal freedom, is the right of every man to ignore the State, to relinquish its protection, and to refuse to pay towards its support. Government being simply an agent employed in common by a number of individuals to secure to them certain advantages, the very nature of the connection implies that it is for each to say whether he will employ such an agent or not.* The belief in the omnipotence of majorities is a political superstition. The very existence of majorities and minorities is indicative of an immoral state; for the pursuit of happiness by the greater number involves the denial of it, to a certain extent, to the fewer; whereas perfect morality requires that each shall be completely happy without diminishing the happiness of others—that is, that the pursuit of happiness on the part of all shall be harmonious. In matters of religion this right to dissociate oneself from the State is already partially recognised. The thorough Independent will neither conform, nor contribute to the support of the State Church, without protest against the forcible exaction of his property. But consistency cannot stop short here: if we are entitled to claim freedom for the exercise of one of our faculties—the religious sentiment,—why not for all? The distinction of civil from religious liberty is quite

* Compare this with statement on page 7, with its relative foot-note.

arbitrary. If the one is a matter of conscience, so is the other; for God's will is human happiness, and that is attainable only through the unrestrained exercise of our faculties—those relating to civil as well as to religious concerns.

The next deduction is equal political privilege and power. A pure democratic government is the only one which is morally admissible. Class legislation is the inevitable consequence of class power; the interest of the whole society can be secured only by giving power into the hands of the whole people. It is no valid objection to say, that as the working classes constitute a majority, such an arrangement would have the effect, not of excluding class power, but merely of transferring power from one class to another, which would legislate in the interest of labour at the expense of property. Were this true, it would only amount to this—that the few should be allowed to trespass against the many, lest the many should trespass against the few; but surely if one of the parties must submit to injustice, it ought to be the rich hundreds, and not the poor thousands. But it is not true, for the labouring population is too numerous, and distributed over too wide an area, is separated too much in occupation, religion, habits, and sentiments of town and country life, and interests in general, to attain that unity of action necessary for such an object. Should it be argued that where Democracy has been tried, it has failed, it may be asked in reply, Where has a pure Democracy ever been tried? Not in Greece, Rome, America, with their systems of slavery. Not in mediæval Italy, where power was conferred on the burghers and nobles only. Not even in the Swiss States, which have always treated a certain unincorporated class as political outlaws. Democracy, however, as one of the higher social forms, is of necessity identified, both in origin and practicability, with a dominant moral sense. Conduct has to be ruled either from within or from without. If the rule from within is not sufficient, there *must* exist a supplementary rule from without. While, therefore, we may be sure that a Democracy will be attained whenever the people are good enough for one, we need not fear that a Democracy, when peacefully attained, can be attained too soon.

As to the duties of the State, the moral law can give no direct information, since it ignores government altogether. If every man has a right to secede from the State, and if, as a consequence, the State must be regarded as a body of men voluntarily asso-

ciated,* there remains nothing to distinguish it in the abstract from any other incorporated society,—nothing to determine its specific function. The proper function of government, then, can only be arrived at indirectly, by approximative methods, since those of exact science are no longer available. What is perfect is thoroughly fitted for its purpose. Hence, to the rightly-constituted man all external help is needless—detrimental even. When, on the other hand, man's constitution and the conditions of his existence are not in harmony, there arise external agencies to supply the place of deficient internal faculties. And these temporary substitutes, being supplementary to the faculties, and assisting the imperfect man, as they do, to fulfil the law of his being—the moral law, as we call it—obtain a certain reflex authority from that law, varying with the degree in which they subserve its requirements. Now freedom has been shown to be the grand pre-requisite of the fulfilment of the moral law; and it is the office of government, as the chief of these artificial aids, to guarantee freedom, equal freedom, to all,—in other words, to administer justice at home and to provide defence against aggressive warfare from abroad. But if a man accepts state-guardianship he must contribute to its maintenance and cost. Thus arises an implied contract, that equivalents of protection and taxation shall be exchanged. As a matter of fact, however, such a contract is very imperfectly fulfilled, at least on the part of the State. It can never, indeed, be otherwise. For national institutions must embody national character, and can never be better than the men who constitute them. So long, therefore, as men are imperfect—that is, as governments are needed—so long must State institutions reflect that imperfection. It is very certain that government can *not* alter the total amount of injustice committed. It would be absurd to suppose that it can—to suppose that, by some ingenious artifice,

* Comparing this statement with one to which attention was directed on page 6 (and both are quoted verbatim from Mr. Spencer), there is manifest a shifting of the ground and a see-saw of inference. What was antecedent in the one becomes consequent in the other, and what was consequent before is now antecedent. In the one case the fact of government being simply an agent employed by certain individuals for certain purposes is made the ground of freedom to each individual to choose whether he will secede from the State, or avail himself of its services; whereas, in the other, this right of choice to secede or adhere to the State is adduced as the reason for regarding the State as merely a number of individuals associated for a common end. A good deal might be proved in this way.

we may avoid the consequences of our own natures. In ethics, as in physics, man cannot create force; he can only alter the mode of its manifestation, its direction, its distribution. And that is what government does. By its aid, men to a considerable extent equalise the evil they have to bear—spread it out more uniformly over the whole community and over the life of each citizen. Wrongs that were before occasional, but crushing, are now unceasing, but bearable. The system is one of *mutual assurance* against moral disasters.

This duty of securing freedom for the exercise of our faculties comprises the whole office of government. A function to each organ and each organ to its own function is the law of all organisation. With the State, as with every other instrumentality, special adaptation to one end implies non-adaptation to other ends. Whenever it exceeds its office of protection it loses its protective power and becomes aggressive on the liberties of some, at some point. To healthily developed citizens, State aid is doubly detrimental: it injures them both by what it takes and by what it does. By the revenues required to support its agencies it absorbs the means on which certain of the faculties depend for their exercise, and by the agencies themselves it shuts out other faculties from their spheres of action. And since men are not yet healthily developed, we must remember that an undeveloped capability can be developed only under the stern discipline of necessity. It must be kept ever active, ever strained, ever inconvenienced by its incompetency, that it may grow to efficiency. Interpose an instrumentality between such faculty and its work, and the process of adaptation is at once suspended. There is only one faculty, or set of faculties, whose weakness the State can advantageously supplement—that, viz., by which society is made possible. Man can become adapted to the social state only by being retained in it; hence while the process is going on an instrumentality must be employed, firstly, to bind men into an associated state; and, secondly, to check all conduct endangering the existence of that state. But this is exactly what has already been defined as the sole duty of government—to administer justice, to prevent aggression. If any extension of this limit is allowed, there can be no limit fixed to its action that is not arbitrary and unphilosophical. All experience shows government to be an incompetent manager in all undertakings beyond its proper function of protection. Nor is it anything short of impious presumption to try

to supersede by clumsy political mechanisms the great laws of existence.

This general doctrine regarding the State is applied in detail to such cases as regulation of commerce, religious establishments, poor laws, national education, governmental colonisation, sanitary supervision, currency, postal arrangements, &c. Into these special applications the necessary limits of this paper forbid us to enter.

Such, then, as far as possible in his own words, is a summarised sketch of the central principle, and the salient points in their relation to it, of Mr. Spencer's system of 'Social Statics.' It is but just, though perhaps hardly necessary, to remark that the incomplete and bald enumeration which we have given of the principal subjects he discusses, can afford no adequate representation of the various questions as they appear in his statement of them. He defends and recommends the most of his positions with a power and dexterity that command admiration and excite surprise, and sometimes almost compel assent. The ingenuity and boldness of his scheme cannot be denied, nor can the truth and insight of many of his views be disputed. The numerous points on which his conclusions strike home with effect, and the unexpected adroitness with which events in past and contemporaneous history are, often to overloading, marshalled and interpreted in illustration, are apt to carry the facile and uncritical reader by storm. At the same time, while impressed with its appearance of logical rigour and air of systematic simplicity and coherence, no less than by its surprising and momentous results, the reflective student, considering it as a philosophical system, can hardly fail to be struck by the largeness of assumption it involves, and by its generally theoretic and insufficient foundation.

Any detailed criticism either of Mr. Spencer's principles or of his conclusions we shall not now attempt. On that head we may venture to offer some remarks on another occasion, but at present we shall confine ourselves to what may be loosely called his manner rather than his matter.

Philosophically considered, the general character and rank of his thought is the most radical thing to be noted. That character is practically and professedly representative and conceptual. He thinks in pictures. To make the importance of this distinction fully evident would involve reference to questions that lie at the root of all philosophising, and would be inconsistent with the design of this paper to deal only with the external features

of our subject. But in a word, speaking roundly and popularly, the result of this mental quality is to exclude from thought what cannot be figured, and to limit knowledge to symbols of things.

Perhaps the next most striking and important quality is what may in strictness be called his *method*. Professing to root knowledge in experience, his legitimate progress should have been positive and inductive. On the contrary, it is eminently assumptive and deductive, both in spirit and form. Just compare his procedure with that of the apostle of Positivism.

The lateness of the emergence of Sociology as a science is referred by Comte to two causes—the difficulties presented by the complexity and special nature of social phenomena on the one hand, and the paucity of data on the other. In the social sphere the phenomena are unfolded in succession slowly through the lapse of ages. In other sciences ‘the materials were ready before there were observers qualified to make a scientific use of them. But even if observers had been ready the phenomena of social life were not ample and various enough in early days to admit of their philosophical analysis.’* Such an explanation is inconsistent with Mr. Spencer's views. On his method there need have been no such hindrance. He simply postulates a multitude of men on the earth as living beings endowed with certain active properties, and designed by their Creator to enjoy the greatest happiness, and thence evolves the principle of his science. Comte carefully lays down the method of investigation in Sociology, as in every other science, to be observation in its threefold aspects of observation proper, experiment, and comparison. For experimentation in the direct and vulgar acceptance there is little opportunity. But the philosophical character of such a method of inquiry does not depend on the arrangement of the circumstances artificially, and with special design to such an end. By experimentation, therefore, in social research he means the examination of disturbances in the established order and relations of harmony and succession, such as occur in times of disorder and revolution. Under comparison he includes the study of the social states of the lower animals, of coexisting but independent states of human society in various regions of the earth, and of consecutive states, as unfolded in the page of history.

Mr. Spencer's plan is very different. For data he makes no examination of the social phenomena around us, no inquiry into the

periods of perturbation and morbid action. So far from any analogy drawn from the brute creation, we find laws of the highest generality and abstract character applied in their barest and hardest expressions generalised from lower and inanimate forms of existence, without any modification, such as a comparative reference to an ascending scale of complexity in life and faculty might have suggested. There is no painstaking collation of the testimony of different races of men under different conditions of climate and general environment, no attempt to trace the successive developments of the same people as presented in history. Abundant reference is no doubt made to facts of history—not, however, as affording a basis for inquiry, but only as they point and enforce a conclusion. Nothing could be more opposed to the Baconian spirit and principles. Instead of beginning with what is best known, and advancing to the less known through successive stages of induction to a high generalisation, he starts with abstract conceptions, which are certainly not apodictic, or *a priori*, in the sense of being native to the mind, and so, universal and necessary, and can as little claim to be recognised as *a posteriori*, or data of experience. They are rather mental creations, fanciful or arbitrary, which bring prominently into view that side of their author's character for which perhaps we have no appellation so apt as the French *idéologue*. And from these abstract conceptions, reached by no process of slow induction and cautious generalisation, he deduces a general and comprehensive principle to be applied to the various relationships of life.

That a great work on Sociology of an inductive character by Mr. Spencer is in progress, or at least in contemplation, may be inferred from the elaborate preparations, of which an imposing specimen is furnished in the parts already published of ‘Descriptive Sociology,’—a vast collection of materials ‘classified and arranged’ by Mr. Spencer, though ‘compiled and abstracted’ by Mr. Collier, Dr. Scheppig, and Professor Duncan, of Madras. These volumes, as well as some of Mr. Spencer's own, do not present a due discrimination between the kinds and ranks of different authorities. The most thoroughly qualified witnesses are placed side by side, and on the same footing, apparently, with others of less special qualification, or at least reputation. But apart from their merits as a body of evidence, these parts of ‘Descriptive Sociology’ are of course only descriptive, not scientific, and, however they may serve as a foundation, do not pretend to form or represent the edifice. Nor can that which

* Miss Martineau's translation of Comte's ‘Positive Philosophy.’

is to be done alter the character of what has been done; and, besides the fact that our strictures are directed against 'Social Statics,' and not against another work, least of all against a book yet in embryo, their justification is to be found in the consideration that this projected inductive work, however it may defend and support the conclusions arrived at in the earlier publication, cannot have been in any sense its groundwork; as there is no reason—but the contrary—to suppose that it was begun, or planned, at the time Mr. Spencer committed himself in 'Social Statics' to a very pronounced social theory. What we say is, that 'Social Statics' is deductive (for illustration, however copious, is not induction), and that in it the author has laid down the principles and even sketched the great leading outlines of his scheme. Even supposing the induction with which it is to be followed up should supply details that can be fitted into this *cadre*, so far from that original design being suggested or determined by these details, is there not a danger that the preconceptions of an accepted scheme may react unconsciously on the selection and grouping, or on the recognised significance and the manipulation of these tabulated materials, which are to be worked up into a positive science?

The importance of a working hypothesis is not disputed. A blind and promiscuous massing of isolated facts, uncoordinated by the thought that moulds them into an organised unity and quickens them into life and meaning, is often but elaborate blundering and vain toil, which, for a vehicle, creates an impediment. But the theory of 'Social Statics' is put forward not as a working hypothesis, but as a securely-established principle, affording the law of social life that is interpretative of the past and absolutely obligatory for the regulation of conduct now; not as something tentative and provisional, but as a scientific system of equity, supported by numerous converging lines of evidence. The error lies, not in having an hypothesis and working faithfully under its guidance, but in the process and quarter from which it has been obtained. It has been sought on the subjective side rather than on the objective. It is not a light struck out by the contact of facts, but a gleam—be it of fancy or of any other faculty—by which they are illuminated. All thought may be said to come from the mind. But the question here is, has the thought been suggested, awakened, by the facts, or is it merely the result of a mental activity cast forth upon them, and imparting to them their lights and shadows, instead of truly responding to their impress? Whether

thought by which objective realities are to be interpreted may have a subjective origin is not now the point. If it may, it must at least be vindicated on a philosophical foundation,—certainly must not be employed to build up a science to form part of a system which professedly negatives such a foundation. It is not to the deductive method as such that exception is being taken, but that such a method is inconsistent with the general scope and character of Mr. Spencer's scientific thought.

If the world is but realised Reason, then, indeed, Reason logically developed must correspond with the external form in which it is actualised. But according to this view, Reason is that which truly *is*, and which determines the external; whereas, in Mr. Spencer's view, Reason itself seems to be in all its forms and laws but an elaboration of experience. He believes 'the intuition of space possessed by any living individual to have arisen from organised and consolidated experiences of all antecedent individuals who bequeathed to him their slowly developed nervous organisation, and that that intuition requires to be made definite and complete by personal experiences.*' On such a principle, surely, the legitimate procedure is from experience to thought, and not *vice versa*. The latter is a reversal of the fundamental order, and seeks to elucidate and explain facts by that which owes all its coherency and consistency to them. Even were Reason recognised as an eternal and objective entity prior to and directive of evolution, the correspondence of the subjective intelligence therewith must first be made out. But if Reason is but a part of the general order of things generated in the universal process of evolution, and itself regulated by the principle of that evolution, what warrant can there be for applying a partial product as the norm of the whole?

In corroboration of what has been said of the non-inductive character of the book, it is to be further remarked that while the illustration is often profuse, it seems also sometimes selected and special. The question is not whether many facts can be adduced in harmony with the theory, but whether none can be adduced against it. Need we refer to the passage in Lord Bacon: 'Inductio per enumerationem simplicem, ubi non reperitur instantia contradictoria'? This is a point very difficult to establish, and it may plausibly be said that until adverse facts are brought forward, it is not unfair to infer that there are none. But though an abso-

* See his letter to Mr. Mill, disavowing the imputation of being an antiutilitarian.

lutely exhaustive examination of facts is impossible, we have a right to expect an examination of those that look most doubtful and suspicious. It seems to us, however, there is sometimes a disposition to seek illustrations in quarters where no one would be likely to dispute their existence, without an equal solicitude to scrutinise cases of a kind where exceptions might be expected. With the view of showing that all legislative interference is injurious, for example, it is little to the purpose to refer to protective enactments, which now at least hardly any one will be found to defend. That the Act of 1773, passed at the instance of the Spitalfield weavers, fixing a minimum rate of wages for them, was disastrous in its results, is what no one will call in question, but is far from being a telling case just on that account. It would have been much more to the point if it could have been shown that the various Factory Acts, especially Lord Ashley's in 1833, and its subsequent extension (for however nobly meant, neither Sir R. Peel's original Act in 1819, nor Sir J. Hobhouse's in 1825, can be said to have secured their object), and the other restrictions on the employment of labour, or the sanitary measures that had been adopted by the Legislature, had been really prejudicial. That many Acts of the Statute Book have been foolish, meddlesome, and detrimental, may be very true, but does not prove that they all are so; and to remind us of the *most* foolish and detrimental, may be popular and striking, but far less critical and decisive than to have traced the operation of the apparently most wise and beneficial, and shown that even they on the whole have been mischievous. The thorough investigation of two or three instances that may be regarded as crucial is worth more than a long catalogue of a different sort confessedly non-crucial. In testing the strength of a chain composed of links of various kinds and sizes, it is of no use to show that the obviously strongest cannot be broken: what is required is to try whether what seems the weakest will bear the necessary strain. 'Monetary panics, South Sea bubbles, railway manias, Irish rebellions, French revolutions'—such are hardly the kind of cases in which any dubiety on the point is likely to lurk. These are cheap, but, for the purpose, ineffectual missiles.

The same evasion of the really vital point is observable in what Mr. Spencer says in illustration and enforcement of his doctrine of a law of adaptation underlying all organic creation. No one denies such a law. The only question is as to its range of action. Is it limited or unlimited—not only as to the

inclusion of subjects, but as to the extent of its operation? He brings forward a variety of cases which may go to show that there is some such law; but he never touches any case that might decisively determine its sweep,—which any one would be disposed to place beyond its radius. What his own belief on the point may be is not very obvious. In some places he reasons very much as if he considered it competent to effect almost any transformation. But if so, that should have been clearly stated and substantiated: if not, then the fact, at least, if not the where, of its limitation, should have been acknowledged and allowed for. On the one alternative, he must tacitly infer a universal conclusion from a very limited induction: on the other, some of the conclusions, for establishing which it is employed, must be subject to very considerable qualification. We grant a law of modification: we do not grant that man is susceptible of indefinitely great modification.

Not only is there some suspicion of partiality as to the facts presented, but there is undoubtedly a certain unguardedness in the mode of presentation. In saying this, no intentional misrepresentation on Mr. Spencer's part is implied; and it must be taken into account that he has warned his readers that to make 'purely intellectual considerations operative,' he has designedly 'enforced them by direct or implied appeals to the sentiments.' But whether warranted by such an express motive or not, many of his statements appear to have the character of exaggeration or distortion, or, at least, there is a certain hardness and narrowness of construction of actions and events which has very much the same effect. It may be literally correct to say that the measures adopted by England for the suppression of the slave trade on the Coast of Africa did in some cases 'aggravate the horrors, without sensibly mitigating the extent of the traffic; that they generated fast-sailing slavers, with decks one foot six inches apart, suffocation from close packing, miserable diseases, and a mortality of thirty-five per cent; that they have led to slavers throwing a whole cargo of five hundred negroes into the sea, and to the disappointed chiefs putting to death two hundred men and women, and sticking their heads on poles, along shore, in sight of the squadron.' For the actual averments, indeed, Mr. Spencer refers to the Anti-Slavery Society's Report for 1847 and to the evidence before a Parliamentary Committee in 1848. But it is one thing to state these circumstances as if the natural, if not unavoidable, consequence of our interference, and another to state them as evidence of the

perilous and critical task in which we had engaged, and of the insufficient vigilance and means we had employed. Instead of proving that our action in the matter should be abandoned, or rather never have been undertaken, such facts may only serve to prove that our action had not been nearly strict and energetic enough. This at least is the kind of inference Mr. Spencer sees his way readily enough to draw when the fact of the United States continuing to countenance slavery, after every other civilised country had condemned and abolished it, is foolishly pointed to as an argument against Democracy. 'Put in a definite form,' he says, 'this would aptly serve the logician as a specimen of absurdity. A pseudo-democracy is found not democratic enough, and it is therefore inferred that democracy is a bad thing.'

Is there not a falsetto tone in this argument?—

'The veneration which produces submission to a Government unavoidably invests that Government with proportionately high attributes; for being, in essence, a worship of power, it can be strongly drawn out towards that only which has great power, or is believed to have it. . . . Hence the still current fallacies about mitigating distress, easing monetary pressures, and curing over-population by law. Hence also the monstrous, though generally received doctrine that a legislature may equitably take people's property, to such extent and for such purposes as it thinks fit, for maintaining State Churches, feeding paupers, paying schoolmasters, founding colonies,' &c.

Does Mr. Spencer mean that distress and monetary crises and other evils are unmitigable? Or does he doubt that remedies in such cases can be better devised and applied through co-operation and organised action than by desultory individual efforts? He speaks as if he believed Government committed robbery against the people for its own ends, and seems to overlook the fact that the proceeds of taxation are applied for the people's behalf, and that, whether always wisely and successfully or not, Churches, paupers, and schoolmasters are upheld with a view to the general good—the good of the whole State as a unit. It is not meant that corruption has not often invaded high places, and that there have never been governments that were oppressive, unjust, disregardful of the subjects' interests, nor that good intentions are sufficient to legitimise or excuse every act of our rulers. But there is an acerbity in Mr. Spencer's tone as if he felt 'the powers that be' his natural enemy, and as if it were an uncalled-for refinement to distinguish between Governments generally condemned as wicked, and others that are regarded as righteous and beneficent.

On his view of government, considered simply as such, the impression we have ascribed to his words may not indeed be very different from what he intends to convey, and they may be defended on the ground that they correctly enough express his sentiments. But what we contend for is, that if cases are adduced in confirmation or support of an opinion, they must not have the confirmatory sense read into them, they must be read fairly and dispassionately. They must not be used both to lead up to a general proposition as affording it probability, and at the same time as examples of that general proposition under the significance which they derive from it. *Their* light may be either reflected on it as a focus, or *its* light may be radiated on them; but a general truth must not be attempted to be made out from them by means of an interpretation they borrow from it. Let us clearly understand whether facts are presented as mere examples of what is otherwise established, or as individual truths, by the concurrence of which a general theory is to be rendered probable.

There is something in Mr. Spencer's treatment of evidence that recalls that of the late Mr. Buckle. Testimonies of very different order and rank are appealed to without due care to distinguish their relative character and value. Whatever makes for the point is welcome, irrespective of the source or the acknowledged competency of the witness. A newspaper paragraph or the statement of a little known author is as confidently produced as the deliberate sentence of a learned and conscientious historian. Solitary and exceptional cases are introduced as if they were rife and commonplace, and while gathered from regions the most different and remote, are heaped together in a way that may leave the impression that they may have some common connection, and so as to give a consenting and cumulative effect, though their various conditions may in reality confer equally various significance. Facts are detached from their collateral circumstances, and it seems to be overlooked that in records of the past certain circumstances are prominently mentioned, not because they are prevalent and exhibit the general tenour of things, but because they are rare and remarkable. When, as examples of 'the giant abominations of our judicial system,' we are 'informed of £300 having been expended in the recovery of forty shillings' worth of property; and again of a cause that was lost because an affirmation could not be received instead of an oath,' it should be remembered that that individual expenditure was part of a great system which

in the main renders secure to its possessors many millions of pounds sterling worth of property, and that the requirement of evidence on oath has on the whole subserved the ends of justice immeasurably more than would its dispensation in any particular case. When, again, we are told that 'in Scotland, less than two centuries ago, it was the custom of lairds to kidnap the common people and export them as slaves,' are we seriously intended to consider this a fair picture of the times? Facts in their own place will tell their own tale, but in a new and artificial setting, though they themselves may be preserved intact,—nay, on that account sometimes all the more, because the perspective and proportion are destroyed—may become misleading enough.

In proving a particular and limited proposition Mr. Spencer is very apt to slip into a general conclusion. The fixity of human nature is a case in point. Because it does not hold good in some senses, he seems to argue that it is not true in any. The essential sameness of humanity is a proverb: 'One touch of nature makes the whole world kin.' Is it just because this is a popular belief, or because the contrary suits his purpose, that Mr. Spencer so laboriously contests it, instead of simply defining it?

'Man obeys the laws of indefinite variation. . . . Mark the grotesque frescoes of the Egyptians, or the shadowless drawings of the Chinese. Does the contrast between these and the works of European artists indicate no difference in the perceptive powers of the races? . . . The Greeks and Romans had a deity to sanction and patronise every conceivable iniquity, and Polynesian tribes believe that their gods feed upon the souls of the departed. Surely the characters indicated by such conceptions of Divinity differ somewhat from ours! Surely we may claim some essential superiority over those Tartars who leave infirm parents to die of hunger in the desert; and over those Feejee islanders amongst whom members of the same family have to keep watch against each other's treachery. It is not the custom of an Englishman to dine, like a Carrib, upon a roasted captive; or even, as the Abyssinian, on a quivering slice from the haunch of a live ox. Neither does he, like a red Indian, delight in the writhing of a victim at the stake; nor, like a Hindoo, burn his wife, that her spirit may haunt his enemy.'

And so on through several pages, in which it is shown by equally apposite examples that the alleged sameness does not consist in rationality, nor justice, nor honesty, nor want of mercy, nor vindictiveness; neither in actions, nor in manners, nor in opinions. Certainly not, any one would say, but in self, in nature, in idea; those are but the

accidents of humanity, which as externals play in endless variety over the constant essence.

In such reasoning he is either misled and carried away by the force and tyranny of words, or he is disingenuous and unfair. He either fails to understand what is meant, and falls into an idle logomachy; or, seeing what is meant, he effects to be a precisian, and tries to wring a refutation out of a popular use of language. Does he not know that the greatest stickler for the fixity and uniformity of human nature also recognises varieties and modifications? and that what is meant is, that under all that variety there is still a unity and sameness? Or perceiving this, is it not trifling and pedantic, as well as unfair, to feign that this implies a real inconsistency, and thereon to found an argument against such a view? It is a mistake to seek various illustrations in the changes of savage to civilised life, in the dissimilarities of different nationalities, and such like. The very points in which constancy might have been found are avoided. There may be differences enough in assigning particular causes and determining particular duties: there will be none in recognising Duty and Causation. The deepest, the simplest, the most human utterances find echoes in every heart and attest the common root of manhood in us all. Homer and Moses are not only intelligible, they are stimulating still, and the responses they ever awaken in us proclaim identity of nature through all the ages and under every superficial diversity.

There seems in truth a fondness on Mr. Spencer's part for saying something striking and different from the general drift of public opinion, which, especially when it seems to help out his case, leads him into a measure of extravagance. He has a weakness for making a point—if with an air of paradox, all the better. He delights in presenting familiar facts under odd lights and sometimes with a degree of grotesque distortion, and solitary out-of-the-way facts with an air of familiarity, as if they were of everyday occurrence and fairly represented the bulk, instead of being exceptional and foreign to it. The result is often caricature, but unfortunately without a trace of humour, and is hardly conducive to achromatic views and impartial judgments. Legislative action has no doubt often been mistaken and unfortunate; but is the following gross travesty meant seriously, or is it a misplaced attempt at persiflage?

'It is said of a certain personage that he wished he had been consulted when the world was being made, for that he could have given

good advice ; and not a little historical celebrity has attached to this personage, in virtue of his so-thought unparalleled arrogance. Shallow, shallow ! Why, the great majority of our statesmen and politicians do as much every day. Advice, indeed ! they do not stop at advice. They actively interpose, take into their own hands matters that God seems to be mismanaging, and undertake to set them right !'

These again are surely 'swelling words'—may we add 'of vanity' ?

'Unquestionably war is immoral. But so likewise is the violence used in the execution of justice ; so is all coercion. Ethical law is as certainly broken by the judicial authorities as by those of a defensive army. . . . The doings of the battle-field merely exhibit in a concentrated form that immorality which is inherent in government and attaches to all its functions. What is so manifest in its military acts is true of its civil acts, that it uses wrong to put down wrong.'

Is it intended as a figure of speech, or does Mr. Spencer mean it plainly and apart from all hyperbole, as his italics would suggest, when he declares 'that, in establishing any religion, a government *does* claim to be infallible scarcely needs proof' ? It is not the part of this Review to uphold the cause of religious establishments by the State ; but as little is it in accordance with its principles to sympathise with a treatment of the question in this style. It might pass for clever derision of Church establishments by a smart partisan to ask—'After centuries of Church culture, has Christianity got so little root in men's hearts that but for government watering-pots it must wither away ?' But it would be just about as reasonable (the question of taste being set aside altogether), and about as much to the purpose, when Mr. Spencer invites any of his friends to dinner, to inquire if he thought they would die of inanition but for his officious hospitality ? Such a style of address may be effective rhetoric for a popular platform, but is not the sober, restrained, and scrupulously exact language of Philosophy.

We must remind our readers that such instances as these are referred to for the sake of indicating a tone and tendency of the author's mind, rather than for any importance they may have in themselves, or for any essential bearing they may individually have on his system. One more reference of this kind we shall make to a partiality and exaggeration of statement that amounts almost to wayward perversity, and affords at the same time a transition to the feature next to be alluded to—inconsistency. That mere instruction will not prevent crime

is what the most enthusiastic advocate of education will not dispute. But so intent is Mr. Spencer on proving that too much reliance and hope are placed on such a means of human improvement, that he not only ascribes a belief in its boundless efficacy to its advocates indiscriminately, but goes the length of almost, if not altogether, arguing that it is no means at all to such an end, but is on the contrary obstructive and pernicious. The full impression of his argument cannot be conveyed by a quotation, for it extends over pages in the chapter on 'National Education,' and the same theme is enlarged on with even more extreme one-sidedness and intensified sophistry in 'The Study of Sociology,—Preparation in Psychology.' 'What is the root-notion,' he asks, in the latter, 'common to Secularists and Denominationalists, but the notion that spread of knowledge is the one thing needful for bettering behaviour !' Delete the definite article which makes 'one thing' *exclusively* needful, and this may be true. In the former, he asserts : 'So far from proving that morality is increased by education, the facts prove, if anything, the reverse ;' and in confirmation of that statement he cites reports from prison chaplains, government returns, newspaper articles, and authors English and Continental. Even on certain admissions in the course of the argument itself, it might not be difficult to re-argue its conclusions. But it is not now our purpose to discuss the point, but merely to call attention to the tortuous uses Mr. Spencer sometimes makes of elaborately marshalled facts and compiled statistics.

'We smile,' he assures us, 'when told that savages consider writing as a kind of magic ; and we laugh at the story of the negro who hid a letter under a stone that it might not inform against him when he devoured the fruit he was sent with. Yet the current notions about printed information betray a kindred delusion : a kind of magical efficacy is ascribed to ideas gained through artificial appliances, as compared with ideas otherwise gained.'

One is almost tempted in irritation at such perversity to ask : Why, then, in the name of common sense, foster, or at least gratify, this delusion by his own contributions to 'printed information' ? The ground of all this tirade against education is that 'behaviour is not determined by knowledge, but by emotion.' Hence 'whatever moral benefit *can* be effected by education, must be effected by an education which is emotional rather than perceptive.' With what astonishment, then, may we read his sarcasm, when, in opposition to his views,

feeling is appealed to as the regulator of our actions.

'The same plea [viz., feeling] has been urged in defence of a thousand absurdities, and if valid in one case is equally so in all others. Should a traveller in the East inquire of a Turk why women in his country conceal their faces, he would be told that for them to go unveiled would be considered indecent, would offend the *feelings* of the spectators. In Russia, female voices are never heard in church, women not being thought worthy "to sing the praises of God in the presence of men," and the disregard of this regulation would be censured as an outrage upon public *feeling*. There was a time in France when men were so enamoured of ignorance [would Mr. Spencer wish to restore its reign, that he so satirizes the strenuous efforts to conquer both the admiration and the existence of ignorance?], that a lady who pronounced any but the commonest words correctly, was blushed for by her companions; a tolerable proof that people's *feelings* then blamed in a woman that literateness which it is now thought a disgrace for her to be without. In China, cramped feet are essential to female refinement; and so strong is the *feeling* in this matter, that a Chinese will not believe that an Englishwoman who walks naturally can be one of a superior class. It was once held unfeminine for a lady to write a book, and no doubt those who thought it so would have quoted *feelings* in support of their opinion. Yet, with facts like these on every hand, people assume that the enfranchisement of women cannot be right, because it is repugnant to their *feelings*.'

So little is feeling, sentiment, emotion, impulse, to be trusted; and yet it is from feeling, not knowledge, we must look for any improvement in conduct. But it will be answered, There are feelings that are right and feelings that are wrong, and the improvement in conduct is to be secured by education of the feelings. And what, pray, is to guide us in this process—feeling or knowledge, impulse or reason, emotion or enlightenment? 'Rational action alone can be moral,' it has been truly said, 'for it can distinguish its objects.' This, indeed, in another connection, and when it suits his immediate purpose, Mr. Spencer himself not only admits, but insists on. Referring to a certain school of moralists, he says, 'Confounding the functions of feeling and reason, they required a sentiment to do that which should have been left to the intellect. They were right in believing that there exists some governing instinct generating in us an approval of certain actions we call *good* and a repugnance to certain others we call *bad*. But they were not right in assuming such instinct to be capable of intuitively solving every ethical problem sub-

mitted to it. To suppose this was to suppose that moral sense could supply the place of logic.' That feeling furnishes motive power is universally acknowledged, and that knowledge cannot supply the place of appetency need not be insisted on. But by Mr. Spencer, one side only of the question is, for the time, contemplated, and that, not merely to the postponement of the other, but to its exclusion and denial.

Of his proneness to contradict himself or shift his ground many examples might be presented, but our space compels us to limit our selection to a few. He himself notices, and attempts to explain away, the inconsistency of admitting the possibility—much more the need—of government, and of devoting several long chapters to settle its constitution and function, in the exposition of a system of perfect social morality, the fundamental principles of which declare government to be an immoral and imperfect institution. This is too palpable to be enlarged on. Nor can it be evaded by reducing government, as he proposes, to a condition of passivity and fence in which morality can 'tolerate it;' for he declares even 'the violence used in the execution of justice is immoral,' which nevertheless if government fails to secure, it is useless and can find no justification whatever, and that 'immorality is inherent in government, and attaches to all its functions.'

Morality and rectitude he repeatedly speaks of in most forcible language as fixed and unbending, yet there are few things that in his hands vary their aspects more. In one place we have this definition: 'Morality is a code of rules proper for the guidance of humanity in its highest conceivable perfection.' But in previous pages he has described rightness to be the judgments, immediate or deduced, that are excited reflexly in the intellect by desire towards certain actions. 'Every feeling is accompanied by a sense of the rightness of those actions which give it gratification, tends to generate convictions that things are good or bad, according as they bring to it pleasure or pain.' Now this conviction, these judgments, must ever be in direct relation to the desires of which they are the reflex, the offspring, and consequently must ever be in harmony with the existing average humanity, instead of with an ideally and as yet never attained perfect state of humanity. Morality cannot both be placed on the level of human feeling and judgment existing at any given time, and also identified with perfection in human conduct. Once more the position is shifted, and the 'abstractedly right comes to mean not what our desires,

in regard to a certain class of actions dictate, and the relative sense or judgment approves,' but 'what we, in some way or other, perceive to be the established arrangements of Divine rule.'

Of the application of his 'First Principle,' by which actions may be classified into lawful and unlawful, he affirms generally:—

'Difficulties may now and then occur in the performance of this process. We shall, perhaps, occasionally find ourselves unable to decide whether a given action does or does not trespass against the law of equal freedom. But such an admission by no means implies any defect in that law. It merely implies human incapacity.' Accordingly 'the right of property in ideas' is recognised as subject to a qualification 'which it seems difficult and even impossible to specify definitely. The laws of patent and copyright express this qualification by confining the inventor's or author's privilege within a certain term of years. But in what way the length of that term may be found with correctness there is no saying. In the mean time, as already pointed out, such a difficulty does not in the least militate against the right itself.'

When, however, it is suggested that liberty of action and extent of rights should vary with worth and the power of using them, the reverse conclusion is drawn, for the reason that relative merits cannot be determined, though that is only another instance of human incapacity. It is also maintained that the rights of women are equal to those of men, because it is impossible to say exactly by how much they differ.

'What is the exact ratio between the legitimate claims of the two sexes? How shall we tell which rights are common to both, and where those of the male exceed those of the female? Who can show us a scale that will serve for the apportionment? . . . Some principle rooted in the nature of things has to be found by which they may be scientifically decided—decided not on grounds of expediency, but in some definite, philosophical way. If not, there remains no alternative but that the rights of women are equal with those of men.'

So of children, whose rights must also be held to be equal to those of men, for the double reason that it is impossible to determine when a child ceases to be a child and becomes a man, and that while it cannot be denied that children have some rights, else it would be justifiable to rob, enslave, or even murder a child; it is impossible 'to draw the line, to explain, to define.'

'Shall the youth be entitled to the rights of humanity when the pitch of his voice sinks an octave? or when he begins to shave? or when he ceases growing? or when he can lift a hundredweight? Are we to adopt

the test of age, of stature, of weight, of strength, or virility, or of intelligence? . . . What rights are common to children and adults, and why? Where do the rights of adults exceed those of children, and why? And the answers to these queries must be drawn, not from considerations of expediency, but from the original constitution of things.'

Again, the absolute freedom of speech and of the press must not be in any way limited by considerations of what may be demanded in the interests of 'security and a sense of security.' If such considerations are to have weight,

'Where shall the cares of the statesman end? Must he listen to the apprehensions of every hypochondriac, in whose morbid imagination reform is pictured as a grim ogre of anthropophagous propensities, with pikes for claws and guillotines for teeth? If not, why not? . . . Old women of both sexes, working themselves into a state of great tribulation over the terrible vaticinations of a "Standard" or the wailings of a "Herald," would fain have put down the Free Trade propaganda; and if their "sense of security" had been duly consulted, they should have had their way. Religious disabilities, too, ought, for the like reason, to have been still maintained, for the proposal to repeal them was productive of extreme consternation to multitudes of weak-minded people. . . . And therefore the authorities ought to have stopped the movement for Catholic Emancipation by gagging all its advocates, fettering its press, and preventing its meetings. It is useless to say that these are exaggerations, and that the alarms of nervous valetudinarians or foolish bigots are to be disregarded. If the fears of a hundred are not to be attended to, why those of a thousand? If not those of a thousand, why those of ten thousand? How shall the line be drawn? Where is the requisite standard? Who shall tell when the sense of insecurity has become general enough to merit respect? Is it to be when the majority participate in it? If so, who shall decide when they do this? Perhaps it will be said that the apprehensions must be reasonable ones. Good; but who is to determine whether they are so or not? Where is the pope who shall give an infallible judgment on such a matter?'

Why, it may be asked, of these and other cases, is it necessary to give a precise and infallible judgment, any more than in the cases of copyright and patents? Of those may it not be said no less than of these, or else of these quite as little as of those,—'In what way the length of term'—the exact definition—'may be found with correctness, there is no saying. In the mean time such a difficulty does not in the least militate against the right itself'? Every case in question surely falls under the classification 'actions into lawful and unlawful,' and

what is affirmed of all in general applies to each in particular, viz., that the admission that we find ourselves unable to decide whether a given action is lawful or unlawful, merely implies human incapacity. In some of the passages cited, the expenditure of rhetoric is perhaps rather needless, except in serving to conceal from both author and reader that the same kind of facts are at one time adduced as a valid objection, and at another set aside as invalid in that relation, according to convenience rather than consistency.

Inconsistencies in details, blemishes though they ever must be reckoned in any work of reasoned thought, are not always without a value. They serve to remind the reader that there are more aspects of the subject possible, and even plausible, than the one that is in the main being enforced on his acceptance; they tend to rouse the mind from that state of passive receptivity and acquiescence apt to supervene in following the train of argument pursued by a persuasive and powerful writer, and stimulate the reader to judge for himself and more actively to sift the arguments and scrutinise the positions and course of his guide. On the part of the author himself, if they imply a certain want of consequentiality and inconsistency of judgment, they indicate at the same time a mind not so wholly possessed by its own ideas as to be practically blind to aspects of the subject, which naturally present themselves, if not veiled by prepossessions,—an openness and impartiality of vision which are one of the first requirements in a thinker and a teacher. Such incongruities, moreover, often lie on the surface, nay, are almost extraneous, and do not affect the main line of argument, or, though vitiating the reasons, leave the opinions and conclusions untouched. Examples of such are to be met with in 'Social Statics.'

But there are discrepancies of another sort to which Mr. Spencer is prone—discrepancies that are not superficial, but radical. They are not perceptible at the circumference, or in the segments taken severally, but break out at the centre, and become apparent when the attempt is made to realise the *ensemble* as a coalescent and consentient whole. In each department, for the time being, he holds to his grip with the tenacity of a mastiff, and applies his principles then in hand with an unflinching rigour and thoroughness which are only equalled by the dexterity and clearness; and if he does not shrink from following out his path to the utmost, he generally justifies his confidence by the large measure of apparent success. The view never changes; his course never

bends: from the position assumed he proceeds, unhalting and without deviation, right on to the end, fearless of the issue. In another section and from another standpoint a similar process is conducted with like stringency and precision, and so also it may be with others. Each for the time occupies the field of view exclusively, but is also in its turn removed and shut out in favour of its successor. The final task, however, of uniting and harmonising the various provinces into one empire of thought, governed by one supreme and central authority, is overlooked, and the result is, they will not cohere, sometimes not even suffer each other's presence. Each apart seems wondrous fair and firm, but together they fail to give the impression of a perfect, homogeneous, indivisible whole. They jar, and in their very freeness from flaw none is crushed, but all are mutually neutralised. Mr. Spencer maintains, for instance, on the one hand, that human knowledge is confined to the phenomenal, and that the truest and most worthy object of worship is an unknown God; but claims, on the other, such acquaintance with the Divine mind and intention as to ground his whole moral system on the 'creative purpose.' Now he asserts that 'man obeys the law of indefinite variation. His circumstances are ever altering, and he is ever adapting himself to them.' 'The social state is a necessity. The conditions of greatest happiness under that state are fixed. Our characters are the only things not fixed.' Anon he recognises 'essential elements in the nature of each man, and necessary feelings, before which conventional circumstances must give way.' Again, the very corner-stone of the 'Social Statics' is the doctrine that man originally was anti-social, selfish, solitary, predatory, philocidal, and that it was 'by the increase of population the social state was necessitated;' and yet he acknowledges 'some natural affinity in its [society's] members for such a union; that the characteristics exhibited by beings in an associated state cannot arise from the accident of combination, but must be the consequences of certain inherent properties of the beings themselves;' that 'the gathering together may call out these characteristics, but evidently does not produce them;' and that there are 'seeds of civilisation existing in aboriginal man.' In fact, so explicit, so sharp is the contradiction in respect to this last point, that there may be ground for raising the question, whether the principle he holds by is that primitive humanity was really quite *antisocial*, or veritably social at bottom, though imperfectly or rather implicitly so,—or whether, indeed, it be not

sometimes the one and sometimes the other.

The explanation apparently is, that Mr. Spencer has not reached the true centre, and works from points too near the surface, so that though the arcs he describes appear accurate within certain limits, they are seen when extended to intersect and bar each other instead of melting into the confluent and harmonious curvature of a line of Truth. It has been said of works of art that they require to be fused in the mind of their creator; not riveted, nor even welded together; every element must have been held in fusion in the heat of the imagination. Must not philosophy pass through a similar process in the crucible of the reason? But this is a process Mr. Spencer's speculations have not been sufficiently subjected to. Philosophically he is a riveter—and a rare workman at the craft; nay, at times, by the deftness and persistence of his stroke he may succeed in welding sundry pieces of his material; but he is not a *founder*. His thought wants solidarity. This defect is not peculiar to the book with which our attention is specially concerned, but is apparent in the author's works generally: it belongs to the man, and not to any individual performances. A critic of the 'Principles of Psychology' has very lucidly and forcibly exposed its presence in that division of his system of Philosophy, and showed that the author's outlook is materialistic, idealistic, and dualistic by turns.

'Mr. Spencer's system,' says the writer alluded to, 'has the incurable defect of fundamental incoherence; or, rather, it is not a system at all; it is a composition of fragments belonging to different systems. Most of the different points of view, principles, and methods that are now competing and conflicting in the arena of philosophical discussion appear to have been unreservedly adopted—each in its turn—in one part or other of Mr. Spencer's exposition. Nor yet can we call him an Eclectic, for an Eclectic means to reconcile the different methods that he combines, whereas Mr. Spencer has not perceived the need of any reconciliation. But, again, in speaking of his system as incoherent, we must not be understood to imply that Mr. Spencer's treatment is ever vague or confused. In fact it is just the clearness and precision, even the boldness and originality, with which he expounds each principle in its own place, the thoroughness with which he pursues each method for a certain stage of his course, that presents his incoherence in the clearest form, and brings the reader's bewilderment to its height . . . The truth is, that though Mr. Spencer's mind is so far eminently philosophical that it is always striving after universality of view and complete-

ness of synthesis, in another sense it shows signs of an imperfect philosophical (or perhaps we should rather say *dialectical*) training. He has laboured much to penetrate and inform with general ideas the large masses of fact accumulated by empirical observation; but he has not laboured equally at the more delicate, though not more difficult, task of harmonising the different aspects of his own fundamental notions, as they present themselves in varying relations in the different parts of his system.*

We shall mention only one more mental proclivity. It might almost half-fancifully be considered as a sort of instinctive effort to control the operation or to neutralise the effects of the one last alluded to. As if to hold all together and to insure consistency, there seems an aim to make the same thought—and in the same form—run right through. All shall be made connected and sequent by hanging all on a central stem, like beads on a string. What we refer to is no doubt an application of the principle of generalisation—a principle essential to all scientific thought, and indeed to all advance in knowledge beyond merely rudimentary stages. But it is hardly a fair or legitimate application of it. It is a tendency to seek an interpretation of the higher in the lower, and to impose upon the former the terms of the latter.

There is, it may be, some connection between Mr. Spencer's procedure in this respect and his leading conceptions of Evolution, in which the more complex and affluent is ever made to appear to be but the simplest and poorest in ampler development; substantially and genetically the same, only moulded under advancing conditions. This scientific idea he seems so filled and possessed with, that it utterly dominates his thought and determines its character. It is thus that he attempts to apply the laws and conceptions, which are found to be a more or less adequate rendering of those modes of existence which suggested them, as no less true, in all their rigidity and limitation, to other modes. Instead of construing high and low alike by the great containing thought which is partially manifested in each, he seizes upon the fragmentary and limited expression which the simplest and humblest can yield, and would reduce all else to varieties and modifications of that. Thought is vital, and lends itself to every grade and condition. But to take it in the stiff mould and limitation of one condition, especially the less elevated, and thrust that upon all others, as their type and spirit, is to do violence to nature in her infinite modulations. That

* 'Spectator,' June 21, 1873, p. 798.

the law of any one province has its analogy in others is not to be doubted; but the formula obtained by study of the one will not, even in the most abstract terms, fit the requirements of the other. The great central truth that underlies and animates all, when we attain to it, can alone, with its living and elastic capabilities, do that.

Nor is it a quite satisfactory answer to say that, inasmuch as the higher provinces embrace the elements of the lower, the principles regulative here must, so far as these same factors go, rule there also. This might be true if we really knew the principle. But by investigation of limited spheres we can obtain only proximate expressions of the principle—expressions which, in greater spheres, the presence of the higher constituents must temper and modify. It would be a rash and unwise obtrusion of conceptions appropriate to one sphere into another and superior, were we to conclude that the formula for evil and injury, so far as material and inanimate things are concerned, must also be the law of evil and detriment to man, on the ground that material existence and animal life enter into his composition. For what is most essential, what chiefly makes him man, introduces new elements into the problem, and the conditions of what is most characteristic must not only modify, but may override, those of what is accidental, temporary, or subordinate. Amputation would be fatal to a limb, but might be salutary, or even necessary, to the life of the body as a whole. The higher considerations must therefore not only be taken into account, but must prevail. The physically good may be the morally and spiritually bad, and that which is right for the body may be wrong for the soul. It would be nearer the truth to reverse the order of consideration, to read the lower in the light of the higher, and seek the law for all in that which answers to the supreme and complete, which might then be untrue or inappropriate only in proving, as regards some of its bearings, simply non-effective in more limited cases, where they could find no application. As Professor Froeschhammer says of Darwinism:—'Even supposing that man really had his origin in this universal natural process, he must not be regarded as the mere product of eternal matter and force, but as the realisation and revelation of the original idea of humanity, which is the determining principle for which all external things served only as means. Instead of making man the product of the animal world, it is far more likely that the animal world is evolved from the idea of humanity.'

A literal and unidealistic extension of no-

tions beyond their native province is unphilosophical and perilous to truth. It can be pursued only in disregard of the new facts—the differentia of the new province; and the synthesis must be untrue because the analysis is incomplete.

'The spirit of the woods and hills,
Of all of life, of now, of yore,
Its function yet in me fulfils;
I am them all—and something more.'

To sum up, then, we say Mr. Spencer seems wonderfully absolute in spirit for one who would disown such a principle. His method, phenomenalist as he is, is subjective, *a priori* though without metaphysical basis, deductive; and while he overwhelms us with examples from actual life, he approaches the concrete only in illustration after he has developed his conclusions from the most general and abstract principles. It is well, no doubt, that in corroboration of his results he should liberally adduce arguments drawn from his reading of fact and history; but coming in the wake, instead of in advance, of the propositions they are summoned to support, it is sometimes difficult to shake off the suspicion that these facts may have been selected and their significance explained in the light of a foregone conclusion. That there is much that calls for admiration in the subtlety of his analysis and the boldness of his unflinching application of results, as well as that there are valuable and weighty truths in his teaching, though sometimes it may be partial and exaggerated, we should be the last to call in question. But the very keenness and ingenuity of his dialectic—though sometimes as narrow and partial as it is sharp and clever—is apt to captivate and mislead himself, no less than to enslave his readers or to startle them into antagonism. His tone and attitude are too much those of the *doctrinaire*; and in the application of a high abstract principle he sometimes seems to ignore or forget patent facts or obvious enough considerations. A certain flexibility of mind and openness to receive impressions is no less important in the student of science than a genius for divining the underlying principles by which facts are connected and explained, and it is in that direction Mr. Spencer's deficiency appears to lie. He seems first to seize his principles and then seek out his facts; and there is in such a method a danger that the theoretic principle may act the part of a loadstone among the facts, and attract those of them only which have affinity for it, and that whatever will not range itself round such a centre may be denied to be fact, and denied on that account rather than for any independent evidence.

That Law reigns in the social sphere as truly and completely as in the mechanical or chemical, is a prerequisite admission to his subject: otherwise there could be no social science. But his notion of Law is too much formed on the material and physical type, and his scientific conceptions are applied to living and moral beings with the same directness and untempered rigidity as to stellar masses or chemical atoms, without due regard to the variety, subtlety, and complexity of the conditions,—of which he is nevertheless so careful to remind all would-be expediency philosophers, in urging the need there is for the study of Sociology. Whether in mere disregard of the involved and recondite character of the data he has to deal with, or—can it be?—in the belief that they are so involved and recondite that it is hopeless to look for light and direction from their study till they are first illuminated, he ascends to what he considers First Principles—which the data can hardly be said to have suggested—and thence confers on them an order and significance they do not possess. Retiring into the region of the abstract, he becomes so powerfully and exclusively possessed by a scientific conception, once firmly apprehended, as to overlook considerations which might not fail to strike a mind of far inferior grasp, and which, while not invalidating the conclusion otherwise arrived at, might nevertheless point to a rectified form of the truth it but imperfectly expresses.

ART. II.—*Among the Prophets.*

In spite of the tendency of modern progress to sweep away all traces of ancient usage, many customs, superstitions, and festivals still exist among the Christian nations of Europe, which, though little understood by those who practise and celebrate them, are really the perpetuation of some pagan rites or observances, the origin of which is lost in the remotest antiquity. But of all things which withstand the ravages of time, and resist the inroads of modern civilisation, the most imperishable are those mystic doctrines and occult sciences which pretend to lift the veil from the secrets of futurity, or to reveal to mortal eyes the unknown and invisible world. Science may profess to fix the limits of the knowable; it may demolish the fabric of superstition with the irresistible artillery of truth; the reason may be convinced, and man may smile scornfully

at the credulity of his forefathers, and Pharisaically rejoice that he himself is free from such folly; but after all the void remains unfilled, the spirit still yearns to know what is beyond the limit of material perception, speculation again asserts itself, and sooner or later superstition, perhaps insensibly, resumes its sway. Thus it is that the old mystic ideas never really die out, but constantly reappear, often in a modern and commonplace dress, often identifying themselves with the very results of that science which would exterminate them, yet never breaking the continuity of the chain that links them with the past. The history of Freemasonry, for instance, may be traced to a comparatively modern European origin; its ritual and legends may be shown to be mere *pièces de manufacture*; the stories of its existence among remote tribes, and of its boasted antiquity, may be proved to be entirely without foundation; but after all this merciless analysis there is a residuum, an unknown quantity connecting it, however slightly, with older mysteries, with Alchemists, Rosicrucians, Templars, Gnostics, and then by an easily traceable genealogy with the Eleusinian and Egyptian mysteries themselves. But if these remarks are true of Europe, where progress and change appear to be the universal law; with how much more force do they apply to the East, where centuries do not alter so much as the fashion of a head-dress or the shape of a water-jar? There we meet with habits and institutions which can be proved to demonstration to have prevailed unaltered in a single particular from a period earlier than that of which history takes cognizance.

We would select from the innumerable examples which the East affords one instance of an institution which exists at the present day in the Moslem world, and which has preserved intact the traditions and practices of a remote antiquity. We allude to the institution of the Dervish orders in Islam, which undoubtedly represent the 'Schools of the Prophets' familiar to all readers of the Old Testament; for both are ascetic religious orders, both workers of miracles, both holding public *séances*, with the object of exciting religious enthusiasm by music, dance, and song; and both under the influence of the ecstasy thus attained, uttering sentiments and pouring forth poetry which claim to be inspired. It may be objected that there is no comparison between the grand denunciation of the inspired Jewish Prophets and the quietist, speculative poetry of the Persian Dervishes. There is an obvious reason for the distinction. The Jews were a fierce, warlike people, involved in

one continual struggle to maintain their nationality and independence. Their country was the border-land between east and west, the real *Derb el Ghazawât* (a 'road of raids'), the battle-field of nations striving for the empire of the world. Judæa was never for a moment secure, for if enemies from without ceased to vex the land, luxury and carelessness threatened it from within; and nothing could save the Jewish nation but to maintain inviolate that Constitution which they had received at the hands of God, and the key-stone of which was the name of Jehovah. With the establishment of the monarchy, and the corruption of the primitive simplicity, the safeguards of the national prosperity were weakened or destroyed. What wonder, then, that the Prophet poured forth passionate verses, and denounced the wrath of God against the offending people? With the comparatively modern Dervishes of Persia at the establishment of Islam the case was different. Persia's grandeur was a thing of the past; its geographical position removed it from the great struggles and revolutions that were elsewhere convulsing society; its national religion was suppressed if not destroyed; an alien faith and an alien people held indisputable sway. There was no scope for political agitation, for with the conquerors active religion and active politics were one and the same thing. The only direction, therefore, left for national enthusiasm was to seek to reconcile the new state of things with the old. The factions between the partizans of Ali and Omar, which divided Islam at the very outset of its career, offered an easy point of departure, and the result was the birth of a system, half speculative philosophy and half religious dogma, which presented the old Persian ideas under the garb of the new Arabian creed. Secret orders were formed to perpetuate and expound these tenets, and from this amalgamation of Persian theory and Semitic practice there arose a new race of prophets, the Dervishes. Unlike their Jewish predecessors, however, they dared not appeal to the national feelings, but were forced to content themselves with appealing to the imagination.

The poetry of the Dervishes was therefore of necessity wanting in vehemence and grandeur, but what it lacks in this respect it makes up for in refined and lofty conceptions and deep emotions. The Jewish prophets sought to attain prophetic faculty by fasting and other ascetic performances; and, like the Delphic priestess, uttered their oracles when under the influence of frenzied inspiration. The Dervishes employ the same means to attain to the ecstatic state;

some by agitation of the body, others by silent contemplation and the gentle influences of soft and calming music. Of these two classes, the Rifâî Dervishes are the typical representatives of the first; the Mevlevî of the second. European travellers have bestowed upon them the uneuphonious titles of 'Howling Dervishes' and 'Dancing Dervishes' respectively.

The public act of worship, whether performed by the Rifâîs or the Mevlevîs, is called *zîkr*, a word which in Arabic means both 'mention' and 'remembrance,' *scilicet*, of the name of God, by the utterance of which the effect is supposed to be produced. A Turkish writer has well defined the word *zîkr* as 'the union of the heart and tongue in invoking the name of the Deity.' We need not point out the profound reverence with which the Holy Name is regarded by the Jews, nor the miraculous powers attributed by them to the knowledge or utterance of it, as another point of resemblance between the two systems.

The *zîkr*, as practised by the Rifâîs, commences by the Dervishes present forming a kind of procession, and respectfully saluting the sheikh or chief of the order, as well as the tablet on which is inscribed the name of the founder, after which they take their seats in a circle and chant the Tekbîr (*i.e.*, the words *Allâhu akbar*), and the Fâtiha, or opening chapter of the Corân. The sheikh then repeats many times in succession the formula, *la ilâha ill' Allâh*, 'there is no god but God;' and the rest of the performers respond by incessantly crying 'Allâh!' rocking themselves backwards and forwards as they pronounce the word.

Next a hymn in praise of the Prophet is sung by an officer who stands to the right of the sheikh; the Dervishes stand up; their motions become more violent, and the words *ya Allah, ya hû*, are repeated with more vehemence than before. As they become more excited, one of the number steps into the middle of the circle, leading their movements to the cadence of a kind of anthem, called an *ilâhî*, which is chanted the while. The religious fun now grows fast and furious, the performers take off their turbans, and, still keeping in a circle, take close order, press their arms and shoulders together, and in that position make the circuit of the hall. All this time they continue their howlings, spring altogether from the ground, rock themselves backwards and forwards till their long hair sweeps the floor behind and before them, and, in fine, behave as we might expect a party of Colney Hatch incurables to do if addressed when drunk by a sensational preacher. But as there is a limit to human

endurance even under the intoxication of religious excitement, the climax is soon reached; a certain number reach the ecstatic, or rather epileptic state, and the *zîkr* is complete. The effect of these exhibitions is very contagious, and spectators are often so violently affected as to be drawn by an irresistible impulse to take part in them.

It is during the last stage of violent, maniacal excitement, that the feats of glass and fire and snake-eating, cutting the body with knives, &c., in which some orders indulge, are performed. The dance above described is called the *deur*, or 'circle.'

The Mevlevîyeh, as becomes a contemplative sect, are much more calm and dignified in their mode of conducting the *zîkr*: indeed, in spite of the somewhat ludicrous spectacle of a number of grave and reverend gentlemen in long petticoats endeavouring to emulate the motions of a teetotum, their performance is not without a certain impressive, devotional gravity. This dance is called *Semâ*, and the hall in which it takes place the *Semâ Khâneh*. They commence by seating themselves on sheep-skins placed at equal distances on the floor, and remain for about half an hour in an attitude of profound meditation. Then the sheikh chants a hymn in praise of the Deity, and the whole assembly, which seldom consists of more than twelve or thirteen individuals, follows suit with the *Fâtiha*. Next comes a 'bidding prayer,' in which the saints and worthies of El Islam in general, and of their order in particular, are commemorated, and a blessing is invoked upon 'our lord the Sultan,' and the other estates of the realm, concluding with a prayer for all sorts and conditions of Muslims. It is, in fact, a Mohammedan counterpart of the 'bidding prayer' which prefaces the university sermons at Oxford and Cambridge. Now comes the *Semâ* itself. Marching in single file, with folded arms, they range themselves on the left of the superior, and then one after another making a profound obeisance to that officer and to the tablet containing the name of 'Hazrati Mevlâna,' the founder, they begin to spin round the hall with closed eyes, head slightly inclined, and arms spread wide apart, the right palm turned upwards and the left downwards.

Towards the end of the *Semâ* the sheikh himself takes part in it, and when it is over he dismisses the assembly with another 'bidding prayer,' and another repetition of the *Fâtiha*. During the whole of the entertainment the orchestra, consisting of fifes (*nai*) and small drums, continues to play a monotonous and plaintive air.

That the assemblies of the Jewish pro-

phets were of a similar character,—exhibitions of sacred songs, music, dancing, and religious enthusiasm, calculated to produce ecstatic excitement in both performer and spectator,—we know from the Bible itself. When Samûel anoints Saul, we find him saying:—

'After that thou shalt come to the hill of God, where is the garrison of the Philistines: and it shall come to pass, when thou art come thither to the city, that thou shalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp, before them; and they shall prophesy: and the spirit of the Lord will come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be turned into another man.*'

And later on:—

'And Saul sent messengers to take David: and when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them, the Spirit of God was upon the messengers of Saul, and they also prophesied. And when it was told Saul, he sent other messengers, and they prophesied likewise. And Saul sent messengers again the third time, and they prophesied also. Then went he also to Ramah: . . . and the Spirit of God was upon him also, and he went on, and prophesied, until he came to Naioth in Ramah. And he stripped off his clothes also, and prophesied before Samuel in like manner, and lay down naked all that day and all that night. Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?†'

The parallel between this description and the account above given of a Dervishes' *Zîkr* is too obvious to need comment. Of course I do not mean to assert that such men as Samuel and Elijah merely nurtured or organised societies for the development of a system of religion founded upon emotional excitement alone. The Bible history no doubt conveys the distinct impression that they were religious reformers acting under direct Divine inspiration, and their connection with the schools of the prophets is independent of their higher mission. The sacred narrative, however, at the same time more than hints that these schools were to a certain extent the secular means or organisation through which the prophets carried out their mission, and without derogating from the sanctity of the prophetic office or the grandeur of the character of individual prophets, we may with advantage inquire into the nature of this secular organisation. In the absence of any express account, then, of the 'schools of the prophets' in Holy Writ, we have endeavoured to contribute something towards the study of them, by describing an analogous organisation

* 1 Sam. x. 5, 6.

† 1 Sam. xix. 20-24.

existing in the East at the present day. The key-note to the system of Dervish philosophy is that the human soul is an emanation from God, and that it is always seeking and yearning to rejoin the source from which it sprung. Ecstasy is the means by which a nearer intercourse is attained, total absorption in the Deity the ultimate object to be desired.

But perhaps the best way of elucidating these mystic doctrines is to let the poets, their legitimate exponents, tell their own tale. It is always under this allegorical poetical veil that the mysteries of the sect are presented to the non-initiated.

Mevlavi Rûmî, the founder of the Mevlavi order, is the author of a poem called the 'Mesnavi,' in six long books, in which the entire system is expounded. Like most oriental works, the principal ideas in the volume are few, but they are repeated over and over again in every possible combination, and illustrated by innumerable tales, legends, and conceits. A complete analysis of the Mesnavi would require a large volume by itself, but the translation of a few of the opening pages will suffice to give a notion of the contents and of the style in which the dogmas are inculcated by precept and parable, by alternations from 'grave to gay, from lively to severe.'

As the *semâ*, a mystic dance which is the distinguishing feature in a Mevlavîyeh *zîkr*, commences with the plaintive music of the *nai* or reed-pipe, so the Mesnavi opens with the Song of the Reed—a description of the power of music. In the following version we have considerably abridged the original, neglecting the frequent repetitions and digressions, but we have not ventured to alter a single expression or to introduce a new idea.

THE SONG OF THE REED.

List to the reed that now with gentle strains
Of separation from its home complains.

Down where the waving rushes grow,
I murmured with the passing blast;
And ever in my notes of woe
There live the echoes of the past.

My breast is pierced with sorrow's dart,
That I my piercing wail may raise;
Ah me! the lone and widowed heart
Must ever weep for bygone days.

My voice is heard in every throng,
Where mourners weep and guests rejoice;
And men interpret still my song
In concert with their passion's voice.

Though plainly cometh forth my wail,
'Tis never bared to mortal ken;
As soul from body hath no veil,
Yet is the soul unseen of men.

Not simple airs my lips expire,
But blasts that carry death or life;
That blow with love's tempestuous fire.
That rage with love's tempestuous strife.

I soothe the absent lover's pain,
The jealous suitor's breast I move;
At once the antidote and bane,
I favour and I conquer love.

So sings the reed, but its mysterious song
No ear attuned to harmony devours;
Music that doth not to the age belong,
Dies out symphonious with the dying hours.
Tastes are proportioned to the natural powers;
None but the fishes revel in the stream,
And none take pleasure in these words of ours
Whose hearts are strangers to the heavenly beam.

Peace! it were better we should seek another theme.

Take back this goblet, boy,—thy boasted wine
Sparkles less brightly than our sparkling wit;

Nay! we succumb not to the drink divine,
'Tis we that steal away the sense of it.
'We live and die,' ye say. It were more fit
To say that we ourselves are life and death;
Here is the very rock on which ye split—
Matter and spirit. But I waste my breath,
The ears of deaf men hear not what the preacher saith.

Wherefore blind captives will ye hug your chain,
And bless the net that doth your limbs enfold?

Why will ye live the slaves of loss and gain,
And barter precious liberty for gold?
What though your water-jar the ocean hold?
'Tis but the scanty pittance of a day,
Compared with long eternity. Behold,
Fast as ye fill, the waters waste away,
Seek then the fount of Love, for Love flows on for aye.

Even the lowly earth hath dared to rise,
For that in Love she taketh such delight,
And sits enthroned above the darkling skies,
Gazing for ever on His rising light.
Moses, erewhile, fell fainting * at the sight
Of that fierce flame descended from above,
Which thrilled the very mountains with affright,
And made grey Sinai's firm foundations move—
'Twas but a scintillation from the fire of Love.

How shall I hope to make my meaning plain,
Who sing thus faintly as the rushes moan?
Ah, me! the sweetest singer sings in vain
Unless the language of his song be known.
The garden's beauty has for ever flown,
No perfumed odours float upon the air,
But the sad nightingale † who sits alone,
Upon the rose-tree singeth still, how fair
The tender blossoms and the sweet young flow'rets were.

* Corán, vii, 139. 'But when his Lord appeared with glory in the mount, He reduced it to dust. And Moses fell down fainting.'

† The bulbul in Eastern poetry is always fabled to be in love with the rose, and its plaintive

Nature's great secret let me now rehearse—

Long have I pondered o'er the wondrous tale,
How Love immortal fills the universe,
Tarrying till mortals shall His presence hail ;
But man, alas ! hath interposed a veil,
And Love behind the lover's self doth hide.
Shall Love's great kindness prove of no avail ?
When will ye cast the veil of sense aside,
Content, in finding Love, to lose all else be-
side ?

Love's radiance shineth round about our heads
As sportive sunbeams on the waters play ;
Alas, we revel in the light He sheds,
Without reflecting back a single ray.
The human soul, so reverend preachers say,
Is as a mirror to reflect God's grace.
Keep then its surface bright while yet ye may,
For in a mirror with a dusty face
The brightest object leaveth not the faintest
trace.

STORY OF THE KING AND THE MAIDEN.

Facts may perchance more eloquently speak,
When love by language cannot be defined,
When verses fail, and words are all too weak ;
Wherefore give ear with an attentive mind.
A mighty monarch (so the tale I find
In ancient writings), on a summer day,
Rode forth to chase the nimble-footed hind :
But in a forest where he chanced to stray,
Love's treacherous toils were spread, and he
became the prey.

A lovely maiden by a cottage door
With sudden passion fired his amorous
breast ;
The girl was coy, but then her sire was poor,
And she ambitious : need I tell the rest,
How both soon yielded to the king's request ?
But human pleasures so uncertain are,
Soon that fair maid lay sick and sore distressed.
So doth one oft seek water from afar,
And having found it, straightway break his
water-jar.

The chief physicians of the country round
Came to the court to exercise their skill ;
But those whose practice was the most re-
nowned,
In this case, strange to say, succeeded ill ;
For simple, drench, electuary, and pill,
Served but to heighten the fair maid's dis-
ease :
And inasmuch as boastful man's 'I will'
Availeth nought without 'if Allah please,'
The learned doctors failed to give the damsel
ease.

When his beloved could get no relief,
The king did straightway to the mosque re-
pair,
To make atonement, and pour out his grief
To Him who only could remove his care ;
And as he lay upon the pavement there,
With sighs and weeping his appeal he urged,
When on Love's waters he had cast his prayer,
That sea divine with sympathy upsurged,
And from its troubled waves a halcyon form
emerged.

note is supposed to be a lamentation for unre-
quited passion.

An ancient man with garments snowy white
Appeared before his fascinated eyes,
And said : 'Thou hast found favour in the
sight
Of Allah, wherefore I command thee rise
And wait the issue.' In intense surprise,
The royal suppliant to his feet upstarted.
He had lain down to sleep in woful guise,
Slave of a slave girl, wan and broken-
hearted,
He rose a king, and to his home departed.

Next morn a stranger to the palace came,
An ancient man, but dignified in mien ;
His face—his snowy garb the very same
Which erst the king had in his vision seen.
But little tarrying made the king, I ween,
To ask his errand ; but, obeisance made,
He led the way, and passed behind the screen
Into the chamber where the beauteous maid
Like a bruised lily on her bed of pain was
laid.

A hasty glance that strange physician threw
Upon the maid, and speedily divined
The secret source of all her ills, and knew
That hers was but a sickness of the mind,
A broken heart, that only love could bind.
No words he spake, but motioned with his
head,
That all should go forth, leaving him behind.
Then sat him down beside the maiden's bed,
And to the theme of love the conversation led.

Gently he took her hand within his own,
And bade her tell the sorrows of her heart ;
But she, persisting there was nought to own,
Parried his questions with a woman's art,
Nor of her history would one word impart.
Then spake he to her of her native land,
Yet did no teardrop at the mention start,
Till at the last, while yet he held her hand,
He whispered in her ear the name of Samar-
cand.

Scarce had he uttered that beloved name
Ere the weak pulse which in his hand he held
Throbbled with quick beats, her colour went and
came,
While to her lustrous eyes the teardrops
welled,
And her fair bosom with emotion swelled.
'Oh! Samarcand,' she cried, and wept full
sore,
For now the secret could not be withheld,
'Shall I behold thy Ghâtifar* no more,
Where my brave goldsmith dwelt in happy
times of yore ?'

Bidding her dry her tears, the sage withdrew,
And with these strange unwelcome tidings
fraught,
Rejoined the king, who when the facts he knew
Held his own bosom's happiness as naught
Compared with hers he loved, nor did a thought
Of jealous meanness rankle in his breast ;
But for a trusty messenger he sought,
And charged him straightway to depart in
quest
Of him whose absence robbed that fair young
maid of rest.

* Name of a certain quarter in Samarcand.

The simple goldsmith, easily deceived
By the fair promises that envoy made,
Set out upon his journey, and believed
The treacherous voice within his breast which
said.

'Now shalt thou join thine own beloved maid,
Now doth thy sleeping luck at length awake!'
Alas! he knew not he had been betrayed,
That 'twas Azráél's* gloomy self that spake,
And urged him on this fatal step with joy to
take.

With her young lover once more at her side,
The girl recovered, and the longed-for day
That should transform her to a happy bride
Was drawing nigh; when to their great dis-
may

The youth in turn upon a sick bed lay;
His manly beauty and the roseate hue
Of health and freshness faded all away;
And she who erst had panted for the view,
Shuddered to look on him, so weak and wan
he grew.

A deadly poison had wrought all this ill,
By that physician secretly prepared;
For well he knew in his mysterious skill
That the fair maid had been by beauty snared,
And for the youth without it nothing cared.
Poor lad! his fair face brought him all this
pain!
But thus with many another has it fared,
The peacock's plumage proves the creature's
bane,
And for his pomp and power is many a mon-
arch slain.

She who for love of him had well nigh died,
Unmoved at last beheld him pass away;
'To-day Death marks me for its own,' he cried,
'To-morrow ye in turn shall be its prey!
Shadows move on, but each returning day
Upon their former places are they found.
Life is a rock, and all we do or say
Is echoed back; for rocks re-echo sound,
And Nature ever moves in one unvarying
round.'

Herein behold a wondrous mystery:
The simple soul hath wasted all her love
On earthly things that fade away and die,
Nor heedeth aught of better things above,
Till Reason smites the idol down to prove
How foul may be the thing for which she
prays.
Ye know not how the Immortal Councils move,
And yet ye say this is no just God's ways;
He heals the maid, 'tis true, but her beloved
He slays.

So when that ancient Prophet Khizr† slew
A youth, though unprovoked by word or deed,
Not even Moses, Heaven's own spokesman,‡
knew
That heaven's justice caused the lad to bleed.
All ye who move in one small sphere, take heed
That ye judge not of things beyond your ken,
As did the Bagdad parrot—you may read
The tale again, for these are moments when
Even a parrot, as oft they do, may preach to
men.

THE PARROT OF BAGDAD.

In far-famed Bagdad, in a druggist's shop,
There lived a parrot, such a clever bird,
That passengers in the bazaar would stop
To hear him; he could utter every word
Of the 'First Chapter'; I have even heard
That the Imam was seriously vexed
Because the parrot's reading was preferred
To his own services, on this pretext,
That Polly threw so much more feeling in
the text.

One day a cat intent upon a mouse
Caused the poor parrot a tremendous fright,
By dashing unawares into the house;
Extremely disconcerted at the sight,
Our parrot spreads his wings, and taking flight
Upwards towards the ceiling, straight pro-
poses
Aloft and out of danger to alight
Upon a shelf, where stood some oil of roses,
Destined for Beys' and Pashas' plutocratic
noses.

He gained the shelf, but in his haste, alas!
Upset the bottles with a dreadful crash;
His master turned and saw the gilded glass
With all its precious contents gone to smash;
And being a man by nature rather rash,
And apt to be by quick impulses led,
He seized his pipe-stem, made a sudden dash.
At the offender, struck him on the head,
And stretched him on the ground, to all ap-
pearance dead.

He was not killed, but from that very day
A change came over the unlucky brute.
His crest and topmost feathers fell away,
Leaving him bald as the proverbial coot;
But, worse than that, he had become quite
mute.
That pious language for which heretofore
The folks had held him in such high repute—
His quips and jokes were silenced, and no
more
Attracted crowds of buyers round the drug-
gist's door.

Alike in vain the wretched druggist tries
To make him speak, by foul means and by fair;
Even a mirror held before his eyes
Elicits nothing but a vacant stare.
When all else failed, the druggist took to
prayer,
And then to cursing; but it did no good,
For Heaven refused to meddle in the affair.
'Tis strange that men should act as though
they could
Cajole or frighten Heaven into a yielding
mood.

At length, when he had given the matter up,
There came an old man in a dervish' cloak,
With head as bare as any china cup,
Whereon the bird, who always liked a joke,
Chuckled aloud, his sulkiness broke
For the first time since the untoward event,
And thus in sympathising accents spoke—
Though with an air of ill-disguised content—
'Halloo, old boy! have you upset your
master's scent?'

He carried his analogy too far—
And so do more than half the world beside:
They say that such things are not, or they are,
And on experience alone decide.

* The angel of death.

† Elias, see Corán, chap. v.

‡ Moses is called *Kelím Allah*, God's spokes-
man.

Thus the immortal Abdals who preside
Over the spheres can be perceived of few,
Yet their existence cannot be denied;
And of two things submitted to their view,
Men still receive the false one and reject the true.

Two insects on the selfsame blossom thrive,
Equal in form and hue and strength of wing;
Yet this one brings home honey to the hive,
While that one carries nothing but a sting.
So from one bank two beds of rushes spring,
Drawing their moisture from the selfsame rill;
Yet as the months the alternate seasons bring,
The stalks of one kind will with sugar fill,
The other kind will be but hollow rushes still.

Soil, whether rich or poor, is one to see;
Two men may be alike in outward show;
Yet one an angel and a friend may be,
And one a devil and a mortal foe.
Two streams may in the selfsame valley flow,
With equal clearness may their waters run;
But he who tastes of them alone may know
Which is the sweet and which the bitter one;
For nought is what it seems of all things
'neath the sun.

A prophet's miracles when brought to test
Will conquer the magician's vain pretence;
And yet alike the claims of either rest
On controvening our experience,
And foiling our imperfect human sense.
Behold, when Israel's freedom is at stake,
Moses throws down his rod in their defence;
Their rods, too, Pharaoh's skilled magicians
take,
Nor is the difference seen till his becomes a snake.

See how the tricky ape will imitate
Each human being he may chance to see,
And fancy, in his self-conceited pate,
'I do this action quite as well as he.'
Thus does the sinner oftentimes bend the knee,
And in the mosque prefer his sad complaint,
Till in his own eyes he appears to be
No whit less pious than the humble saint—
Ay, and the world believes his sanctimonious feint.

You call him saint, and he is well content
To be a hardened sinner all the same;
But call him sinner, he will straight resent
The insult, and repudiate the name,
As though 'twere in the word that lay the shame,
And not in him to whom the name applies.
The senseless pitcher should not bear the blame,
When in the well itself the foulness lies.
But man still seeks to cheat his own and others' eyes.

I saw a man who laid him down to sleep
Beside a fire one cold and wintry night,
When lo! a burning cinder chanced to leap
Out of the hearth, and on his lips alight;
Whereat he started up in sudden fright,
And spat it out, and roared aloud with pain.
Without perceiving them, that luckless wight,
Had swallowed cinders o'er and o'er again,
But the first one that burnt him made its presence plain.

To save the body from what harms or kills
Wise Providence this sense of pain employs;
So too the spirit's various griefs and ills
May prove at last a stepping-stone to joys.
In earthly pain this hope the sufferer buoys,
That skilful leeches make the body whole;
But when some overpowering grief destroys
Our peace, we fly to Him who heals the soul—
Who holds both life and death in His supreme control.

Physicians mend whate'er has gone amiss,
To give sick men relief from present woe
He overturns the crumbling edifice,
That he may build it up again—as though
A man his dwelling-place might overthrow,
And find a treasure where the cottage stood,
With which to build a palace;—even so
To cleanse the river-bed you dam the flood—
To heal the wound, you pare the flesh that taints the blood.

But how shall we define the infinite?
How shall we fix each fresh and varying phase
That flits for aye across our baffled sight,
And makes us faint and giddy as we gaze?
Yet, with his call, the fowler oft essays
To bring the errant hawk within his reach;
So when men wander in life's devious ways,
The dervish, too, may utter human speech,
And in mere mortal words immortal truths may teach.

Ye who would search into the truth, beware
Of false instructors, who assume the name
Of dervish, and the woollen garment wear
Only to hide their inward sin and shame.
Like false Museilima,* who dared to claim
The honours due to Ahmed's† self alone;
Till in God's time the retribution came.
Good wine and bad are by their perfume known,
And only in results are truth and falsehood shown.

THE JEWISH VIZIER.

Once on a time there lived a king—a Jew,
Who held so firmly by the ancient law,
That nought could make him recognise the new;
In Moses and in Jesus he but saw
Rivals—and knew not that these planets draw
Their borrowed light from God's all glorious sun.
He, in whose eyesight there should be a flaw,
Seeth two objects where there is but one;
Alas, that perfect senses are vouchsafed to none.

The monarch's vizier, a soft-spoken man,
Thus gave him counsel: 'Sire, the common-
weal
Profiteth nothing by thy present plan.
Putting the Christians down by fire and steel
But makes the misbelieving dogs conceal
Their strange beliefs, while holding to them still.
I have a deeper project to reveal,

* A rival of Mohammed in pretensions to prophecy.
† Mohammed.

Whereby these Christians shall each other
kill,
And on the impious brood the king shall h
his will.

'I will stand up before thy majesty,
And plead in this oppressed folks defence ;
Whereat thou shalt, in seeming choler be,
As who would punish me for such offence.
But lest they gauge the depths of our pretence,
Nor give us credence, do not hold thy hand,
But maim and torture me with violence,
And on my forehead set a shameful brand,
And drive me forth with ignominy from the
land.'

The king agreed, and drove the vizier forth,
As one in tribulation and disgrace.
The Christians, deeming him a man of worth,
A martyr to his kindness for their race,
Gave him a shelter, and the foremost place
In their assemblies ; nay, his advent there
Seemed like an earnest of fresh heavenly
grace ;
Alas ! they knew not that his words so fair
Would prove nought else but a delusion and
a snare.

O God, our pathway is with snares beset,
And we, borne earthward by our sensual
greed,
Like birds are tangled in the fowler's net.
Again our spirits by Thy hand are freed,
Again lured into the toils we speed ;
We catch the mice that rob our threshing-
floor
With traps and springes, but we take no heed
Though each day pilfers from our heavenly
store,
And opportunities are lost for evermore.

The steel once smitten, many a brilliant spark
Emits, and these the willing heart receives ;
When lo ! the thief approaches in the dark
And puts the sparks out one by one, and
leaves
The heart all unilluminated. But the thieves
Are powerless, Lord ! if only Thou art nigh,
If Thou art with us, Lord, no man deceives ;
And though a thousand in our pathway lie,
Not one can e'er escape the Heaven-directed
eye.

Thy hand of power doth every night set free
Unnumbered souls from their corporeal
snares ;
And prisoners taste the sweets of liberty,
And emperors shake off their imperial cares.
Such is the semblance which the dervish wears,
'Asleep, yet waking,'* to the eyes of men.
Each natural law a false construction bears,
The hand that writes it is unseen, and then
The world ascribes the action to the moving
pen.

When deepest slumber doth the sense unfold,
Into the desert of the Infinite
Men's spirits wander free and uncontrolled ;
But when the Morning, armed for the fight
With golden buckler and with sword of light,
Drives off his dusky foeman Night, the herd
Of souls return to their accustomed site :
Then is the falconer's shrill whistle heard,
And to his master's hand returns the errant
bird.

* Corán, xviii. 17.

When morning's beams illumine all the earth,
And the bright eaglet plumes his radiant
wings,
Then, like the angel who presides at birth,*
'He, who divideth light from darkness,'†
brings
The spirits back from their late wanderings.
But though He loose their bridles, He doth
keep
The spirits tethered by mysterious strings
Each to its body.—Such a mystery deep
Lies in the thought of 'Death and his twin-
brother, Sleep.'

Thus doth He keep them free from every harm ;
Like the 'Companions of the Cave'‡ they
lie—
Or like the ark of Noah, serene and calm,
While life's fierce tempests pass unheeded by.
Ah ! if no 'seal were set upon thine eye
And on thine ear,§ thou mightest surely
learn
That watchful Providence is ever nigh ;
Did He not make their safety His concern,
Ne'er would the Seven Sleepers to the world
return.

It is not good to be too wide awake ;
Hear what poor Laila to the Prince replies.
'Is it,' he asks in wonder, 'for thy sake
Majnún distracted to the desert flies ?'
'Ah,' said the maid, 'thou hast not Majnún's
eyes.'
Nor is it good to trust too much in dreams,
For phantoms oft before the sleeper rise :
He clasps a form that like an angel seems,
And wakes to curse the fiends with which the
dreamland teems.

The bird is flying in the heaven above,
Its shadow flitteth on the earth beneath,
Like to the living substance doth it move,
Yet none but fools would ever waste their
breath
In hunting shadows, emptying out the sheath
That holds the precious arrows of their life,
Till they themselves shall fall a prey to death.
With such delusions is existence rife,
And he who hunts them findeth nought but
bitter strife.

But to return to him of whom I spoke,
Ere many days that crafty-souled vizier
Had won the hearts of all that simple folk
By pious tricks and practices austere.
For his discourse was always good to hear,
And though the few might chance perceive
the cheat,
Yet to the many it did not appear ;
So, without tasting it, the peasant eats
A spice of garlic in the daintiest dish of
sweets.

Whate'er a man is, will his converse be ;
Can good proceed out of a bad man's head ?
Or living words be poured forth warm and free
From lips that long since have been cold and
dead ?
By specious speeches is mankind misled,
Although their wickedness may be unseen,
They work sure ruin—'tis as Ali said,
'A dunghill may be covered o'er with green,
But no one who shall sit thereon may still be
clean.'

* Israfil.

† Corán, vi. 96.

‡ The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. Corán.

§ Ibid. ii.

Twelve elders o'er the Christian counsels ruled,
Twelve elders pious, reverend, and gray;
And these the vizier had so well befooled,
That even his slightest hint they would obey.
Taking them severally aside one day,
He said, 'I would that thou alone shouldst teach

Here in my stead when I am taken away;
Take then my last instructions what to preach :'

So saying, he gave a sealed paper unto each.

THE CONTENTS OF THE TWELVE PAPERS.

1. *Christians shall fast with all austerity.*
2. *Fasting availeth not : but charity.*
3. *Works are as nought, but faith is all in all.*
4. *Faith without works shall make a man to fall.*
5. *God biddeth every man to do his will,
But leaveth each one a free agent still.*
6. *Man hath no free-will of his own to use,
But only doeth that which God may choose.*
7. *Whoso extinguisheth the candle's light,
Leaveth his soul in spiritual night.**
8. *He who puts out the earthly candle's ray,
God's heavenly light shall be with him
always.*
9. *Young men and maids, if ye would fain
do well,
In all things seek your elders' sage counsel.*
10. *To others' judgment ye shall not submit,
Or why hath God endowed a man with wit?*
11. *God is but one, although of Persons three.*
12. *Three Gods in one ! this thing can never
be.*

How long will people thus misunderstand,
And wilfully pervert God's high decrees,
Wresting the sense, and to each plain command
Giving just such construction as they please?
Christ could 'make scarlet white as snow,'† but these

Would make a black out of the purest white.
O for the single eye that only sees
One hue—one atmosphere serene and bright,
Bathing all earthly things in seas of heavenly light.

The sea is His, and lo ! it giveth birth
To pearls, when taught by His all-bounteous rain ;

'The earth is His also,' and lo ! the earth,
Warmed by His rays, doth render up again
Seeds that have long within its bosom lain.
Ah ! that dull earth such gratitude should show,

While man's great blessings are bestowed in vain !

That things inanimate should feel the glow,
And man alone be cold of all things here below.

Who would not rather yield at once and die,
Than struggle with Omnipotence—with Fate—

With One who in the twinkling of an eye
Createth worlds in myriads—as great

* *Καὶ πάλιν, ὅτι οἱ τοῦ λόγου, τὰ τοῦ σκότους πράττειν βουλόμενοι, σβεννύουσι μὲν τὸ φῶς, ἐκαστος δὲ τῇ παρανοχοῦσιν μίγνυνται.*—Origen contra Celsum.' Lib. vi.

† The Muslims, taking the prophecy literally, assert that our Lord exercised the trade of a dyer.

As this which doth your souls incarcerate ?

(Oh ! that the prisoner had the will to rove
Beyond the limits of his prison gate ;
What joys ineffable might he not prove).
Yet even 'gainst that One the foolish vizier strove.

They weep full sore who strive, yet strive in vain,

And they rejoice whom victory doth befriended ;—

Yet is thy loss oftentimes thy greatest gain,
And that whereon thou wouldst thy blood expend

Brings thee but misery in the bitter end.

What is success but a vain paltry thing ?
What are thy years, that thou wouldst fain extend

Their weary length—or life, that thou shouldst fling

Thy noblest hopes into its hopeless eddying ?

Men have of old to grovelling beasts been turned,

Yet of all transmigrations is there none
Worse than this life for which thy soul hath yearned.

Thou whose angelic flight had well-nigh won
The highest heaven—ere yet the task was done
Ceased and swooped downward to this house of clay—

Now thou art Adam's short-lived toiling son,
Whose soul was present on that primal day
When angels did to Adam adoration pay ! *

Now when the vizier's plot was thus prepared,
He shut himself within a lonely place,
Whither no one of his disciples dared

To follow him—nor would he show his face.
But as the days and hours rolled on apace,
And things without his guidance went not well,

His simple followers took heart of grace,
And clustered round the doorway of his cell,
And begged he would no more withhold his wise counsel.

'We are as birds untaught to fly,' said they,
'Who needs must perish if we still abide
Within the nest—we wander from the way :
Do thou, who errest not, become our guide.'

'If, as ye say, I err not, he replied,
'Why do ye question or dispute my word ?'
'The fault,' they answered, 'is not on our side,
We are but pieces on the chequered board ;
Nor have we power to move but what thy hands afford.

'Thou art a lion, couching for a spring,
And we who imitate thee can but show
A lion's figure such as Persia's King

Bears on his standard, bounding to and fro
But as the standard waves or breezes blow.'
'Alas !' the vizier cried, 'in vain ye call,
Yet enter in if it must needs be so,

For now I turn my face unto the wall.'
They came—to see his corpse upon the cavern

fall.

Then o'er the body a dispute arose

Who should succeed him—words waxed fierce and high

Amongst the elders ; and each one of those
Who held the papers shouted, 'It is I !'

* Corán, c. 5.

And brought his writing forth as warranty.
 Thus, with a scroll and sword in either hand,
 A bloody battle they the issue try—
 'Till by internecine war the band
 Is broken up, and perishes from out the land.

THE JEWISH KING AND THE CHILD WHO WAS THROWN INTO THE FIERY FURNACE.

Now when that Jewish King was dead
 (May curses rest upon his head)
 Another monarch filled his place,
 Who on the simple Christian race
 Did wreak his spite and vengeance more
 Than any who had gone before.

Now when, despite the monarch's word,
 The Christians prayed to Christ their Lord,
 His anger waxed exceeding hot,
 And he bethought him of a plot
 Whereby the race might be destroyed.
 A cunning artist was employed
 To make an idol all in brass,
 And set it up where folks should pass.
 And by that idol's side there stood
 A furnace filled with blazing wood;
 And all men who should come that way
 Were bidden to kneel down and pray
 Unto the image—and the man
 (Twas thus the impious mandate ran)
 Who should refuse to bend the knee
 Unto the brazen deity,
 Should, for the disobedience shown,
 Be in that fiery furnace thrown.

The idol in the market stands,
 Wrought deftly by the graver's hands,
 And visible to every eye.
 Yet doth a truer idol lie
 That monarch's cruel heart within,
 And fashioned out of his great sin.
 SELF is the name by which they call
 That idol—type of idols all;
 These are the sparks that blaze and die,
 SELF is the flint from whence they fly.
 The flames the force of water feel—
 But what can quench the flint and steel?
 But if ye should desire to know
 The various phases SELF can show,
 The records of this thing are writ
 Upon the rolls of Tophet's pit.

A mother and her child one day,
 A Christian, chanced to pass that way,
 And saw the furnace blazing high,
 And heard the people's hollow cry
 Of cowardice and blasphemy.
 All shuddering at the sound, she prest
 Her little infant to her breast,
 And on the rabble turned her back.
 When lo! that moment on her track
 The minions of the monarch came,
 And brought her to that raging flame,
 And threw her at the idol's feet.

Now for that life is very sweet,
 And woman's heart is prone to fears,
 She did begin, with many tears,
 To worship as the tyrant bade.
 When that young infant that had laid
 Until that moment in her arms,
 Unconscious of her wild alarms,
 A baby without speech, and weak,
 Was gifted with the power to speak,

And raised a warning voice aloud,
 And prophesied before the crowd,
 And uttered, in his Maker's name,
 A protest on this sin and shame.

Now they who wrought the king's decree
 Much marvelled at the prodigy,
 That by a babe, a suckling's tongue,
 God's praises should be plainly sung.
 But one spake out, a soldier stern,
 'I faith, we have a deal to learn;
 And children as they now are born
 Are taught to hold those things in scorn
 To which their fathers used to cling.
 At least, this puny, puling thing
 Shall never flout our idols more.'
 Therewith the little child he bore,
 And flung it in that mimic hell.

But now a wondrous thing befel;
 The child, unharmed and undismayed,
 Stood up within the flames that played
 Around his head in lambent whirls,
 And twined and twisted with his curls.
 Then from the midst of fire and smoke
 He lifted up his voice, and spoke
 In accents void of pain or fear:
 'Mourn not for me, my mother dear;
 Mourn not for me, for now I know
 The flames that erst I dreaded so
 Were but the veil that did conceal
 The thousand joys which now I feel.
 Come, and with me these pleasures share.
 See how God's chosen people fare!
 Thy world, which seems to thy desire
 Like coolest water, is but fire;
 While this, which doth like burning seem,
 Is cooler than the coolest stream.
 Come, then, and bathe therein with me!
 Here shalt thou learn the mystery
 Of Ibrahim, whom Nimrod threw
 Into a fiery furnace too,*
 And that which late so fiercely burned,
 Into a bed of roses turned.
 Yest're'en, before thou gavest me birth,
 I feared to venture on the earth;
 But, fallen from thy maternal womb,
 Methought it was a living tomb
 Which I had left behind me then;
 And now the earth of mortal men
 Appeareth like a dungeon pit,
 Such joy have I at leaving it.
 A second mother's womb was this,
 And I am born again to bliss.
 Here is the world can never fade,
 Thy world is but a fleeting shade.
 Come hither, then, my mother dear!
 Nay, never deem I need thee here,
 Or that thy presence I entreat,
 To make my happiness complete.
 I would but share the joys I prove
 With those I reverence and love.
 Come then and see this marvel strange,
 How fiercest natures God can change,
 When Bahman,† grizzly winter's king,
 Thus ushers in the mildest spring.'

He ceased, and for a moment's space
 No sound was heard in all that place,
 Save as the faggots leapt and split
 And crackled in that burning pit,

* Corán, c. v.

† In Persian this is the name both of a month
 in mid-winter and of a fire-demon.

Such silence fell upon the crowd.
Then with an outcry long and loud,
As cattle on a river's brink
Press forward eagerly to drink,
They threw themselves into the blaze.

Thereon the king, in dire amaze,
Did bid his men-at-arms advance,
And drive them back with sword and lance,
And round the furnace make a stand,
Lest all the people in the land
Should in a single day be burned.

Then to the fire himself he turned :
'O fire! what have I done to thee,
That thou shouldst be mine enemy?
Shall Christians who deny thy name
Feel not the vengeance of thy flame?
And I—who worship at thy shrine—
Shall injury and loss be mine?
Hath witchery been o'er thee cast,
Or is thy power of burning past?'
'Nay,' said the fire, 'I have it still,
And ye shall test it an ye will.
Nor yet does any change at all
Upon my ardent nature fall.
I am Elohim's fiery brand,
And lo! I cleave at His command!
The dog that in the tent doth rest,
Will fawn upon his master's guest;
But if a stranger cometh there,
His limbs the trusty hound will tear.
And shall the elements be found
Less faithful than a Tartar's hound?
Or God demand less honest work
Than any Bedawi or Turk?'

The elements their God obey,
Not lifeless and inert are they,
But living servants of His will,
Prepared to comfort or to kill,
As He commandeth. For our use,
The flint and steel a fire produce,
But God it is that gives the light.
Our reasoning how weak and vain!
A bucket hangs upon a chain,
Which by a turning wheel we move.
Does such a rude contrivance prove
That 'tis the wheel of chance which draws
The endless chain of nature's laws?

Has not the wondrous tale been told,
How in the evil days of old
The Prophet was to Yemen sent,
To bid the men of 'Ad repent?
And how he drew his staff around,
And traced a circle on the ground;
And when the blast of wrath arose
It injured not a hair of those
Who stood within that charmed ring,
Because the wind had owned its King,
And bowed before His messenger.
When God has ta'en us in His care,
The cold and stormy wind of death
Is softer than a zephyr's breath.

Fire, Water, Earth, are ever thus
Subservient to the righteous:
Fire harmeth not the Friend of God,*
The sea obeyeth Moses' rod,
Earth swalloweth Corah at His nod.

Christ breathed upon the birds of clay,
And lo! they lived and flew away.†

* Abraham.

† Apocryphal Gospel of the Infancy.

Ye too may work this miracle;
With lips of clay His praises tell,
And turn them with a pure heart's sighs
To living birds of Paradise.
A mountain quivered at the sight
Of Moses' superhuman light,
And he—a lump of earth—a clod—
Could commune face to face with God.

But natheless, sirs, ye fain would see
The ending of this history.
'Twas thus: the Demon of the Fire
Rose up as one in sudden ire,
And swallowed up that tyrant king,
With all his godless following.
They were but sons of fire, and went
Back to their native element,
*For matter, though it fleeteth fast,
Returneth to its source at last.*
So water, howsoever confined,
Is borne in vapour on the wind;
Then falling, finds within the earth
The spring from which it had its birth.
We too, degenerate though we be,
Are portions of the Deity;
And faith is a magnetic power,
That doth attract us every hour,
And draw us up to God again:
See that it draw us not in vain.

These few passages contain the essence of the Dervish philosophy, the last words embodying the ultimate aspiration of the Muslim ascetic. A few verses gathered from the works of other eminent Sufi poets will serve to complete the picture. The Sufi idea of the Deity, which, if somewhat mystical, is nevertheless a sublime one, is thus expressed in some verses of the Persian poet Auwari.

GOD.

'Tis He by His wisdom can view in
The future the secrets of fate,
Who spreads out the meshes of ruin,
And lures with prosperity's bait;
Whose influence can, if He pleases,
Besprinkle the stars o'er the sky,
As the rose-petals, stirred by the breezes,
Are scattered and fly.

The dragon-toothed thorn in the garden
A sting like a scorpion shows;
He hath posted it there as a warden
To watch o'er the delicate rose;
Till over the neck of the Heaven
The ringlets of evening flow,
Night veils with locks like the raven
Day's maidenly glow.

Then lo! from the hemisphere darkling
Night's tresses He deftly doth part,
And from Heaven's arched eyebrows out-
sparkling
Eyes bright as narcissuses dart.
The sun sinketh down in the ocean,
And azure-hued vapours arise,
'Tis the incense of nature's devotion
Perfuming the skies.

Ere atoms were yet in existence
His 'be and it was so' had birth;
He needed not matter's assistance
In forming this beautiful earth.

Yet its shape is symmetrical rigour,
Its hues are most pleasing and bright,
For a sphere is perfection in figure,
In coloring, light.

To the fishes bright armour He giveth,
Unto chanticleer giveth a crest;
His praise by no creature that liveth
Shall ever be duly expressed.
Till the dumb man shall make an oration,
Till the stocks and the stones shall find
voice,
Till the whole of the silent creation
In language rejoice.

All nations and languages know Him,
Even infancy lisped His name;
Allah, Tangari, Yezdán, Elohim—
'Tis the earliest sound we can frame.
All space and all limits excelling,
To the roof of the universe soar,
And you may see one tile of His dwelling—
One tile, and no more.

In illustration of the effect produced by
music upon the Oriental mind we may quote
from Háfiz :—

But yestere'en upon mine ear
There fell a pleasing, gentle strain,
With melody so soft and clear,
That straightway fell the glistening tear
To tell my rapturous inward pain.

For such a deep harmonious flood
Came gushing as she swept the string;
It melted all my harsher mood,
Nor could my glance, as rapt I stood,
Fall pitiless on anything.

To make my growing weakness weak,
The Saki crossed my dazzled sight,
Upon whose bright and glowing cheek,
And perfumed tresses dark and sleek,
Were strangely blended shade and light.

Fair maid, I murmured, as she passed,
The goblet which thy bounty fills
Such magic spell hath o'er me cast,
Methinks my soul is free at last
From human life and human ills.

The view constantly adopted by the Der-
vishes of the mystic life under the form of
a journey, is thus developed in the opening
ode of the same poet :—

Oh, cup-bearer, fill up the goblet, and hand it
around to us all;
For to love that seemed easy at first these un-
foreseen troubles befall.

In the hope that the breeze of the south will
blow yon dark tresses apart,
And diffuse their sweet perfume around, oh!
what anguish is caused to the heart!

Ay, sully your prayer-mat with wine, if the
elder encourage such sin;
For the traveller surely should know all the
manners and ways of the inn.

What rest or what comfort for me can there be
in the loved one's abode,
When the bell is incessantly tolling, to bid us
each pack up his load?

The darkness of night, and the fear of the waves
and the waters that roar—
How should they be aware of our state who are
roaming in safety ashore?

I yielded me up to delight, and it brought me
ill fame at the last—
Shall a secret be hidden which into a general
topic has passed?

If you wish not to dwell in His presence, yourself
unto absence betake;
Till you meet with the one whom you love, the
world and its pleasures forsake.

Here again is a well-known song from
Háfiz, embodying the same idea of the long-
ing of the soul after God, and dwelling on
the ever fresh and varying pleasures to be
derived from the ecstatic contemplation of
Divine Love :—

Oh, minstrel, wake thy lay divine,
Freshly fresh and newly new!
Bring me the heart-expanding wine,
Freshly fresh and newly new!

Seated beside a maiden fair,
I gaze with loving, raptured view,
And I sip her lip and caress her hair,
Freshly fresh and newly new!

Who of the fruit of life can share,
Yet scorn to drink the grape's sweet
dew?

Then drain a cup to thy mistress fair,
Freshly fresh and newly new!

She who has stolen my heart away
Heightens her beauty's rosy hue,
Decketh herself in rich array,
Freshly fresh and newly new!

Balmy breath of the western gale,
Waft to her ear my love-song true;
Tell her poor love-lorn Háfiz' tale,
Freshly fresh and newly new!

The Simurgh, the mysterious immortal
bird which rests on the summit of Mount
Kaf, far from the toil and turmoil of human
life, is a favourite figure in which this no-
tion of contemplation is embodied. It is
thus addressed by a Dervish poet :—

In the realms of non-existence should thy foot-
steps chance to fall,
Bear this message, oh, my spirit, to the Si-
murgh's silent hall—
'Never leave yon happy quiet for a world of sin
and strife,
But beware thee, calm immortal, of the weary
paths of life.'

The loves of the nightingale and the rose
is another favourite theme with the Dervish
poets. The celebrated Sufi writer, Husein
Váiz, has embodied this allegory in a pretty
parable, in which he introduces also the
question of fatalism. It is worth giving en-
tire, as a specimen of oriental imagery, as
well as an illustration of the tenets which
we are endeavouring to expound.

Where murmuring Rukna rolls his silvery stream

Beneath the azure of a clondless sky ;
Where gilded spires that in the sunlight gleam
'Midst tow'ring palm-trees charm the lingering eye—

Where every zephyr on its balmy wings
To blushing roses wafts the bulbul's sigh ;

Where nature's choir in notes harmonious sings,
Making sweet music to the rustling grove ;
And not a sight and not a sound but brings

Its meed of beauty, melody, and love ;
There bloomed a garden such as they behold
Who dwell by Silsabil's blest streams above.

Not lovelier Iram, which, as bards have told,
In fair Arabia's scorching desert lies,
Where false Sheddad's fair gardens glare with gold.

Though mystery shrouds them now from mortal eyes,

Save when upon some lone lost wanderer's sight,
Its diamond turrets like a day-dream rise.

Here in a corner, shrinking from the light,
A rosebud blossomed, whose enchanting hue
Rivalled the cheeks of her whose beauty bright*
O'er earth's great conqueror such enchantment threw.

Each morn, when issuing from his ocean bed,
Bright Phœbus beaming burst upon the view ;
And o'er the awakening world his radiance shed.

The garden's guardian left his humble room,
And paced the parterres by the path that led
To that calm nook which saw the floweret bloom ;

As some fond lover to an arbour creeps,
Where, lulled to rest by eve's encircling gloom,

The maid he loves in guileless beauty sleeps,
And lingering looks, till at his soft sigh's sound
Her startled eye from out its curtain peeps.

So gazed the gardener as the days wore round,
And watched the bud its opening charms disclose,
And breathed the perfume it diffused around.

But lo ! one luckless morn, beside the rose
A mournful nightingale, with grief o'er-pressed,
In wistful warblings wailed his wearying woes,

And sought in song to soothe his saddened breast,
And in the wantonness of wild despair,
Still plucked the leaflets from their fragrant nest,
Till all the tree was desolate and bare.

The rose was ruined, but the thorn remained,
Stern sentry still, though no fair charge was there.

With bitter sighs the gardener complained,
And cursed the culprit in his maddening rage ;
His passion's steed no gentle patience reined,

And nought but vengeance could his wrath assuage.

With treacherous traps the hapless bird he lured,
And kept him captive in a cruel cage,

* Nurmahall, the wife of Jehanger, Emperor of Hindustan, for whom the celebrated mausoleum known as the Taj Mahall at Agra was built.

Mocking the pangs his prisoner endured,
To whom the nightingale thus made his moan :

'Ah! wherefore now within these bars immured
'Am I thus left to mourn and die alone ?
Dost thou then fancy that my notes will ring
Here in this prison with a sweeter tone

'Than 'midst the branches where I sit and sing ?
Or is there nothing that can heal the smart
Of thy great loss, but my poor breast to wring,

'From all I love thus dooming me to part ?
If one rose ruined costs so dear to me,
What shalt thou suffer for a broken heart ?'

The plaintive prisoner by this piteous plea
So moved his captor, that the selfsame hour
He loosed his fetters, and dismissed him free,

To flutter fearless 'midst each favourite flower.
Then sang the bulbul from the tangled wood,
'The great archangel on the "night of power"

'Revealed that "good must be repaid with good ;"

So for thy kindness will I make return.
Beneath the tree whereon at first I stood

'There lies a treasure in a hidden urn.'*
The gardener, digging, found the precious prize,
And thus responded, 'I would gladly learn

'How thou divinedst what thus buried lies.
Yet dust spread lightly o'er a clumsy snare
Should be sufficient to deceive thine eyes ?'

To whom the bulbul, 'Thou shouldst be aware
That when from heaven the high decrees descend,

'Tis vain to struggle ; man his fate must bear,
For God shapes all things to some useful end.'

But with all their mysticism and speculative philosophy, the Sufi poets are by no means deficient in an appreciation of the beauties of nature. What can be more fresh or spontaneous than the following—Hâfiz's description of a morning walk in a garden?

'Twas morning, and the lord of day
Had shed his light o'er Shiraz' towers,
Where bulbuls trill their love-lorn lay,
To serenade the maiden flowers.

Like them, oppressed with love's sweet pain,
I wander in a garden fair ;
And there, to cool my throbbing brain,
I woo the perfumed morning air.

The damask rose with beauty gleams,
Its face all bathed in ruddy light,
And shines like some bright star that beams
From out the sombre veil of night.

The very bulbul, as the glow
Of youth and passion warms his breast,
Forgets awhile his former woe,
In pride that conquers love's unrest.

Yon lily seemed to menace me,
And showed its curled and quivering blade ;
While every frail anemone
A gossip's open mouth displayed.

And here and there a little group
Of flowers, like men who worship wine,
Each holding up his little stoup,
To catch the dewdrop's draught divine.

And others yet like Hebes stand,
Their dripping vases downward turned;
As if dispensing to the band
The wine for which their hearts had burned.

This moral it is mine to sing,
Go learn a lesson of the flowers;
Joy's season is in life's young spring,
Then seize like them the fleeting hours.

However, we have quoted enough of the poetry to prove that the Dervishes are not devoid of poetical inspiration, however strange to us the mode in which they woo it may appear. In conclusion, we must anticipate the question which the reader of this article will no doubt ask—Whither does all this tend? This we can only do by a very brief recapitulation of the chief points of our hypothesis.

The Oriental nature is sluggish and impassive until roused, when it becomes impulsive and emotional; and this would almost of necessity lead to an emotional and physically demonstrative kind of religious service,—that kind of worship which we are accustomed to call revivalism, and which even upon Northern temperaments produces such striking results. It is easy then to understand that meetings might be held, and societies formed, for the express purpose of encouraging the development of this *enthusiasm*; and that such was the case, is evident from the existence of the Schools of the Prophets in the ancient times, and of the Dervish Colleges of the present day, with the numerous sects and secret societies which have existed during the intermediate period throughout the East. We may therefore, without carrying the theory too far, look upon prophecy—that is, upon emotional religious utterance under the influence of physical religious excitement, as the natural form of worship amongst Eastern peoples; and, having obtained this standpoint, we shall, we venture to believe, be better able to realise the accounts which history, sacred and profane, gives us of the working of the system.

So long as these services were merely perfunctory, and so long as they were performed by men of ordinary calibre, their effect was small; but when they were conducted by master minds, when the prophetic utterances were great truths, then their influence began to be really felt, and the schools became the centres of most important religious and political movements. In support of this view, we would call attention to the fact that the first mention of the pro-

phets in the Bible is almost simultaneous with the appearance of Samuel upon the scene, although the schools must already have been in existence for a considerable time previously.

No doubt the very association of the names Dervish and Prophet will sound shocking to some readers, but it must not be supposed that because we maintain the identity of the two institutions, we do not appreciate the difference between the utterances of the one and the other. The immense impulse given to religious thought and action amongst their contemporaries by such inspired preachers as Samuel and Elijah, can never be over-estimated; while the influence their teaching has had upon the religious life and thought of so many different races in after ages, is alone sufficient to prove the absurdity of endeavouring to reduce them to the level of ordinary Mussulman Moulvies or Sheikhs. What we contend for is simply this—that the system through which the Jewish prophets worked was in the main the same as that which the modern dervishes employ. If this proposition be true, an examination of the modern system will be of similar use to the theologian and philosopher to that which the physician finds in the researches of comparative anatomy; and although the lucubrations of a Dervish poet may not be comparable with the outpourings of the inspired soul of a Hebrew prophet, yet they will possess a greater importance in our eyes if we recognise them as generated by the same system, and developed by similar external surroundings.

ART. III.—*The Hindu Woman, Real and Ideal.*

- (1.) *The Hindu Pantheon.* By EDWARD MOOR, F.R.S., Madras: 1864.
- (2.) *La Femme dans L'Inde Antique.* Par Mlle. C. BADER, Membre de la Société Asiatique de Paris. Paris: Duprat. 1864.

IN presence of the steadily increasing study of the ancient literature of India, the question is often upon our lips: What will be the ultimate impression upon European thought of the 'discovery of Sanskrit,' as it has not been inaptly termed? When we think of the vast influence of the classics of Greece and Rome upon the modern world, of how they colour and permeate

in one form or another, almost all our ideas, can we refrain from seriously inquiring whether this new source of an earlier antiquity, from which we are every day drawing deeper and yet deeper draughts, will affect the world's intellect in anything like the same degree or with anything approaching a similar intensity? No conclusive answer may yet be given, for although some eighty or ninety years have elapsed since Sir William Jones 'discovered' Sanskrit, and notwithstanding the unbroken succession of great Sanskrit scholars from his day to the present time, from Colebrooke and Wilson to Burnouf and Fauche, down to Goldstücker and Max Müller, it is only now that the general public is beginning to take a real interest in Indian lore, or that any signs can be detected of the possibility of a certain knowledge of Sanskrit being included in the curriculum of a liberal education.

However, it requires no prophet to foresee that the Indian classics will never become so universally popular, so endeared to the hearts of all educated people, as those of Rome and, above all, those of Greece. They want the satisfying, the enchanting qualities of symmetry and proportion, which have made the Ancients an undying delight to cultured minds, a solace from the fever, the *désillusionnement* of active life, a relaxation after many a hard fought battle in the political arena. To compare the poetry of India with the poetry of Greece, is to liken the undergrowth of a South American forest to the beauties of an exquisite garden.

Still, to a century which has learnt to admire the weird, the savage, and even the grotesque in nature, there is surely a sort of appropriateness in the revelation of a literature which, if it has blemishes that any man can point to, has also a novelty and a grandeur that are entirely its own. The Indian student thinks at first that he is entering chaos. After long application and research, much remains inexplicable to him; much more is inevitably disappointing. Here indeed the ludicrous and the sublime are divided but by a step. And for those who should seek to fathom the inner meaning that seems so often to underlie the surface, what confusion! what enigmas! what tantalising glimmers of truth! what ignes-fatui leading us astray from our path! what luminous stars shining on us through the darkness, whenever we manage to rise above the clouds which so obstinately obscure our vision!

There is a saying of Göthe's which has always appeared to us to be true alike of the study of Indian literature and of the spirit

which must have filled the creators of it. It is to the effect that an epoch occurs in our lives when the comprehensible becomes common and insipid, an epoch 'which may well be called glorious, for it is the middle stage between despair and deification.' The calm, fruitful, and essentially happy pursuit of perfection such as the Greeks taught, could never have been understood by an Indian poet seer. For whoever goes in quest of perfection, must begin by renouncing the everlastingly unattainable, and must let alone the insoluble and the unknowable, to a great measure at least, which the Indian mind seems totally incapable of doing.

But there is one practical consequence to the study of Sanskrit and of its offspring, philology, which, if we are not much mistaken, is already manifest; and that is the birth of a kindlier and more generous feeling towards our fellow-subjects in India. It may be rather a fanciful and irrational sentiment at bottom, but who can withhold a new and unaccustomed sympathy from the race which science proclaims our elder brother; from the people whose ancestors, with our own, listened, whilst they watched the sun go down behind the giant altitudes of the Hindu Kush, to the same old-world, or to speak correctly, young-world stories, which gladdened our hearts when we ourselves were children?

When we examine those initial records of the Aryan race, the ancient Vedic chants which the superstitious reverence of the Hindu people has handed down in awe and mystery, from millennium to millennium, their preservation seeming indeed to have been the providential *raison d'être* of the whole system of Brahmanical society, even its worst features, caste, and sacerdotal supremacy, having probably conduced to this end, we discover two distinct but clearly reconcilable tendencies, the one towards a metaphysical Pantheism, the other towards a materialistic idolatry.

There, in the childhood of humanity, in that which truest of all we may call *Juventus Mundi*, we find the eternal extremes of the human mind, the one to confound God with nature, the other to dissolve nature in God.

We see in all its primitive pathos the inspiration of thanksgiving, which caused man as he opened his eyes from sleep, and beheld the dawn irradiating the morning star, to salute it as divine; as he watched the sun rising like a conqueror in the east and dispelling night from the Morning land, to bow before its majesty; as he warmed his hands by the heat-giving and purifying fire, to sing a hymn to it the while; as he

breathed the limitless ether which enabled him to live, to adore it; as he looked upon the bounteous earth, to bless it for its abundance. Yet alongside of this sprang up the tremendous consciousness that although every excellence and dignity might be rightly ascribed to Aruna and Sūrya, to Agni, Indra, and Aditi, they were not, nor was any thing in heaven or on earth, self-existent, increate, and indestructible, save only the Supreme Spirit who was in all, and by whom all things had their being.

‘Der Allumfasser,
Der Allerhalter,
Faßt und erhält er nicht,
Dich, mich, sich selbst?’

‘I reverence Thee in the sun, which is Thine Image, whilst it scatters a hundred thousand vivifying rays over the universe; whilst in meridian brightness it diffuses gladness; nor less when at morn or eve its flaming countenance denotes Thy anger. Turn away that anger from me. I reverence Him who is the source of joy to all living creatures; whose nature is exempt from decay, and knows not the increase of age. To Him and all that springs from Him I owe reverence and honour.’

So runs the Sanskrit prayer, which was translated into Persian by a son of Shah Jehan, Emperor of Hindustan, from whence it was done into English some time during the last century. Again, we read these words, spoken in the person of the Deity:—‘I always was, I always am, and always shall be. There is no other, so that I can say to you, I am like him. In this Me is the inward essence and the exterior substance of all things. I am the primitive cause of all. All things that exist in east or west, or north or south, above or below, it is I. I am all. I am older than all. I am King of kings. I am Truth. I am the Spirit of creation. I am the Creator.’

To follow these germs of religious belief as they gradually developed and diversified would be far beyond the scope of this article, the purpose of which is merely to sketch out the part played by woman in the different stages of Hindu society; but we must never forget that in the East nothing is secular, and for any Indian subject to become intelligible it must be viewed by the light of the religious circumstances which are sure to attend it.

Perhaps the very first bit of positive knowledge we possess about the women of any branch of the Aryan race is that it was the province of the maidens of India to milk the kine—a fact disclosed when the Sanskrit word *duhitri* (*θυγάτηρ*, daugh-

ter), placed under the philologist’s microscope, revealed an origin akin to milkmaid. It was no doubt considered a highly honourable office, since the cow, the most invaluable animal to pastoral communities, soon came to be regarded as endowed with supernatural attributes.

In Vedic times, to respect woman was not only thought to be right and proper, but was also enjoined as a sacred and most important duty. Hard out-door work was not to be apportioned to her, for her place was at the domestic hearth, making it happy by her presence, soothing man in his labours, consoling him in his sorrows, and moderating his reason by her wisdom. Man is commanded to protect her with tenderness and to please her with beautiful gifts. If he laughs at her sufferings, woe be unto him at his hour of need! If he despises her he ‘despises his mother.’ If he takes advantage of her weakness to persecute her or to despoil her of her property, he is guilty of an odious crime. If he incurs her curse it will bring down the vengeance of God.

The young girl is free to select the bridegroom of her choice, and her family is bound to provide for her a suitable dowry, to which her brother is recommended to add out of his own portion the finest heifer of his herd, the purest saffron of his crop, the loveliest jewel in his casket. Her husband should treat her with deference and consideration; he should be unto her amongst her children even as one of them. Husband and wife go hand in hand into the temple, where the woman offers up fragrant incense upon the altar. Her prayers and hymns are acceptable in the sight of the Deity.

In the transition period which intervened between the Vedas and Brahmanism, the condition of women deteriorated by degrees, though we have a striking testimony to the esteem in which even then she was held, and the intellectual powers with which she was credited, in the splendid dialogue (contained in the Sūtras) wherein the sage Yajñavalkya explains to his wife the highest knowledge, to understand which is immortality. ‘It is with us,’ he says, ‘when we enter into the Divine Spirit, as if a lump of salt was thrown into the sea: it becomes dissolved in the water from which it was produced, and is not to be taken out again; but wherever you take the water and taste it, it is salt. Thus is this great, endless, and boundless Being but one mass of knowledge. As the water becomes salt, and the salt becomes water again, thus has the Divine Spirit appeared from out the elements and disappeared again into them.’

The next landmark that can direct us in our inquiry is the Code of Manu, that is to say, the formal promulgation of the Brahmanic faith. To the natural preference for a male posterity which is common to all early states of society, had now succeeded a religious horror at not leaving behind a son, who alone could perform certain ceremonies which were deemed essential to secure the parent's final beatitude. In Manu's Institutes we read indeed that women should be shielded by the fostering care of their fathers and their brothers, of their husbands and their brothers-in-law; that fearful disasters befall the family in which they live in affliction; and that eternal misery is in store for whoever robs them of their possessions; that every happiness attends the home in which they are happy; and lastly, that the right-minded man should have but one wife, as the virtuous woman should have but one husband. Manu even declares that 'one mother is more venerable than a thousand fathers,' and no encouragement to the practice of the Suttie can be found in his writings. But whereas the Vedas call woman the soul of humanity, Manu drags her down to the position of a religious nonentity, incapable of obtaining grace through her own efforts, forbidden to offer up prayer or sacrifice, prohibited from reading the Scriptures; in a word, corresponding in matters of religion to the members of the Sudra or lowest caste.

After Manu came Buddha, the mighty prophet who raised the cry of revolt against caste tyranny and Brahmanical sacerdotalism over the length and breadth of the peninsula. Man and woman were equals according to his doctrine, but it was not in the pure and hopeful happiness of home that he would have had them seek out their salvation. Rather should they immure themselves in the austere seclusion of monastic life, and by destroying passion and contemplating the Divine Infinity, make ready to enter Nirvana, the absorption of the soul into the Universal Spirit. Sakya Muni admitted that some hopes might be entertained for the man who took to himself but one wife. Still, his mind was entirely possessed by the fascination of a conventual existence, and there can be no question that this was one of the reasons that Buddhism lost nearly all of its quickly conquered empire in India, and was replaced by the older faith in the novel and corrupt shape of Krishna worship, which to this day is one of the most popular varieties of Brahmanical idolatry.*

In the Bhagavata Purana there is a beautiful picture of the young shepherd in whom was incarnate the second person of the Hindu Triad (Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva), taking his virgin mother into the solitary woods, and there instructing her in the knowledge of the Supreme Spirit, which should open to her the gates of eternal life. But on the whole, as we have said, the results of Krishna worship were corrupt, and woman profited nothing by its introduction. Next to the purely scriptural writings, the Sanskrit epic poetry is held in the highest veneration amongst the Hindus. The greatest of these poems, the Ramayana, may be called one long canticle of praise in honour of a woman's virtue. It is now very generally known, but in treating of the Hindu woman, real or ideal, a brief notice of it cannot well be omitted.

Rama, son and heir to King Dasaratha, sovereign of Ayodhia, is predestined by the Creator to be the destroyer of the scourge of the world; but upon reaching manhood, his stepmother, Kekeyi, incited by a wicked handmaiden, conceives a scheme for driving him from the kingdom, and causing her own son, Bharata, to be made heir-apparent in his stead. On the occasion of her royal consort being wounded in battle, Kekeyi, who nursed him, had received his promise that he would grant her any two requests she might make; and she now demands the banishment of Rama and the elevation of Bharata, in fulfilment of the monarch's long-forgotten vow. At the moment that she puts forth her plea, the old king, who is in failing health, has just resolved to abdicate his powers in favour of his firstborn, and Rama is preparing for the ceremony of being anointed with the sacred oil. But the given word is inviolable, and, bowed down with grief, Dasaratha pronounces the sentence which exiles his beloved son for fourteen years and deprives him of his birth-right. With streaming eyes he informs Rama of the fact, but no word of reproach escapes the lips of the blameless prince: without a second's wavering he submits to the paternal decree. The hot-headed, warm-hearted Lakshmana, Rama's devoted half-brother, who is yet in the fire of early

Buddhism has survived, and has moreover preserved something of its original character, women enjoy a large measure of social freedom. They are not in any way restricted from conversing with men who do not belong to their own families. The daughters of a house receive the guests, and are allowed every opportunity of seeing their suitors, out of whom they are quite at liberty to marry the one they like best, whether he be rich or poor. Most of the shops in Burmah are kept by women.

* It is worth noting that in Burmah, where

youth, implores him to resist the unrighteous edict; his mother joins in the entreaty; the whole people are ready to approve such an act! Rama tells them sternly that duty is far worthier to be followed than any dreams of worldly prosperity, and that his duty as a son compels him to obey his father's will. He says to the indignant Lakshmana, 'Do not be angry even in thought with Kekeyi.'

He leaves them and goes to his sweet young wife, the high-born and beautiful Sita. He finds her joyously arraying herself for the approaching solemnity. When she hears of the reverse of fortune, she utters no useless sighs or lamentations, but simply says, 'Take me with you!' Rama declares that he will do nothing of the kind. What! could she throw aside her costly apparel and assume the sackcloth garb of an anchorite? Could a king's daughter go into the fearful forest, inhabited by wild beasts? 'Thou art my lord, my priest, my way, my God; thee will I follow,' she says. What! he persists, could her tender feet traverse the thorny wilderness? 'I will walk before thee, and make a path for thee through the dense jungle,' she replies. She tells him not to think that she will repine in the forest. What could be more delightful than to dwell in the midst of leafy trees and perfume-wafting flowers? Rama tries to satisfy her by saying that his body only will go into exile, his soul will remain with her; but again she cries, 'Save me! take me!' At last Rama consents to Sita going with him, and also Lakshmana, who cannot be induced to leave his brother.

They have not been gone long when Bharata returns to Ayodhya from a journey, and discovers what has happened during his absence. His displeasure knows no bounds. 'Thou hast murdered me with thy cruelty; no more shalt thou call me thy son,' he says to his guilty mother. The handmaiden who instigated Kekeyi's crime is about to be killed by Bharata's brother, but the prince arrests his hand, saying, 'She is infirm, and above all she is a woman!'

The poor old king dies disconsolate, and Bharata proceeds to invite Rama to ascend the throne; but the latter declines to break his father's oath, and begs his brother to govern the country till the years of exile are over. They embrace at parting, and Rama tells Bharata to cherish his mother, and to bear her no ill will,—'To this thou art conjured, both by me and Sita.'

Ten years pass away in the calm solitudes of the vast forests, when Ravana, the demon monarch of Lanka, becomes enamoured of Sita, and, aided by magic and deceit, con-

trives to throw her protectors off their guard and carry her away to his island kingdom. The prince's strong heart well nigh breaks when he becomes aware of the catastrophe; it is now Lakshmana's turn to comfort and support him. In time he rallies from his stupor, and swears a terrible vengeance upon the head of his adversary. He obtains the alliance of the monkey inhabitants of the forests, commanded by their general, Hanuman. As soon as Sita's whereabouts has been ascertained, Rama and his legions invade the island of Lanka, in which the beautiful princess languishes, guarded by dreadful hags and cruelly persecuted, in the hopes of shaking her unalterable fidelity. The demons are fierce men of war, and Ravana is the conqueror of both gods and men. For a while the issue of the campaign seems doubtful, but finally the star of Rama rises in the ascendant, and all the omens go to prove that the day has come, foreseen by an ancient prophet, when 'Lanka shall fall through a woman.' Ravana's favourite wife and his eldest son beseech him to stay the avenging arm and sue for peace. Rama will surely grant it, for 'he loves even his enemies.' Proudly the monarch answers that Ravana knows how to die, but he knows not how to yield. So he leads his army into the jaws of death, and falls at evening mortally wounded by the arrow of Rama.

The scourge of the world is laid low, and the whole earth seems to smile on its predestined deliverer. Rama commands that the tenderest respect be shown to the widows of the slain, and that his conquered foe should have a funeral befitting his rank. The climax of the story is reached; Sita is brought forward clad in magnificent garments, with her face uncovered. 'A woman's virtue is her best veil,' says Rama.

The great assemblage is positively dazzled by the royal captive's resplendent beauty. But Rama, instead of clasping her to his heart, coldly tells her that, since he can have no warrant of her fidelity whilst in the custody of the monarch of Lanka, she must henceforth seek some other home, for that he will have nothing to do with her. Sita's courage and devotion do not give way; she turns to Lakshmana and asks him, as a supreme act of friendship, to prepare for her the fiery ordeal. Sorrowfully he obeys, and the faultless wife throws herself upon the flaming pile. Then the heavens open, and the incorruptible Agni snatches Sita from the flames, and placing her in Rama's arms, proclaims her to be pure and without stain. The years of banishment are past, and the exiles return to their own

land, and are received with the acclamations of the entire people.

Such is an outline of the masterpiece attributed to Valmiki. There is no difficulty in proving that the story of the Ramayana is founded upon the tradition of a series of real events. Ayodhia stands for Oude, Lanka for Ceylon; Rama is the representative of the invincible and civilising Aryan race; his monkey allies are the yellow aboriginal tree tribes, of which there are still some remnants in India; and Ravana with his subjects are the brave but barbarous black aborigines of Ceylon. Portions of the bridge by which Rama is supposed to have crossed over to Lanka are still in existence: the Portuguese travellers called it Adam's bridge, because they believed Ceylon to be the veritable site of Eden.

The profound significance of the Ramayana in relation to our subject is too evident to need much comment, though we must remember that the principle of judging an epoch by its poetry should be followed with all reserve. Poets are not unfrequently more truly 'the citizens of ages yet unborn' than of their own; and at most they illustrate rather than reflect the manners and morals of the times they live in. Still, it seems probable that Sita's character (and it is with this that we are chiefly concerned) was not so much a sublime poetic ideal as it was a type of womanly excellence according to the estimate of Valmiki's cotemporaries. We are sure that the poet must have known a living counterpart to his heroine, so very real is she with all her perfections, so very human, despite the element of the marvellous which surrounds her. We feel a personal animus against Rama for his treatment of her in the final scene; nor are we altogether satisfied with his subsequent explanation, in which he anticipates Cæsar's famous line of argument: 'Domum meam volo et suspicione carere.' With such a treasure of a wife he should not even have pretended to doubt her fidelity. However, it is indisputable that the high and unbending standard of morality which Valmiki made the rule of his hero's conduct displays a more advanced state of opinion in such matters, than that easy-going disposition to saddle the gods with every unpleasant responsibility, which deprived the Homeric Menelaus of any scruples as to the propriety of taking back his fair but inconstant spouse.

The other Indian epic, the Mahabharata, though it is believed to belong to a later and less enlightened period than that of the Ramayana, nevertheless contains a whole gallery of exquisite female portraits. Perhaps we can do no better than give the epi-

sode of Savitri, the Indian Alkestes, by way of example.

There was once a great king who had an only child named Savitri. She was beautiful and good, and when she came to be of a marriageable age, her father bade her go forth, attended by his most trusty counsellors, to seek a bridegroom who should be worthy of her. Savitri did not direct her steps to the palaces of the great, but sought out in the forest the abode of hermits and anchorites. After some time had elapsed she returned to her father's court, and told him that her choice had fallen upon Satyavan, the son of an old blind monarch who had been robbed of all his dominions, and who lived in the solitary woods. 'Ah, woe! Ah, woe,' exclaims the sage Narada, who happens to be present. He is implored to explain his forebodings, and he reveals the melancholy fact that Satyavan, handsome, brave, and virtuous though he be, is doomed to die as soon as one year has passed away! The king advises his daughter to make a happier choice, but Savitri remains firm. 'Once, and once only in life can the heart give itself to another, and fortune or misfortune has nothing to do with it.' So the king, her father, presents himself to the father of Satyavan and arranges the marriage, though grief weighs down his spirit.

Savitri brings light and joy into her husband's family; she is cheer and comfort to all, in spite of the unspoken anguish which her terrible secret causes her. The day comes at length when she says to herself: 'In four days he must die!' Hope and despair struggle within her; she determines to undergo a cruel penance until the fatal day arrives.

The fourth day dawns; Savitri begs permission to accompany her husband when he goes as usual to cut wood and gather fruit in the forest. Satyavan seems well and vigorous; he enjoys the fresh morning air as they wend their way together between the tall trees. But as midday approaches, a burning lassitude comes over him; Savitri sits down beside him, and places his head upon her bosom. He moves not; consciousness has already fled.

A fearful and august stranger now appears before Savitri, clad in crimson, of a shining countenance. His name is Yama, Prince of Death! The apparition proceeds to unfasten the soul of the hapless youth, and binding a rope around it, he drags it forward to the realms of shadow.

Savitri follows the god of death as he carries off her husband's soul. In all humility, but undaunted, she disputes with the redoubtable Yama for her beloved one's life.

Yama is astonished at her devotion, but he bids her go back: death cannot yield his prey! Still she follows him. Over many a mile of the rough and dangerous path which leads to the land of ghosts the young wife and Death contend. The Mighty One commands her to withdraw, but she never ceases to repeat her prayer: 'Let my Satyavan live!' She tells the god how noble is the quality of mercy; she argues that to give is more divine than to take; to preserve is mightier than to destroy.

Love overcomes death. The god releases the young man's soul, and grants, besides, every other boon which Savitri's heart can desire. As the dark night is falling upon the earth, Savitri retraces her steps to the spot where Satyavan lay. Life has come back into his body, and he opens his eyes and looks tenderly upon his wife. He knows nothing of what has happened, only he fancies that he has had a distressing dream. Savitri lets him continue in his illusion, and says to him: 'Rise, O my beloved; thy sleep is over; let us go to thy father's house; and as thou art yet weak, I will carry thy hatchet and thy basket, and thou shalt rest thy head upon my shoulder.'

This pretty story speaks for itself; we will only add to it the words of a personage in the Mahabharata: 'The wife is the honour of the family, she who presents the children. The wife is the man's vital spirit, is the man's half, is his best friend, and the source of all his felicity. The wife, with her endearing discourse, is the friend in solitude, the mother to the oppressed, and a refreshment on the journey in the wilderness of life.'

Kalidas, the illustrious Indian dramatist, who lived contemporaneously with the Augustan age of Rome, made one of the episodes of the Mahabharata the basis of his drama Sakontala, of the merits of which Göthe's celebrated eulogy, as below, can scarcely be called exaggerated.

'Wilt thou the flowers of spring and autumn's
plentiful treasures?
Wilt thou what gladdens and charms, what
enlivens the heart and refreshes?
Earth, heaven, all they contain, in a single
word wilt thou utter?
Only Sakontala name, then thou wilt nothing
omit.'

The first signs of the degradation of woman in India date back to a time far anterior to the Christian era; its consummation was the work of those repeated Moslem invasions of the peninsula which took place during the tenth and succeeding centuries. An impression is gaining ground that Mohammed has been very undeservedly

blamed in respect to woman, since in reality he approved of only four wives and an extremely moderate amount of wife-beating. It cannot be asserted that his ideas concerning Paradise were either elevating or edifying, but it is urged, and not without success, that the sum of his endeavours was to raise and not to lower the condition of woman such as he found it in Arabia; yet when all is said that can be said in his defence, the irrefragable truth remains, that religious reformers should not make a sort of concordat with 'the world, the flesh, and the devil,' but attack them *à outrance*. Compromise is the watch-word of statesmen, not of apostles. Besides, 'the world's history is the world's judgment,' and whatever may or may not have been Mohammed's own designs, the march of Islâm has proved the bane of woman; a fact which is nowhere more strongly exemplified than in the history of its ascendancy in India, where its evil effects were not confined to the cases in which conversion followed upon conquest, but showed themselves also in the impetus it gave to the unscrupulous Brahman priesthood to pander to man's worst passions, so as to set up a counter attraction to the corrupt teaching of the proselytising invaders. And this is the self-evident reply to those who hold the chimerical hypothesis that India's best and brightest future rests upon her chances of complete conversion to the tenets of the prophet.

Yet—slave and victim, prisoner and holocaust though she became, we venture to think that the Hindu woman did not wholly lose possession of those good gifts with which heaven appears to have blest her in former ages—a rare faculty of judgment—a courage that knows no brook—a sweetness of disposition that cannot be excelled. John Stuart Mill stated from his own experience that in three out of four instances in which an Indian government was conducted with integrity and decency, where the arts of peace were practised and the principles of reasonable order were upheld, the *de facto* ruler was a woman. Sir Hope Grant relates an incident of the Sepoy war in which a rebel's wife stood by her husband throughout a furious struggle for the capture of his house, and when he fell, snatched the musket from his dead hands, and received her own death-blow in a wild attempt to prolong the resistance. Recorded opinions and anecdotes such as these do not tally with the notion of a degenerate womanhood, yet though carrying their own weight, they throw but a glimpse of light upon the Hindu woman's character as it now exists, and we are for the most part in total ignorance of

the traits and idiosyncrasies that lie hidden behind the national *Burqa* of millions of her Majesty's subjects. And this leads us to believe that a few extracts from the private letters of sundry living Hindu ladies, simply and literally translated from the original Bengali, may not be devoid of a certain general interest. The correspondence which has been placed at our disposal by the English lady to whom it is addressed is from members of the Brahmo Somaj, and it will be seen that the writers are not in the least Anglicised in their prejudices or mode of life.

'Dear English sister,' writes one these ladies, 'having received your letter full of love, I gained indescribable joy. I have never for one moment dreamt in my mind that it would be possible for me to receive so much kindness from a sweet sincere-hearted sister like you: all this is from the unasked-for kindness of the merciful God. With gratitude do I bow at the feet of our Father, who is an ocean of tenderness, and through whose liberal kindness I have been able to enjoy such pleasure. Dear sister, I greet all of you with inward gratitude, you who strive so much for our good. To God do I pray that the merciful Father may bring to pass the fulfilment of the good wishes of all of you for the happiness of the world. I hope that you will not fail to accomplish what you propose to do for your Indian sisters' good. How much friendship do you all give my dear husband; for that, I from my heart render gratitude to you all. I am always anxious about him, because in that distant country there are none related to us who can attend on him in time of sickness and console him in time of grief. Now, seeing such goodness in you, I have some hope that you will from time to time look after him. To hear that to converse with him pleases you all very much, what news for me could give me pleasure surpassing this? You all can show very much friendship for people who are without a home in a foreign land. Within our hearts there is that sort of affection, but because the customs of our country prevent us, we cannot show it so much. We cannot converse with people who are not nearly related to us. You are learning Bengali: seeing your handwriting, I was very much pleased. I have a great wish to learn English, but many things hinder me so much, I am not able to do it. When my dear husband comes back to our country, I think I shall be able to learn. I now however study in Bengali. In our country, acquirement of learning is very difficult for a female. There are no schools for young

women. If her husband is near, she may learn a little, or from a brother or other near relation a little may be learnt; otherwise it is not easy to learn anything. I formerly when my husband was close by used to learn a little; now that he has to dwell in a foreign country I am not learning anything. I do every day some household work, and in leisure time occasionally write and read. We with our own hands cook and prepare food for our relations. I am living with my father and mother-in-law and other near relations. Make known to me with whom you live.

'Most people call me P——; one or two call me Tara* (those who are very fond of me); many use both my names. What more shall I say? I think the letters of the honoured wives of —— and —— and others have pleased you very much, and my letter will not be like theirs, for compared with me they must be better taught. They are ladies living in the capital, and learning in the school for young ladies called the Female Normal School. It is otherwise with me, who, living in a village, learn by myself alone; therefore that this writing will be able to give your mind a little joy, of that I cannot be sure: however this be, I send this little letter, trusting to your kindness. If you accept it, I shall be happy. Sister, I now take leave. May God fulfil your good wishes. May He daily spread the sisterly feeling, by increasing your affection for us; this is my great prayer to the protecting Father whose tenderness is deep as the ocean. May all happiness be given to you by God.'

We have been able to give this letter almost entire. We regret that in the extracts that follow from various hands the private nature of the contents has compelled us to omit much that is in itself eminently characteristic.

'1. How surprising it is to hear how children are taught in your country. Unless we begin to instruct children when they are quite young about religion and about other things, the mind, the heart, and the soul are not expanded in the best way. Our country suffers because here there are no proper arrangements for teaching children; there is no regularity about it here. As with older girls there is much difficulty in their gaining instruction, so it is with children. Learning is made too difficult to their tender minds, and this discourages them much. It is an astonishing thing that in our country there are so many learned men, but they do not trouble themselves

* Stella.

in the least about the education of children. Once, when I asked my husband, he told me that in England there are many schools for children. I think this may be the reason Englishmen are so wise and just. I begged my husband to open a school for little children. He said, "I have laboured to found several schools; if I can make them successful, I think I shall have used my life as well as I can."

'2. It is a long time since I have been happy at the receipt of your affectionate letter. I cannot write how much sorrow and regret I feel at this long delay in my answering your letter. I had a sister born the very same day that I got your letter. She is now a merry little playful thing: whenever I see her playing, it reminds me how long it is since I received your letter. We have been very happy at having got amongst us a kind friend since December last. You no doubt know Miss — well. I cannot tell you with what grateful hearts we have received her in this country. Since her coming she has been trying very much to establish a boarding-school. There is no doubt that a great want of this country will be removed by this school if its work answers to its present plans. I am looking forward to this school with the greatest hope. From November last to April I was at Calcutta for my education, and attended a school regularly, but about two months ago I have been obliged by circumstances to leave the school and come here. This has occasioned great loss to my studies. It is true I have begun to learn English, but so many obstacles present themselves in the way from time to time, that there has been in consequence hardly any progress in my studies. This thought makes my mind always unhappy. That I shall ever be able really to know your language appears to be a presumptuous hope.'

'3 I received your loving and beautiful letter when I was at Calcutta, and was exceedingly delighted by it. How happy should I have been if I could have written in English what I have in my mind in this letter. Perhaps I shall have to wait for it yet a long time, for I am hardly able to make any progress with my studies, owing to want of any one to teach me. I am doing only what I am able to do by my own exertion. I also consider English at times as very difficult, and do not hope that I shall ever master it; but when I recollect that nothing is impossible for care and labour, energy and perseverance again fill the heart. You had written some portion of your letter in Bengali, which I was much pleased to read. That you have been able to express such good ideas

in Bengali, after learning it only for a short time, is a matter that affords great pleasure. I cannot tell you from this distance how delighted my heart has been at the frank simplicity and largeness of mind which your letter reveals.

"There are briars besetting every path," &c.

I was very much pleased at reading this piece of poetry in your letter. "A lowly heart that rests in God is happy everywhere," is a very true saying. From nothing in this world can we ever derive that happiness and peace which reigns in a heart which has set its entire trust in God. I cannot conceive how a man can be happy with the world alone, without God. You ask how I enjoy peace, being away from my husband? It is only because I have placed my firm trust in our merciful Father, and my dependence on His kindness, that my heart is always filled with peace. When the thought of His love, which has not its equal, rises in the mind, it dispels every anxiety from the heart. Do you know this line in our hymn-book, "Thou art the source of good, and art dispensing it; why trouble I then my mind with thoughts of what is to come?" What cause can there be for sorrow when this belief reigns in the heart, that the Father will never do harm to His child? Without my trust in God, by no means else could I have enjoyed peace in my mind. When I ponder over every event in my life, then can I realise how infinite has been His mercy for His daughter.

'It is nearly a month since we came to this place from Calcutta. The part we are living in is pretty to look at. Our house is situated in the midst of a large garden, where we can go, whenever we like, but we have not many flowers in it. There is a Roman Catholic church near our house, three hundred years old. We can hear the beautiful music of the organ every morning from Friday to Sunday.'

'4. I am very much pleased and obliged at receiving your kind gifts of drawing, &c. Knowledge of drawing is very interesting, that I can well understand, but such are the bad customs of our country, that not only for women's learning drawing, but also for any learning, there are no especial arrangements. I render thanksgiving to our common Father, that delivering us from the cruel hands of the wicked Mussulmans, He has placed us under the civilised English. Although, in the times of the Hindu kings, the Hindus had made great progress, under the Mussulman's rule all our learning was dying out. Amongst the special duties of women were learning, walking about, choos-

ing a husband of one's own will, hospitality to an uninvited guest wearied and tired in travelling, &c.; but all these disappeared in the middle age. Now, by degrees, a revival is taking place, and is doing so no doubt through your kindness. I shall, however, endeavour much to learn to draw, though it will take me a long time to learn it. I relate below the cause of this.

'I have two sons and one daughter. One son is six years old, he is the eldest; another boy smaller than he is nearly four years old; and my daughter is only ten months old. In the morning, rising before six, according to our family rules, I offer my prayer. I begin some household work. I wake the boy and little boy, and the eldest, having said a prayer written by my husband, washes his face and puts on his clothes. This is that prayer:—"O Protector of the unprotected, I remember Thee. Father, listen to the prayer of the weak one. I have happily passed the fearful night, surrounded by love of my father and of my mother. When all animate beings are like the inanimate, Thou Friend takest care that they still live. Thou art as a bridge of mercy. Great God, Thou hast kept me during the defenceless night time. Merciful Father, I thank Thee. Thou hast protected the helpless weak one. All that I have I wish to use in Thy service. Guard, guard me, weak as I am."

'Thus the eldest child prays to God, and goes, mounted on a horse, to breathe the pure air. The little one goes to walk with a servant or else in a carriage. During this leisure time I help the cook in cooking, and begin to serve the old mother-in-law; and then, if I find some leisure from these household occupations, I spend a little while in reading books—those books which teach women about natural things.

'Now at about nine o'clock the boys come home, either after walking or learning their school lessons; then, feeding the elder boy, I send him to school with my husband. After this, having done my own household work and taken a meal, I sit teaching the girls of the female school: some days I work with them, some days I read. The boys appear. The elder one comes back from school, the younger gets up from sleep and play. I send the girls away and let the boys have their lunch (or light food taken before the night meal), and then send them to play and walk: meanwhile I make preparations for cooking in the evening. In this I am helped by my younger sister-in-law. At dusk we finish our meals—at this time the boys take their evening meal, then my husband and

his brothers, and last my sister-in-law and myself. Then the elder boy goes to his tutor to learn his lessons for the next day. My husband also having talked some time with his friends, &c., goes to teach in the evening school. Then the elder boy comes in and goes to bed, after prayer. This is the prayer:—"With the end of the day the star of the day is set. In towns and forests living things are sleeping. In this world—a storehouse of dangers in Thy absence—I have spent this day in Thy remembrance. Through Thy mercy I gain all happiness, and without Thee, O Friend of the helpless, all are helpless. O Father, destroyer of dangers, the night is come, protect me, O protect me."

'Praying thus, the boys sleep at about eight o'clock. Then my husband comes home from the evening school, and we read together some Bengali book (I do not know English): either I read and he listens, or he reads and I listen. At ten, after prayer, we go to bed. You have asked me if I can in any way help my husband. We, the women of India, it may be said, are mere prisoners. I cannot go out of my house or speak freely with any man; for this reason I cannot go to all his schools, but I give some sort of instruction to his girls' school. What I do is very little. To imitate my husband does not lie within my power. Besides, his work is not the work of an ordinary man: he devotes his life to others, and labours from morning till night, and thinks constantly of the education and improvement of poor boys.'

'5. I cannot fully describe the joy I have found on receiving your sweet and priceless letter.* What can please me more than that you have addressed one as your sister who was a stranger to you. I shall never forget in my life the kindness you have evinced towards my helpless condition. But it is a matter of regret that I cannot read or write English. When I took your letter into my hand, I thought, why had I not learnt English? why was I so ignorant? Had I been able to read it myself how great would have been my joy. I should not have had to wait for anybody, and I could have written to you whenever I liked. Your mind being bright with education is enhancing the beauty of religion; but the beauty of religion cannot readily display

* This reiterated praise of the person addressed may perhaps be found tedious or even misplaced here, but we are loth to leave it out, as it strikes us as peculiarly expressive of that dignified humility and quick sensitive response to sympathy which distinguish one and all of the writers of these letters.

itself amid the darkness of ignorance. Whether this statement is true or not, the Babu* knows. I find it to be so after comparing my mind with yours. For the love you give my children they give you their thanks. The eldest son goes to school; the eldest daughter used to read at home, but for some reason she does not read now. The youngest girl plays about, the youngest son has just learnt to walk, and is happy in that. What shall I say about my mind? I am in a most miserable condition. I read some Bengali books. There is no systematic study. If I do study now and then, it cannot do me much good, as I learn very little. When I think of my education, I feel grieved, for my time is spent in vain. I have done no good works; I know nothing can be done without education.'

It has been repeated again and again that any reform which has for its aim the regeneration of India must begin by improving the condition of its women, and all honour to those who are willing to devote their lives and labours to this end; but as regards the general statement, it would be more accurate to say that progress in India, or elsewhere, if it is to bring forth lasting fruits, must consist in the collective moving forward of the whole body politic, not in the isolated advance of a single section of it.

Those movements which have changed the face of the world have been, with few exceptions, profoundly religious; and we do not conceive it possible that by bread alone—that is, by the legislator and the schoolmaster—Indian society can be remodelled. The privileges of women fell away one after the other, as the abuses of Brahmanism—caste, sacerdotal tyranny, and a corrupt idol-worship—came into force; the restoration of those privileges may hardly be looked for, till the hydra-heads of polytheism be decrowned, and all men are acknowledged equals in the free service of God. Gloomy as is the prospect which at present confronts us in India, there is some encouragement in the thought that the unity of the Supreme Being is no strange doctrine to the Hindu mind, since a perception of it—not any pseudo-celestial patent for pious jugglery—is the transcendent secret which the Brahman priesthood have consciously transmitted from one generation to another, and of which their order has been the enduring, if unworthy reliquary.

We see in India a system of life pricked out with gross and idolatrous rites. We see Juggernat's car, Kali's necklace of

human skulls, immorality abetted, and woman degraded. We know our proudest dependency to be sunk in a mass of prejudice and superstition which may any day fire the torch to a new mutiny. By very slow degrees, all this is being undermined by the advancing tide of western civilisation. What is growing up in its stead? What manner of faith are we substituting to the vast religious organisation which has ruled every thought, every action, of its countless votaries from unremembered ages, even to this day? Is it Christianity? Who that knows India will answer in the affirmative? The causes, it is not for us to seek to explain, but this much we will say: that those who hold England to be gravely to blame in this matter, should bear in mind the difficulty of the task; the tact, the genius—in one word, the inspiration needed to transform the religion of an ancient and utterly dissimilar civilisation, which has for us, and we for it, much of the nature of an illegible inscription in an unknown tongue. 'If it was rumoured,' writes La Bruyère, in the 17th century, 'that the real object of the Oriental embassy which lately visited Paris was to convert the most Christian king and all his subjects to the religion of the monarch of Siam, how absurd we should think it! How we should laugh at the notion of erecting brazen images in our towns for us to fall down before, and permitting heathen sectaries to penetrate into our homes in order to direct the consciences of our wives and daughters! Nevertheless,' he adds—what is still in the main true—'such an idea cannot appear more ridiculous to us than our own efforts to introduce Christianity into the East must seem to the people of that quarter of the globe.'

By rational government, by education, by intimate contact, we are breaking down the idols of the higher classes of Hindu society. It is a most positive fact that our attempts to spread the gospel have been attended by no commensurate success. There can be no good in nursing illusions on this serious subject, more especially as the acknowledgment of past failures, so far from leading us to despair, should incite us to fresh endeavours. Meanwhile it cannot be doubted that the gulf is widening. British rule seems to be converting the Hindus, not to Christianity, but to an Atheism thinly cloaked by an outward conformity to the old observances. The crumbling authority of immemorial custom threatens to be replaced by the anarchy of a hopeless unbelief, and we behold India in the position of a prisoner, who, escaping from his dungeon, is lost in a desert. In this crisis it is our plain

* Her husband.

duty, without abating our own exertions, thankfully to welcome those of men, pure-minded and courageous, whatever may be their religious opinions, who strive no less than we for the time when regenerate India shall give voice to the silent orison of every pious Brahman: 'Greater than the sun, that sun's supremacy, God let us adore, which may well direct.' *

ART. IV.—Serbia.

- 1.) *The History of Serbia and the Servian Revolution, with a Sketch of the Insurrection in Bosnia.* By LEOPOLD RANKE. Translated from the German by Mrs. ALEX. KERR. Bohn.
- (2.) *The History of Modern Serbia.* By ELODIE LAWTON MIJATOVICS. W. Tweedie. 1872.
- (3.) *Die Serbien.* Wien, 1867. Kanitz.
- (4.) *Serbische Volks.* (Nationel.) Talfy.
- (5.) *Les Serbes de Turquie.* Par A. UBICINI.

BUT a few months ago few Englishmen would have been able to describe precisely the position of Serbia geographically or

* The Gayatri, or Mother of the Vedas, the Brahman repeats mentally after bathing in the sacred waters of the Ganges, expressing its words on the fingers of his right hand covered with a cloth, but he never utters the words with his lips. The Brahman priests seek in every way to keep the Gayatri undivulged, partly from their intense veneration for it as a mystical symbol, and partly, it is conjectured, from the dread lest a knowledge of it should guide the common multitude to the highest truth.

The following account of the manner in which Sir William Jones obtained the Gayatri in the Sanskrit character is taken from a MS. memorandum made at the time by his friend, Sir C. E. Carrington: 'May 10th, 1764.—About a fortnight before his death, Sir William Jones told me that he had procured the Gayatri of a Sunyasi, to whom in return he gave all the money he then had in the house, and would have given, he said, ten times more, had more been within his reach at the moment. The Sunyasi afterwards met one of Sir William's pundits, to whom he expressed himself amply *satisfied*, with much emphasis. Shortly after his death I begged Mr. Harrington to request his executor, Mr. Fairlie, to be careful that no pundits or Brahmans had access to his papers, as on stating to two Brahmans, as if by chance, the question what they would do with the Gayatri if they saw it in writing, they immediately answered, "Tear it, most certainly." Mr. Harrington thought Mr. Morris more able to interfere, to whom I related these circumstances, and who, in consequence of this information, on searching, found the object of my concern and fears; and on going myself, Mr. Fairlie obligingly permitted me to take a copy.'

politically, few would have been able to say whether the country was a part of Austria or of Turkey, whether it was independent or an integral part of either empire, and still fewer would have been able to give the least account of its interesting political history during the last sixty years, during which it has become a not unimportant member of the European system. Within the last few weeks, however, Serbia has claimed a large share in the telegrams of the morning papers. It has become of some consequence to Europe to be informed if Ristich still holds the post of Prime Minister in Belgrade, or if he has been replaced by Marjnovich; and the news that the Skouptchina, or National Assembly, has been removed from Kraguevatz to Belgrade is almost important enough to affect the money market of Europe. Serbia, in short, has quite lately come before the world, and naturally people are beginning to ask, 'What is Serbia?'

The country is part of that incoherent and troublesome empire for whom we have during the last twenty years shed much blood and wasted millions of treasure—an empire the name of which at this moment carries pain and grief to many a desolate English home—it is part of the Ottoman Empire, but only nominally a province of Turkey, for it has fought for and won home rule, and now merely pays a fixed and annual tribute to the Sultan.

Geographically the country presents the form of a rough triangle. On the east and south-east it is bounded by Bulgaria, naturally a very rich country, but rendered poor by Turkish misgovernment. On the south-west Serbia is bordered by Albania and Bosnia, the former of which provinces is chiefly peopled by savage Moslems, more addicted to war than husbandry. On the north run the magnificent rivers the Save and the Danube, the latter almost as good an outlet as the sea, nay, better, if the seaboard has not good ports. Here is the progressive civilising side of Serbia; but here again she has not been highly favoured, for civilising influences have had to be filtered through the somewhat barbarous natives of Hungary, a nation whose culture is decidedly second-hand, for there is no question that the Germans or Saxons are the pioneers of human progress in these Danubian regions.

Serbia, like Hungary, has been overrun by the most barbarous of those Mahomedan Powers which at one time menaced the civilisation and religion of Europe. This must be the apology for her backward condition. She is the youngest of the Euro-

pean family. The earliest part of the history of Servia, like that of our own country, is much mixed up with fable and confused with the stories of other tribes; but we are told that the Servians (or Serbs) are a race of Slavonians who emigrated from a district north of the Carpathians in Gallicia, and came as an organised community, commanded by chiefs, to the Danubian lands, being invited by the Emperor Heraclius to people a desolated country laid waste by the Avars. These Servian colonists were politically very much in their present position, that is, living in suzerainty to the Emperor at Constantinople, though enjoying the advantages of autonomy, or self-government, under their native rulers. On their adoption of Christianity about half the tribe fell under the spiritual dominion of the Romish and half under that of the Greek Church, an unhappy event, which, by dividing the people and sowing the seeds of theological rancour in their midst, has had a sinister influence on their political life. As the Byzantine Empire grew weak the Slavonians grew strong (history repeats itself, for the same process is going on at the present time); they gained an independence so complete that the kingdom of Slavonia made its mark in mediæval history: its kings intermarried with the royal and imperial families of France, Venice, and Constantinople, and even waged war with the latter.

Mean time an Asiatic tribe of Tartary, having organised into a nation its numerous conquered tributaries, and received the fiery impulse of Mahomedanism, and, above all, having adopted the principle of a standing army in the form of the terrible Janissaries, recruited by levies of the finest Christian boys, was steadily advancing from the East. These new people were the Ottoman Turks. In place of the luxurious and feeble Byzantine Christian rule there was established the new Mahomedan power, nor was it long before it came into collision with the brave chivalry of the Servian Czar Stephen Dushan and his knightly following on the fatal field of Kossova in 1389, and there was lost the independence of Servia. And here we must needs leave a great gap in the history of Servia, which at that time included the present principality with Bosnia, Montenegro, Herzegovina, and most of the neighbouring Pashaliks. The people became Ottoman subjects, the nobles adopted the Mahomedan religion, which henceforward became the State Church, in order to preserve their feudal privileges, and were hereafter called Turks, while the common people clung to their faith and submitted to ages of tyranny

and oppression. A deep sleep of Asiatic torpor and barbarism settled on the doomed land, which became one of the dark places of the earth, full of the habitations of cruelty; nor did an awakening occur until the years 1806 and 1807, a date within the memory of many old folks now amongst us.

About the year 1804, when we were struggling with Napoleon, a simple peasant of a darker complexion than usual, hence named Kara George (Black George), having fled to the mountains a ruined man, leaving a home desolated by the Turk and with a heart on fire for revenge, gathered together a number of men made desperate like himself, and became a renowned '*haiduk*' or brigand, not of the modern Greek or Italian sort—neither a Manzi nor a Takos, but a kind of Robin Hood, who waged war on the rich; but as no one was or could be rich but the Turkish oppressor, the lawless acts of Kara George and his comrades assumed the complexion of heroic deeds in a righteous cause, so that to seize, plunder, and murder a wealthy Moslem was no sin in the eyes of the peasantry who fed and sheltered the patriot band.

Perhaps at no period of the Ottoman history has that power been in such a state of anarchy as about the period of 1798. The Dahis and Janissaries, to whom the empire had owed all its military force, had now become a source of weakness. Europe had copied their discipline and improved upon it, while these military organisations had thrown off all civil authority, recognising but faintly the obligations of their religion and obeying only their own officers. If war was declared against a foreign power the Janissaries had to be bribed to march, while during the intervals of war they wasted the districts in which they were quartered, ruined the peasantry by their exactions, and at times drove them to despair and revolt, as in the case of Servia. In some cases these Turkish chiefs pursued a remarkable method in their exactions: they marched through the villages, bound and tortured the proprietors, and made them sign certain title-deeds making over their landed property. The country was indeed ripe for revolt, but a long course of unresisted oppression had bred a profound contempt for these rayahs in the minds of the oppressors. When twenty mounted Servians would alight from their horses on meeting even a Turkish boy, they were naturally looked upon as sheep made to be fleeced and treated accordingly. The insubordination of the Dahis or Turkish chiefs had proceeded to such lengths that the Sultan was compelled to make war upon them,

and committed the fatal error of putting arms into the hands of the Christians against his rebellious Moslem subjects. The rage of these latter can only be compared to the indignation of the Southern planters in America when they saw opposed to them the 'nigger regiments.' Like the latter, the Christians fought well, and, what is more, the charm of superiority was broken, for more than once they saw Moslems fly before them; and when they had helped the Sultan to put down their old enemies, they demurred to giving up their arms and returning to their old condition. Nevertheless, in spite of checks administered to the Dahis and Janissaries from time to time, Serbia remained a down-trodden oppressed country, the natives of which had so long endured the cruel tyranny of the Turks, that they seem to have acquired an hereditary instinct of submission observable at the present day amongst several Christian races in Asia Minor, Kurdistan, and in certain remote parts of Turkey in Europe. The immediate cause of the Servian revolt was said to be a diabolical scheme, probably the result of panic, to murder the notables of the nation in every town and village. Some murders of this sort actually did take place, and the report of an intended general massacre spread like wild fire; people fled in thousands to the mountains, arms were produced, and a crusade against the Turks decided on. In one of the gatherings of the patriots in the depths of a vast forest, the task assigned was the choice of a leader, and Kara George, who already had won the reputation of an energetic man, was called for by a sort of universal acclamation as their future chief. In answer to the popular cry, Kara George stepped out of the crowd and exclaimed, 'Brothers, why do you call for me? A Knes of Servs should be mild and good; I am an angry man, unable to keep my temper. Choose some one else.'

'We want an angry man; we want a man of iron' was the reply.

'But, Bogomi' (by God), exclaimed Kara George, 'if I order a man to do a thing and he doeth it not, I will slash off his head; I am ferocious when contradicted,' answered the hero.

A universal shout was raised, 'You are the man we want; you are our chief; our Knes;' and so Kara George was elected the head centre or chief of the revolutionary forces. No time was given him for any great preparations, for the Turks, hearing of the rising, sent a small force to apprehend Kara George, which was warmly received and defeated by the handful of armed

peasants which he had gathered round him. Other insurrectionary movements took place in various parts of Serbia, especially one in the canton of Valjevo, headed by Jacob Nenadovics, whose father had been murdered by the Turks.

The news of these risings, and especially of the success of Kara George, struck a panic into the ruling race, a panic which invariably follows the rising of a servile race which has bitter memories to avenge.

'Vor dem freien manne erzittre nicht,
Vor dem Sklaven wenn er die Kette zerbricht.'

There was a general rush of the Turks into the fortresses, and the Servians found themselves a free people, but with a terrible invasion impending, in which no mercy would be shown to man, woman, or child.

Kara George issued his proclamations, and every priest in every village who could painfully spell out the Slavonic document was called to read it to anxious fathers and husbands, and enthusiastic youths who were bringing out their rusty arms from their hiding-places, and refurbishing up old swords and pikes; while smugglers were stealing over from Austria with horse-loads of gunpowder, eagerly bought up by the excited peasantry, and doled out to all who possessed a rusty firelock. The solitudes of forests and dells rang with the hammering of smiths, while swift-footed messengers threaded the mountain paths and swam the rivers with messages from chief to chief on which hung the fate of the nation. The Turks began to treat, and offered an enormous bribe to Kara George to betray his countrymen; but in vain, their promises and threats had no effect on the excited patriots. The sword was drawn, the scabbard thrown aside, the challenge given before the world.

It would be impossible to do more within our space than give the briefest possible outline of the insurrection. On the 28th February, 1804, Kara George besieged the fortified town of Rudnik, in Central Serbia, and at the same time Nenadovics, another Servian hero, destroyed the town of Valjevo, in the north-west.

When we speak of 'sieges,' 'fortified places,' and the like, we must bear in mind that these are comparative terms, the siege of Rudnik bearing about the same proportion to the siege of Sevastopol as that city would to Coomassie. Rudnik, called a town, was after all a village. The Turks of the place had but little modern organisation, scarce any artillery, and absolutely no science; neither had the Servians. The former would dig ditches and raise breast-

works, firing from these. The Servians, in much larger force, would strictly blockade the place, and harass it by frequent sharp-shooting; but owing to the scarcity of firearms and gunpowder, and probably sorely straitened for provisions, their progress would be slow.

This civil war, once begun, soon wrapped the country in a blaze; and what were the Servians, after all, fighting for? Their demands were officially formulated as follows:

'That the Dahis (viz., the Moslem military aristocracy) should leave Serbia, and the Government be conducted by a Pasha nominated directly by the Sultan; that all the new imposts hitherto levied by the Dahis should be abolished, and only such taxes be paid hereafter as were fixed by the Sultan's Firman of 1793; that courts of justice should be established in all cantons; that the municipalities should choose their own mayors, who should thereupon be confirmed by the Belgrade Vizier; that the Servians should have perfect liberty in building churches and monasteries; that the people should choose their own chief, through whose hands should pass all communications between the Sublime Porte and the Servian Nation.'

Surely these terms were reasonable enough; but as they were proffered by armed rebels, they were not listened to. Bekir Pasha was sent from Constantinople with 6,000 men, and orders to make short work of the insurgents; but Pashas sent to put down insurrections never do make short work of them. The job is too profitable, there are contracts to be made for the supply of the force, and the Pasha is a very poor hand at his trade if he cannot make a good thing out of the contracts, and there are Christian villages here and there to fleece, and so the affair is usually a very long one.

And so it was in this case. A languid civil war, alternated by negotiations, dragged on during the year 1804, which saw the Turks well-nigh driven from Serbia, and Belgrade, with its Turkish garrison, besieged by a patriot Servian army. In 1806, while this war was lingering, a momentous event occurred, which had long been looked for and desired, viz., the declaration of war between Russia and Turkey.

The Turks were now as eager to cede the moderate demands of the Servians as the latter had been to press them; but the tables were turned, the Servians broke off all negotiations, declaring they would not even pay tribute to, nor in any way acknowledge, the Sultan.

The war now recommenced in good earnest: the Servians, no longer in want of arms and ammunition, being well supplied

by Russia, contrived to raise 60,000 men. They met and defeated a large army from the West, and followed it into Bosnia, but here they received a check from 3,000 French, then in alliance with Turkey; but falling back on the Drina, they there checked their pursuers. The war continued till 1807, when peace was arranged, on the historic raft at Tilsit, between Russia and France, and consequently Turkey, the ally of the latter, was set free to quell her rebellious provinces. The peace only endured until 1809, when war again broke out between Russia and Turkey. During the following years, especially 1811 and 1812, Serbia, while fighting for her independence, was torn by bitter domestic feuds. The original chief, Kara George, had been eclipsed by the equally daring but more astute Obrenovics, so that the foundations of a dynastic civil war were laid, as each hero commanded an immense following.

At the conclusion of the war between Russia and Turkey, the Treaty of Bucharest was signed in May, 1812, and in it the Servians were mentioned as follows:—

'Though there is no doubt of the benevolent and magnanimous dispositions of the Sublime Porte with respect to Serbia, a nation from old time subject to Turkey, and paying tribute to her, yet taking into consideration the participation of the Servians in the last war, it has been found needful to lay down special conditions for their security. Consequently the Sublime Porte will pledge itself to pardon the Servians and give them a general amnesty for all acts past against her.'

But the new fortresses were to be destroyed and the old ones were to be garrisoned by Turkish troops. The Sultan, however, promised to allow an independent internal administration, and himself to fix the amount of tribute to be paid. But the times were deplorably against the Servians, for Russia was tired of the war, and thought she had done enough for her protégés, and so they found that the treaty was construed in such a way that the patriots were to submit unconditionally though they were promised clemency. They determined to continue the fight. The forces let loose upon the devoted nation were overwhelming. Valour cannot avail against overwhelming odds, and so the Servians lost battle after battle, and the Turks advanced steadily into the heart of the country, their tracks being marked by burning villages and slaughtered peasants. The panic-stricken people fled in crowds into Austria. Serbia was once more conquered, and lay wounded and bleeding at the feet of the Asiatic soldiers.

The several leaders of the people were now broken fugitives gloomily brooding over their miseries in Austria. But where was Milosch Obrenovitch, the rival of Kara George? He was still in Servia. Having a wife and family, he was determined to remain and brave the anger of the victorious Turks, rather than abandon those who had every claim on his protection. Being urged to fly, he exclaimed, 'No, I will never live in a foreign land while my wife and children are being sold into slavery;' and so he nobly remained, daily expecting to be thrown into prison, or shot off hand, by the exultant conquerors. He was sent for by the Pasha. The latter, exhibiting him to his people, said, 'Look, how quiet he is; and yet how he fought! He once wounded me;' and baring his arm, he showed the cicatrice. Milosch answered, 'Thy wounded arm, O Pasha, I will turn into gold,' a figurative expression which, as was intended, excited the Pasha's avarice. He knew that Milosch was rich, and he knew, moreover, that he could be of infinite use to him in quieting the people and aiding him to fleece them; so Milosch was taken into favour, and became a sort of go-between. The Turks in their dealings with their Christian subjects have always made great use of Christian-intermediaries, and most of these agents are men of a very low caste. Milosch, however, was of another sort. He was no saint, nor even a philanthropist. He made good use of his opportunities for enriching himself, but he had a fund of patriotism and an immense amount of cunning, and so he contrived to aid his countrymen, to ward off punishments from them, to liberate captives, and yet to appear to be of immense use to the Turks. These latter treated the conquered Christians as they always had done, and inflicted on them no small amount of misery. Suleiman Pasha impaled at one time 170 men in front of the fortress of Belgrade. Moreover, he issued a strict search for arms, and numerous peasants were put to frightful tortures to make them show where they had concealed their muskets. Men were roasted over slow fires, hung up by the heels, bastinadoed, and variously tormented, to induce them to give up their weapons, but the result was insignificant.

Mean time the Turks lived in constant fear of another outbreak. Cowardice is proverbially cruel, and those who dreaded a rising were incessantly taking the best means of causing it by their brutalities. Milosch was kept as a sort of hostage in the fortress of Belgrade, and he had the daily pain of seeing what sufferings his people were un-

dergoing. He of course was the object of intense suspicion, and was in hourly expectation of death. The Turkish suspicions were not unfounded, for the wily Servian lost no opportunity of plotting for another rising. He was only maturing his plans and waiting until the time was ripe. As he was entering the gate of the fortress, a Turkish soldier pointed to the fresh and ghastly head of a patriot placed on a pike as a warning. The Turk said, 'Your turn next;' and the hint was not lost on Milosch. He determined to put himself at the head of another rising, but how to get out of Belgrade, where he was incessantly watched?

He knew the Pasha's weakness, and framed his plans accordingly. He offered a large sum for the ransom of some Servian prisoners, and offered to pay half the money at once on condition that he was allowed to pass over to Austria to sell some pigs to make up thereby the other half. The Pasha was very reluctant to lose sight of so useful a man; but then a large sum of gold was in the question, so Milosch was allowed to go, and he plunged at once into the heart of Servia.

On Palm Sunday, 1815, while Europe was absorbed in the gigantic Napoleonic contest, there was a gathering of Servians in the heart of a forest summoned mysteriously from various parts. Each came with hearts wrung with the miseries they had witnessed or suffered, yet with an eager longing for some encouraging news; none seemed to know why or by whom they had been summoned, for messages sent to suspected patriots were necessarily clouded in mystery. While thus assembled there was a murmur heard on the outskirts of the crowd which soon swelled into a shout of exultation. Milosch Obrenovitch, then in the full maturity of manhood, suddenly appeared before them, clad in his fighting costume, fully armed, and waving aloft the flag of Servia, with the white cross conspicuous on the field. In few and burning words he again called them to arms, and offered himself as their leader. Each warrior's heart leaped with stern joy at the summons. A thousand memories of unutterable wrongs lay rankling in their breasts, and they then and there swore to death or victory. And nobly did they redeem their pledge, for they sallied out of that forest gathering recruits as they proceeded towards the camp of Kaya Pasha, whose soldiers had been revelling in blood and pillage. Like a thunderbolt they fell on the Turkish army near Palesch, although most hopelessly overmatched; but the energy of desperation prevailed, the Servians won the day; but so frightful was

the loss, that they were dismayed by their victory.

The civil war now went on raging, but the Servians achieved substantial successes. Milosch became renowned, and was everywhere recognised as the chief of the nation, and was treated as such by the Turks in negotiations. By dint of hard fighting, astute diplomacy, and Russian diplomatic intervention, the Turks were compelled to come to terms and agree to a sort of convention, the chief points of which were that 'justice in the cities was to be dispensed by a court composed equally of Turks and Servians, and taxes were to be imposed by the Servian National Assembly and levied by Servian officers.' There was a cessation of fighting, and matters seemed tolerably settled, and there was every hope of a durable peace on a satisfactory foundation, when again the whole sky was clouded by a most untoward occurrence. The old hero, Kara George, suddenly appeared near Semendria, and claimed hospitality of Vuitza, one of the heroes of the war. Before many hours had passed a number of heroic souls had joined him, the whole country was again appealed to, and the Turks still remaining were denounced and threatened with extermination. Milosch wrote to Vuitza as well as to Kara George, bitterly reproaching the former, and imploring the latter to desist from his rash enterprise. Mean time the Turks prepared to recommence the war with relentless vigour. The storm subsided in a few hours. Kara George was murdered in his bed by his host Vuitza—a most foul but useful deed.

If crimes could be judged by their results this might be pardoned, for peace ensued and Milosch was recognised as the head of the nation. Enjoying enormous power, he set himself to work to organise the country and to amass wealth for himself, in both of which tasks he was eminently successful.

We have not space to go through the weary history of menaced war, secret intrigues, both domestic and foreign, in which Servia has been engaged from the time of the murder of Kara George, about the year 1817, till now. Suffice it to say that her independence has been growing firmer and firmer ever since Milosch was driven from the country by his discontented subjects, whom he so oppressed as to efface from their memories all gratitude for his services. His son Milan succeeded him, but died immediately, when his second son, Michael, was called to the throne, governed badly, and was himself obliged to fly the country in 1842. Then the nation called Alexander Kara Georgevitch, the son of

the first Servian hero, who had been murdered as we have described. This prince commenced his reign, like the others, full of good intentions, but soon disgusted the nation, as popular kings always do, from Masaniello to Gladstone, and so Kara Georgevitch was obliged to retire in 1858. The Skouptchina, or National Assembly, now summoned old Milosch from his Austrian retirement to Belgrade. He reigned rather more than a year, and then dying, left the throne to his son Michael, a mature man nearly forty, who was once more proclaimed Prince of Servia.

In the year 1862 Europe was startled by the telegraphic announcement that the Turks were bombarding Belgrade from the fortress. There had been no declaration of war, and no rumours of any quarrel between the two nations, so that Europe was mystified; but as the bombardment did not last beyond a few hours, and no war of any kind followed, the event was no sooner heard of than it was effaced from the memory of busy Europeans by other occurrences in which they were more directly interested. European diplomacy, which has a mischievous habit of building up political walls with untempered mortar, and leaving the seeds of very pretty quarrels wherever it is called in, had left Servia practically an independent nation, but with seven fortresses, garrisoned by the Sublime Porte with Asiatic savages, in her midst, the chief and strongest of which was that of Belgrade, a masterpiece of Vauban's, which had several times changed hands between the Turks and Austrians. This unfortunate arrangement, framed to solace the *amour propre* of the Sultan, was a source of perpetual misery and discord in the country. All the malefactors who were able took refuge in the fortresses, where they purchased protection, and these strongholds became so many points of lawlessness and brigandage. The bombardment of Belgrade arose from the quarrel between a Turkish soldier and a Servian youth, who was slain by the former. The Servian police laid hold of the soldier, and he was rescued by his comrades, not without much bloodshed. The people flew to arms and blockaded the fortress, and the commandant at once bombarded the city; but, as the bombs had been long amongst the damp old military stores, fortunately but little damage was done. A long diplomatic struggle ensued, the English and Austrians taking the part of Turkey, while France, Russia, and Prussia supported the Servians. The result of this was that Turkey was induced to evacuate the fortresses, in other words, to consent that they

should be garrisoned by the Christian soldiers of the empire, and as there are none of this religion in Turkey but the Servians, they were allowed to garrison their own fortresses.

Prince Michael bent his whole energies to giving Servia a new and really independent life. In the Firman which established her autonomy the Servians were allowed to keep an armed force for the sake of order. This armed force had hitherto been a rude and ill-organised militia, composed of peasants in no sort of uniform, and each armed with what weapons he could procure. Their muskets were for the most part old Austrian firelocks, the refuse of the arsenals, or old Turkish rifles with no sort of uniformity of bore or ammunition. An effort was now made to procure arms from Birmingham; but our Foreign Office, acting on the tradition of supporting 'the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire,' succeeded in defeating the purchase of an armament in this country. The Prince next tried Russia, and here he was successful in purchasing about 200,000 old muskets, which were secretly conveyed across Wallachia, the prince of that country assisting by connivance. An arsenal was next established at Kraguevatz, where first-rate rifled cannon were cast and the old muskets repaired, and, in course of time, even transformed into breech-loaders. All this was due to the energy of Prince Michael, whose policy was to place his country in such a position that she might have a voice in the councils of Europe when her own interests or even existence were at stake. A nation of a million and a half unarmed peasants might be disposed of with as little regard to their interests as if they were so many sheep, but a nation that could summon to its standard 100,000 armed men tolerably drilled and organised, with 200 rifled artillery, besides a regular standing force of 5,000, would, as the Prince judged, be listened to. All these ambitious projects were realised, and Servia was placed by the determination, self-sacrifice, and energy of Prince Michael, in a better position than she had ever been since the fatal field of Kossova, in 1389.

It is not to be supposed, however, that this daring reformer prince could pursue his radical career of patriotism without raising a host of enemies, all the more dangerous that they worked in the dark. It was his regular custom to relax from his administrative labours by a daily walk in the Park of Toptchidéré, a lovely spot about three miles from Belgrade. Here he was wont to throw off all restraint, and, accompanied by some of the ladies of his family and perhaps an

aide-de-camp, to spend an hour or two in the glades of the forest. In the afternoon of the 10th of June, 1868, the Prince was thus engaged when he met three individuals in European costume. As the park was open to any decent citizen this caused no surprise: they saluted his Highness and passed him. No sooner was his back turned than the crack of revolvers told of a tragedy. The Prince fell, and the murderers rushed on him, stabbing and gashing the dying man with their knives. The two ladies, his relatives, were also attacked, one being desperately wounded, the other killed. The younger one feigned death after the first wound, and so escaped being stabbed, though she had to struggle through a long convalescence.

Luckily the veteran Minister Garashanin was within hearing, and when he had ascertained the cause of the pistol-shots he leaped on a horse and galloped into Belgrade before the conspirators in the city were quite prepared, and having alarmed the authorities and got the troops under arms and the police on the alert, the assassins and their accomplices were seized, and thus was a civil dynastic war averted, for it became evident that the movement was in favour of the deposed dynasty—the Kara Georgevitch. A long trial of the conspirators ensued, and twenty men suffered death for participation in the plot. Servia owes much to the late Colonel Blaznavatz, for mainly through his efforts the succession of young Milan, the present prince, was secured, and a regency appointed to guard him and administer the country during his minority of four years. That Servia passed through such a trial without disorder is a triumphant proof of the soundness of her institutions and of the capability of the people to govern themselves.

About eight years have elapsed since the assassination, and during that time it has been confidently anticipated that, having got rid of the Turks, the progress of the country would be rapid in the development of its resources and in general progress. Servia has not fulfilled the sanguine anticipation of her friends. She has preserved intact her privileges, protected life and property, and kept the roads clear of brigands; but her resources have been neglected, her bridges unbuilt, her roads scarcely kept in order, while no railroad has advanced beyond the stage of discussion. The reasons for this lamentable stagnation are various, some of which we have already indicated. While foreigners are exempt from the laws of the country, the Servians will naturally be shy and jealous of them;

and this feeling reacts again and makes foreigners shy of the Servians, and so it is difficult to introduce foreign capital into the country. The military force, too, is out of all proportion to the population, and is a heavy burden on the exchequer, but owing to the unsettled condition of the Ottoman Empire it is considered necessary, and it is not for us to gainsay the decision of the native Government.

Let us briefly inquire into the Constitution of Servia. After the Knes, or Prince, who is subject to the laws as in other European countries, the next civil authority is that of the Senate. It is composed of seventeen members named by the Prince, all of whom have attained the age of thirty-five, and are invariably chosen from amongst the public functionaries. The president and vice-president are appointed by the Prince. The pay of the former is £700 a year, of the latter £500, while the ordinary senator receives £420. These are life appointments. There is also a financial Board of Control, composed of the president and three senators.

The most ancient and important institution in Servia is that of the Skoupitchina, or House of Commons. There are two Skoupitchinas, the ordinary and extraordinary. The former is elected by universal manhood suffrage, and meets regularly every three years, or, if the Prince chooses, oftener. Theoretically, at all events, this House of Commons has great power, and naturally, as civilisation advances, will have more. That the members keep a sharp control over the finances is evident from the modest pay of the members of Government and the Senate. No taxes can be legally imposed without the recorded sanction of the Skoupitchina, nor can any modification in the constitution, or any organic laws, be made except after a due debate and recorded consent. Every two thousand voters elect a member, who must be thirty years of age. The privileges of the members are much the same as to arrest, &c., as those of all other civilised countries, and, as in most, but not all, such countries, the members are paid.

The extraordinary Skoupitchina, as the name implies, is convoked on extraordinary occasions, such as the election of a new Prince, in case the throne is declared vacant. It is four times in number larger than the ordinary Skoupitchina, and differs in a most important point besides; for whereas in the ordinary Skoupitchina the Prince names the president, vice-president, and other functionaries, in this, such officers are elected by the members. Thus when the Prince becomes more and more despotic, or more and more unpalatable to his subjects,

they can rise, as it were, in legitimate insurrection, and depose him, or sharply call him to order. When we reflect that the nation is armed and organised, and can send 100,000 men into the field, or even more in extremity, while the standing army, under the command of the Prince, is only about 5,000 strong, it will be seen that these Servians have strong guarantees for their national liberties. The Ministers forming the executive Government are appointed by the Prince, and are responsible to him and to the Senate. They consist of the Premier (who is also the Minister of Foreign Affairs), the Ministers of Justice, of the Home Department, of Education and Public Worship, of Finance, of War, and lastly of Public Works. The last, which ought to be the most important, is more of a sinecure than any of the others, and the first, which, considering that Servia is a *suzerain* principality, under the joint guarantee of the European Powers, ought to be almost entirely a nominal post, is in point of fact the most important of all.

Servia is divided into eighteen departments, sixty sub-departments, and a thousand and forty-nine communes. Each department is administered by a *Natchalnik*, which answers to the French *préfet*. When the traveller arrives at the capital of a province or department, he will notice at the end of the town or village a house somewhat larger than the rest, and if he knocks at the door it will probably be opened by the master of the house, who has hastily donned a blue uniform coat with a red collar. This is the Mayor, *préfet*, or *Natchalnik*, and he will bid the stranger a hospitable welcome, find him a room either in his own house or somewhere else, and will protect and aid him in every way in his power. He is at the head of the police, the post, telegraph, &c. His pay is small, from £100 to £200 a year.

When we come down to the village communes we have a striking remnant of a form of government whose origin is lost in antiquity, whose forms have survived Turkish tyranny and the extinction of nationality. It is best described by a Servian writer, as follows:—

‘Each Sunday all the heads of houses congregate to form a Skoupe. The assembly is held in the open air, and lasts four or five hours. In the centre sits the *kmete*, surrounded by the *startsi* (elders). Aided by these expert elders, assisted by his two attendants, and controlled by all the heads of houses, the *kmete* publicly judges the disputes of the villagers, deliberates with them all on the wants of the village, and reads the de-

crees of the Government, which each head of a family communicates to his household.'

The base of the commune or municipality is the family, and from this organisation has sprung an extension of the same principle peculiar to Servians, and this is the *Zadrooga*. A number of families, usually connected by blood or marriage, but not necessarily so (though in isolated agricultural communities every one is more or less connected), join themselves together into a sort of social brotherhood, headed by the oldest patriarch amongst them (*Starechina*), who can delegate his authority to the man he thinks most capable. This community lives on, I believe, strictly communistic principles, like those mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. These associations are recognised by law and have influenced legislation. As an example of the latter, women are not fairly treated with regard to property; a woman cannot inherit land, lest on marriage she should break up the *Zadrooga*. When a man marries, his wife is brought within the pale of the community. These *Zadroogas* were of great benefit to the people during the occupation of the Turks, for a marauding band of Delhis would bully and ravage a single family, but would hesitate to maltreat a *Zadrooga*. If a travelling stranger be admitted to the hospitality of a house within the association, he will observe that the *Starechina*, or chief, will sit at table with him while all the rest of the household dutifully wait on him.

As Servia is a nation of peasant proprietors, and, generally speaking, no hired labourers are to be found, these communities are admirably organised for cultivating the ground,—they are in fact co-operative associations, but the individuals of these *Zadroogas* seldom exceed fifty of both sexes.

The tax assessors of the community are named by the *Skoupe*, an exception to most other appointments, which proceed direct from the Prince.

A certain number of country doctors are paid and appointed by Government, which carefully places them in those positions where a doctor would not be likely to settle, and they are obliged to attend the poor gratis. Their pay is extremely small.

The country is well supplied with telegraph wires, and there is a regular post, which, however, is far from being as perfect as those organised in the Western nations.

The judicial system of the Servians is well worth the study of those learned in the law. There is an excellent popular account of it to be found in '*Les Serbes de Turquie*,' by A. Ubicini. He says, speaking of Legislation penale: '*Les peines edictées par le nouveau*

code penal (1860) ne gardent aucune de la rigueur parfois excessive des anciennes lois Serbes.'

Corporal punishment was abolished in 1873. Civil degradation is a sentence regulated as to time; and if a malefactor has abused his position in any particular trade, he may be condemned to refrain from that trade in future. At Belgrade there is a Court of Cassation, composed of a president, vice-president, and fifteen judges; also a Court of Appeal, divided into two parts, one for civil cases and one for criminal. There are throughout the country eighteen county courts. The chiefs of the communes can only decide on cases up to forty shillings.

The Servians who freed themselves and have founded the present Principality were wholly uneducated, and most of their chiefs might, with Douglas, have said,—

'Thanks to St. Bothan, son of mine
Save Gawain ne'er could pen a line.'

but the want of education was keenly felt by the nation, and steps were taken to establish a system of national instruction. There are now more than 331 public educational establishments, in which are 460 masters instructing more than 16,000 pupils. These establishments may be divided into 318 primary schools, 10 secondary schools, and 3 universities. All this work has been done in the face of the most formidable difficulties, since the language of Servia is not spoken by any other civilised community, so that professors and schoolmasters were found with difficulty.

Servia is essentially a territorial democracy, a nation of peasant proprietors, whose chief wealth lies in vast herds of swine, fed largely on the acorns of her primeval forests. With us the word democracy is too often associated with visions of an unwashed turbulent multitude, called the mob, the most depraved of our population clamouring for political changes. But there is yet another view of democracy. Supposing all men to be nearly equal in social condition, how then could we obtain an aristocracy or privileged order to rule the rest? and if not obtainable, a democracy would be inevitable, but with this important difference as compared with our own: here the democracy cries loudly for change, and urges on its rulers; there the democracy is intensely conservative, and is with difficulty urged onwards by its chosen rulers. In Servia, then, you have no aristocracy and no mob, and the people get on very well without either. There is not a single large proprietor throughout the country: the peasants have divided the land amongst themselves.

Servia, having achieved a practical independence, is naturally looked up to for aid and guidance by the oppressed populations around her still groaning under that organised system of brigandage called the Turkish Government. No insurrection occurs in Bosnia, Herzegovina, or Bulgaria without a thrill of sympathy being felt throughout the country. There is just as much difference in race, language, and religion between Servia and Bosnia as between Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and no more. The two counties are divided by the river Humber; the two countries by the river Drina; so that when the rayahs of Bosnia and Herzegovina are driven to insurrection, they naturally look for aid from their free brethren. On these occasions diplomacy is stern and pressing. The Austrian Government enjoins strict neutrality; for Austria, beyond all other countries, is anxious for peace to consolidate her heterogeneous empire; the Russian Consul-General speaks with much authority, as Russia is the avowed patron of all the Slavonian races, and her advice may or may not be for peace. She works in dark and tortuous fashion, but always with supreme indifference to the sufferings or welfare of other countries. France hitherto has leaned towards a generous recognition of struggling nationalities; but now she seems to watch the policy of Germany and to endeavour to thwart it; while England always has supported Turkey, *per fas et nefas*, shutting her ears to every cry of distress. So far Servia has been kept neutral, as far as any overt act of the Government is concerned; but insurrections in the neighbouring provinces have always been materially aided by private enterprise from this free province, and the Government has not dared too sternly to guard the frontiers.

During the Herzegovinian insurrection Servia has been held down, as it were, by main force by Austria and the Powers, for an avowed rising in Servia in aid of the rebels would inevitably change a local rebellion into a European war. Austria has been in a most painful position. If she were to show a decided sympathy with the struggling Slavonians she might eventually emerge from a war with two or three million more Slavonians on her hands in addition to her own—not easily governed Croats; and the Slavonian element in her empire would then be strong enough to overpower their natural enemies, the Hungarians, to deteriorate the policy of the Government by importing into it a less civilised element, and to create new dangers of incalculable magnitude. Of late years a small but determined and energetic party

has made itself heard on the Danube and filled with dismay the older and more sober statesmen. The Omladina, or Radical Republicans, aim at nothing less than founding a large Slavonian Republic on the ruins of the Austrian and Turkish empires. With regard to the latter the philanthropist can but wish them success. Each form of Government is denounced by the partisans of the other, but all must agree that anything is better than the dismal despotism of the Turkish Empire.

If, on the other hand, Austria were to aid the Turks too openly in suppressing the Herzegovinian rebellion she would alienate and exasperate her large Slavonian population, which at critical times, notably during the Hungarian rising of 1848, has afforded her timely aid.

Although Servia is now quiet, and has officially refused all aid to the rebels, it is by no means certain that this policy will continue during the summer of 1876, if the rising is not quelled. The enthusiasm of the people for their oppressed brethren has been at boiling point, but their military preparations have not been equal to their enthusiasm. During the regency, while Milan was a boy, the military stores were not properly looked after, and there are more than rumours of peculation. No one knows better than the Prince the unpreparedness of his country; but under the plausible excuse of self defence those deficiencies are being rapidly made up, and during the whole ensuing winter warlike preparations will continue. If the rebels can manage to exist during the coming winter months, Europe may yet see how great a fire a little spark may kindle, and Servia may yet become a household word in Europe.

ART. V.—*The Stock Exchange and Foreign Loans.*

Report from the Select Committee on Loans to Foreign States. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 29, 1875.

WARNING the public against the dangers of foreign loans is a case of locking the door when the steed is stolen. The mischief has been done; the money advanced upon no, or upon very bad, security, has been lost; the unscrupulous promoters have reaped their golden harvest; and the 'eminent financiers' who have fattened on the spoils laid by a credulous public at their feet

have grown to the height of their power. Was there any use, it may then be asked, for the House of Commons to appoint a committee to examine into the subject of foreign loans, with special reference to the defaulting South American republics? The limits of the inquiry were tolerably well understood at the time, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who assented to the proposal with evident reluctance, warned the public against exaggerated hopes of the results likely to be secured. No encouragement was given to the idea that the Government would sanction the employment of force to right the wrongs so eloquently expounded by Sir Henry James. In his speech proposing the appointment of a commission, the member for Taunton quoted some bellicose remarks of Lord Palmerston, that were favourable to the idea that English diplomacy might in certain circumstances enforce the contracts entered into with English subjects by foreign states. It was necessary that no illusion should be permitted to exist on this point, and, after consultation with the Foreign Office, the Chancellor of the Exchequer carefully guarded against the possibility of misconception. Events since have confirmed the wisdom of the warning. The readiness with which the cry for interference with Turkey, to compel her, *vi et armis* if necessary, to continue honest, has been raised and re-echoed, proves the proneness of the public to invoke national aid in any difficulty. The influential deputation that lately waited upon Lord Derby on the question of the Turkish default went away less than half satisfied, because the utmost that could be given was the assurance that the Government would do what it could to help the bondholders by unofficial representations. The arguments of the Foreign Secretary against direct diplomatic interference with Turkish finance were irrefragable. If it were understood that the English creditor of defaulting foreign states might rely upon English arms to enforce his contract, why need he take thought regarding the security on which he lends his money? He would have the advantage, when the credit of the borrowing state was not the best, of high interest, and would be sure, if anything went wrong, that English power would be employed to set him right. He would thus be put in a better position than the creditors of England herself, who must be satisfied with three per cent. When the foreign loans which the commission inquired about were contracted, there was no understanding that, in case of default, the Government would go to the rescue of the creditors; for in that event the loans would have been obtained on

easier terms. Where would be the justice of suddenly altering the conditions of the contract by intruding the force of British diplomacy upon the field? How could it be right to impose burdens on the nation to save people from the pecuniary loss which is the result of their own imprudence and greed of high interest? Would it be at all fair to make all classes of the community pay to help those people who, with their eyes open, risked their money because the profit they were promised was far above what usually attends a safe investment?

Recent events have done much to enlighten the public mind on these points. The view to which Lord Derby gave expression has been generally accepted. It may be regretted that prominent statesmen, full of a generous faith in the resources of Turkey, should have used words that tempted investors to trust their money to the Porte; but that circumstance cannot, after all the changes of the past twenty years, be a relevant argument for intervention to compel the Sultan to fulfil his engagements. At the time the Foreign Loans Commission was appointed only very sanguine creditors fancied the result would be intervention by the Government. What good, then, could be done by inquiry, if there were to be no national protest against the culpable default of states like Paraguay and Honduras, and if nothing was to be done to enforce the contracts into which they entered? The inquiry was limited to 'the circumstances attending the making of contracts for loans with certain foreign states, and also the causes which have led to the non-payment of the principal moneys and interest due in respect of such loans.' The 'certain foreign states' referred to were Honduras, Paraguay, Costa Rica, and Santo Domingo, which are indebted in all between eleven and twelve millions sterling. The selection of defaulting states was in some measure capricious, for other states have been equally guilty or similarly unfortunate. We do not refer to Turkey—the most gigantic instance of national repudiation on record—whose default is subsequent to the date of the Commission's Report. There is Spain, however, which long since exhausted every claim to forbearance. Greece has not been guiltless in the years that are gone, and Mexico has complacently laughed her creditors to scorn, seemingly resolved to make no effort to bring about an arrangement.

The inquiry moved for by Sir Henry James was confined to the most recent instances of financial dishonesty, for it did not extend farther back than the year 1867, the date of issue of the first Honduras loan.

The four South American republics were in some respects in worse case than even Spain, for there is no chance of their ever being able, even if they were willing, to pay their debts. The money of their English creditors is almost as hopelessly lost as if it had been cast into the sea. As foreign states and their agents cannot be sued in the English law courts, restitution was an idle dream, and the only good that could be looked for from inquiry, was to warn the English public against similar cunningly concocted schemes in future. The exposure ought to have that effect. The moral results of the Committee must be considerable upon our commercial and financial transactions. The public have been put on their guard regarding the character of the people with whom they had to deal in their counting-houses and places of business. In addressing the Anchor meeting at Bristol, in November last, Mr. Morley, the senior member for that city, said 'there were a few men in the city of London who had feathered their nest by the grossest imposition, and it was time that a warning voice should be uttered to the people, that they should not depend upon the dictum of other persons, but upon their own careful, and, if he might say so, inquisitorial inspection.' The warning voice will no doubt prove effective for a time, but we cannot rely upon it being sufficient for ever. The schemes by which wily and unscrupulous financiers extract money from the pockets of the public vary. When one mode is discredited another is adopted. For the moment there is universal distrust of foreign states as borrowers, except of those occupying the first rank. For the present, and for some little time to come, therefore, there is little danger of English investors handing over their money, at however high interest, to bankrupt South American Republics and decrepit Eastern Empires. The fit of scepticism has succeeded to the simple faith which implicitly believed in every security that was backed by the name of a government. The prevalent distrust has been intensified by the Commissioners' inquiry and report, and the temporary reaction will probably be excessive, involving perfectly solvent states in the same discredit as those of doubtful position and reputation. When, however, the present fit has passed away, and we have again entered smooth financial waters, the public will be in danger of being once more misled by unscrupulous financiers and cunning promoters. There is no security against this result except in a higher tone of financial morality, and in the subsidence of the speculative mania which has long had possession

of all classes of the public. We have not much confidence in the power, even were we surer than we are of the willingness, of the Stock Exchange Committee to set bounds to the speculative fever; and still less ground is there for the hope that legislation—which can never be framed so as to defy evasion—will protect the public from the financial sharks that prey on them. Each separate speculative fit as it is passing away leaves similar warnings to those repeated by the Foreign Loans Commissioners; but each new attack of the malady occurs under different circumstances, and hope springs eternal in the speculator's breast. When the present depression in business has been succeeded, as in the natural course of things it will be, by a fresh revival in trade, new baits will be dangled by means of fresh prospectuses and companies, and the silly trout will rise to the bait, as before. Unless the speculative mania has been mined at the root, unless the standard of private and commercial morality is raised, we shall have a few years hence a repetition of the old story, which, from the period of the Darien scheme to those of the foreign loans of to-day, has been told repeatedly in vain to a credulous public. The Stock Exchange Committee may apply palliatives; the House of Commons may second their efforts by legislation; but if the gambling propensity continues to gain strength, nothing will save the public from being cheated afresh.

Do we then regard the disclosures of the Foreign Loans Commission as useless? By no means. Their exposure of the *modus operandi* of the promoters of foreign loans will for the moment impress a much-needed lesson of prudence on the public mind. The amazing readiness with which investors surrendered their money to the agents in the most worthless schemes is not likely to be forgotten. The spectacle of impecunious foreign states, able to count upon scarcely a few thousand pounds of revenue, becoming debtors for millions, supplied from the hard earnings and savings of British men and women, must be productive of caution. It is desirable that the real nature and origin of these nefarious schemes should be proclaimed with trumpet-tongue in every British household. We share to the full the conviction borne in upon the Committee by their investigations, that the best security against the recurrence of the evils they have described is to be found in the enlightenment of the public as to their true character, rather than in legislative enactments. We share the hope of the Committee that the history of the foreign loans embodied in their report will have this effect, and will

render it more difficult for unscrupulous persons to carry out schemes like those which have ended in such great discredit and disaster. Although we are not confident that any warnings which are only addressed to the prudential instincts of the British public will prevent the success of similar enterprises in the future so long as the gambling impulse is nursed and fostered, the warnings will not be wholly worthless if they apply even a temporary check to that propensity. The more it is held in check, if only by prudence, the greater the chance of the higher voice of principle being listened to in the long run. Therefore we desire, by giving further publicity to the manner in which the public have been victimised, to aid in the accomplishment of the work of the Committee. It is necessary to explain, first of all, the conditions under which alone it was possible for the promoters and financiers concerned in floating foreign loans to achieve success. We shall thereby bring into more distinct relief what, without doubt, is the real root of the evil. In order that there may be victims, there must be dupes. The efforts of the victimisers would be futile if they did not sow their seed in soil prepared for it.

Among the witnesses examined before the Commission was Mr. C. E. Lewis, the member for Londonderry, who last session brought in a Bill for the registration of foreign loans, and who has given information regarding the tendency of the public to speculative business in the Stock Exchange of London. Mr. Lewis, speaking from an experience of many years of brokers and dealers, had no hesitation, from what he knew, in saying that the public have made the Stock Exchange a vast gambling-house, especially in regard to transactions in unallotted stocks and shares.

'I can only say,' explained Mr. Lewis, 'that if the Committee had seen the names and accounts of women, ladies of title, men of all classes and ranks of life, in stockbrokers' books, they would be perfectly astounded; and it is impossible to believe what I know as to the wide-spread character of the gambling upon the Stock Exchange. The public, not the dealers, because the stockbroker does not know when an account is opened whether it is to be a speculative account or not, but the public of all classes and of both sexes have made the Stock Exchange a great gambling-house, and especially those gambling transactions take place in unallotted stock.'

As the Legislature, by prohibiting the publication of betting advertisements, has succeeded in driving them out of the United

Kingdom, the member for Londonderry suggested the application of a similar rule to certain classes of Stock Exchange transactions.

'The canker has eaten so deeply into society that nothing but a prohibition (so far as you can carry out that prohibition safely with reference to the requirements of business) of all dealings in unallotted stock and shares, and the prohibition of all advertisements and statements in newspapers with reference to these dealings themselves, will have any effect whatever in checking the evil. It may be a strong remedy to apply; it was also a strong remedy to apply to prevent betting advertisements; but it has had its effect.'

As no rosewater methods would cure the disease, it was necessary, Mr. Lewis averred, to strike a blow at the fictitious dealing which was the root of the evil, 'the publication of the absurd and false prices which delude a clergyman to invest his money, or a widow her savings,' in stock or shares forced up by financial combinations to prices extravagantly in excess of their intrinsic value. The 'Times' newspaper, it may be explained, acts upon the salutary rule of never quoting the price of an unallotted share of a joint-stock company. It refrains from doing so in the public interest, and Mr. Lewis was of opinion that the rule of self-abnegation voluntarily imposed by the 'Times' in reference to unallotted shares should be extended to unallotted stocks, and should be made compulsory on the whole press. There are practical difficulties however in the way of making these dealings illegal, and the member for Londonderry did not succeed in convincing the Committee that his suggestion was feasible. The rule of the Stock Exchange is that, unless upon clear proof of fraud, no bargain must be voided. The Committee of the Exchange have power to enforce this rule, because they may deprive a broker of his means of livelihood; and Mr. de Zoete, the chairman of the Committee, in the course of his examination, stated that if a broker refused to fulfil his bargain or contract, though it were illegal, he would be expelled the House. Illegal bargains which are not fraudulent are held to be more binding than many legal ones, since they become debts of honour. If, then, the Legislature were to declare bargains made in shares before allotment illegal, they would not on that account be allowed to be repudiated by the brokers who were parties to them. Such repudiation would draw down upon the broker the penalty of expulsion from the Stock Exchange; that is to say, he would be punished by professional ruin. That being so, the Commission were

unable to suggest any legal or legislative remedy of the evils on which Mr. Lewis dwelt. The only sure remedy is the force of public opinion, and a general diminution of the passion for gambling; and unhappily there is no doubt the member for Londonderry was correct when he said the spirit of gambling had of late years very much increased among the English people. This conclusion is confirmed by the vast increase that has been observed in betting on sporting events; and it is the same impulse which, applied to finance, has converted the Stock Exchange into an immense gambling hall, by means of speculative accounts open for the fall or rise in the prices of stock and shares and dealings in foreign loans. A stock which is without intrinsic value may nevertheless be used to supply gambling counters to almost any extent. People have, for instance, been dealing in Mexicans for years, though they are virtually without any real value; and they will go on dealing with them. 'If they had nothing else to deal with,' said Mr. Lewis, 'they would deal with pens. What alone is wanted is the semblance or representation of an article in which they may bet one against another, perhaps for half-a-crown per cent. "I bet with you that Mexican stock to-morrow will be half-a-crown per cent. more" than it is,' that is all it means.' In the case of Mexicans, allotted stock is the counter, but it has become worthless, and the alterations of price are arbitrary as representing no change in intrinsic value, for there is none. Staking money on the chance of such an alteration taking place is therefore pure and undiluted gambling; for it is simply a bet that such a thing, about which nobody has any data for forming a judgment, will turn out to be so-and-so at such a time.

For a fuller explanation of the plan and functions of the Stock Exchange Committee—the only body that exercises authority or control in these matters—we turn to the evidence of its chairman, Mr. de Zoete, who was twice before the Commission. On the second occasion he attended to explain the nature and extent of the jurisdiction of the Committee, which, from being a private body for the regulation of internal business, has come to be recognised by the courts of law as holding a public and quasi-judicial position. As now constituted, the committee started in 1802, and at first confined itself to the regulation of business limited entirely to English stocks. At that period there were no dealings in foreign stocks, and business was carried on under Sir John Barnard's Act, which declared transactions

in consols for time illegal. The first foreign loan (a Russian one) was in 1822; but it was not until after the great expansion of business that took place in consequence of the construction of railways in this country, and again subsequently on the passing of the Limited Liability Act, that business assumed its present dimensions.

'By degrees,' said Mr. de Zoete, 'many transactions in foreign loans and in shares became a question of litigation in the courts as to what was the nature of these contracts; and the courts held that contracts in foreign loans were to be treated as contracts in any other commodities. There arose a distinction consequently between contracts in consols and contracts in foreign stocks and in shares, and that anomaly led to the repeal of Sir John Barnard's Act, since which all stocks and transactions have been on the same footing. The courts of law have recognised the rules and usages of the Stock Exchange as good and reasonable, and the result has been that we have been brought in closer contact, every day of late years, with the public; so that, instead of being a private body, we have really become a sort of public tribunal for the regulation of matters of this kind.'

The Stock Exchange is the medium for bringing together those who have money to lend and those who wish to borrow; and to the latter it gives important facilities, by admitting loans that are not objectionable on the face of them to a quotation in the official lists and to a settlement, without which, transactions in the loan by brokers and dealers would be impossible. Those who represent the government of a state, wishing to raise money in England, apply to the Stock Exchange Committee, who give notice of the application for a quotation and settlement, and it is competent for any one who sees objections to granting the application to lay them before the committee. The committee professedly act in the interest of the general public, and have been known to suspend quotation or defer it until objections raised have been removed. Foreign states which resort to the London market to raise money have—Mr. de Zoete claims—an interest in being straightforward in their representations; but he admits that no examination is made into their capabilities and resources. They supply no return of their revenues, or any balance-sheets; but Mr. de Zoete assured the Commission there have been no instances of misrepresentations on the part either of foreign states or their agents, the contractors. The irregularities, however, to which he referred, were only such as would be patent on the face of the proceedings: that is, which could be discovered from the papers handed

in, and they must be simple contractors indeed who allow anything of that sort. When there is nothing irregular in these papers, a quotation and settlement are granted as a matter of course. There is never any difficulty experienced in finding a contractor who will certify whatever may be required. If it is necessary to affirm that a certain amount of the loan has been *bond fide* applied for and taken up by the public, the certificate is at once forthcoming, although the whole amount may have been taken up by private arrangement, and the public have had nothing to do with the transaction. Such a system is morally indefensible; but when we inquire how it is to be amended, we are faced by the difficulties to which we have already adverted. Mr. de Zoete plainly states that the Stock Exchange regulates its business in defiance of Acts of Parliament. Sir John Barnard's Act, by which time bargains—or buying and selling one day with the view of selling or buying at a future day, and so making money by the 'differences' of price in the interval—were rendered illegal, was for many years inoperative; and it was the same with Mr. Leeman's Act, making bargains in bank shares illegal unless the numbers of the shares were supplied when a sale took place. This Act was found to interfere with the ordinary business of the country, and therefore it has become a dead letter. The fundamental rule of the Stock Exchange, which no Act of Parliament is allowed to override, is to uphold the 'indefeasibility' of all bargains. 'We disregarded for years and years Sir John Barnard's Act,' said Mr. de Zoete, 'and we are now disregarding Mr. Leeman's Act, because it will not work, and we consider that anything which interferes with the integrity of a bargain must be mischievous; it must limit the freedom of dealing, the freedom of the market, and so be to the detriment of the public generally; besides giving rise to evasions. The statement was repeated over and over again that it is 'the fundamental policy of the Stock Exchange that all bargains are indefeasible in themselves;' and that so long as there is nothing fraudulent or immoral, the interference of the Legislature with matters of contract must be purely mischievous. 'There is not a member of the Stock Exchange who would dare to stand on the boards of the Stock Exchange if he would not fulfil that contract which sets at defiance an Act of Parliament; he would be obliged to walk out; he would be expelled, simply because it would be dishonourable,' were the bargain made illegal by a dozen Acts of Parliament. Speculative or time bargains

are declared by Mr. de Zoete to be essential, as it would be impossible to carry on the business of the country unless persons were permitted to buy what they were not prepared to take at that particular moment, or might sell what they were not then prepared to deliver. 'If you destroy the time market,' he said, in answer to Mr. Watkin Williams, 'you destroy the market altogether. The fact is that the time market in consols, and in everything else, is the very engine by which all the transactions of the Stock Exchange are carried out in the best and readiest way. It is in consequence of the time market, and the facilities given by it, that the investors or sellers always find a ready market at the instant.'

We have gone thus into detail regarding the practice of the Stock Exchange in the transaction of business, in order that the way in which foreign loans can be floated may be the more readily understood, and that it may be seen how difficult, if not impossible, it must be to guard by legislative enactments against the operations of those who, through them, prey upon the public. The conclusion of the Commission is to the same effect, for they report against the practicability of Mr. Lewis's suggestion to prohibit dealings in foreign loans before allotment.

Although it may not be possible to prohibit dealings in unallotted stocks, there is no reason why it should not be made obligatory on the Stock Exchange Committee to insist upon a statutory declaration (at intervals) of the amount of stock that remains unallotted of any loan not fully issued. Under the present system the full amount of the loan is quoted in the official list, as if it had been all subscribed for, and the public are deluded into the belief that the whole amount has been placed.

We now come to explain—and it must be briefly—the *modus operandi* by which impetuous states, like Honduras, Paraguay, Santo Domingo, and Costa Rica have been able to extract money from English investors without security for the payment of principal or interest, and with the moral certainty that neither the one nor the other would be paid. The case of the Honduras Loans—there were three of them—is specially instructive, because of the poverty of the borrowing state, and the outrageous character of the schemes for which some of the money was asked—such as the wild proposal to construct a ship railway—as well as from the fact that Honduras was an old debtor, who had long been in default at the time it came into the English market to borrow more. So long ago as 1825, a loan was negotiated in London by the Federal States of

Central America for £163,000, bearing interest at six per cent. When the Federation was dissolved in 1827, two-twelfths, or £27,200, were apportioned to Honduras, and £13,500, to Costa Rica, as their respective shares, the remainder being taken by Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Salvador. No principal or interest was paid by Honduras in respect of its share, which in 1867 amounted, with accumulated interest, to £90,075. There were other debts due by Honduras, which brought up the total to £120,451; and in security for an advance of £7,300 by Judah Hart and Co., merchants, London, the revenues of the country were hypothecated to that firm. Before more money could be asked for in 1867, it was felt to be only decent to clear off the old debt, and the £90,075 was finally compromised on arrangement for a payment of £55,000 in bonds, the interest being reduced from six to five per cent. The amount of interest on the original debt, due annually, was only £1,632; but for forty years the republic had been unable to pay, either in whole or part.

Undaunted by these facts, the representatives of the Honduras Government in Paris and London—M. Victor Herran and Don Carlos Gutierrez—entered, on the 25th of October, 1867, into a written agreement with Messrs. Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt for the simultaneous issue in the two capitals of a loan of one million sterling, or thirty-six times the amount of the old debt, of which the Republic had been unable to pay either principal or interest. Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt were the contractors, and the Government agreed to pay £140,000 annually, for fifteen years, by which time the whole would be paid off. In security for the annual payment, there was a special hypothecation of the revenues of a railway—not yet constructed—and a first mortgage on the domains and forests of the state, the proceeds of which were to be consigned to Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt, who were to apply them in payment of interest and sinking fund. The prospectus was issued early in November, 1867, and according to it the issue price was to be £80 per cent.; and after allowing for deductions for interest on the instalments paid—to be completed by 1st April, 1869—the £100 bond, issued at £80, would yield £73 11s. 10½d., or the loan of £1,000,000 would give in all £735,937. The loan was to be paid off at par by means of a sinking fund of £3 per cent. per annum. The immediate purpose of the loan was to obtain money to construct an inter-oceanic line of railway from Puerto Caballos, on the Atlantic, to the Bay

of Fonseca, on the Pacific. On the 5th December, 1867, Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt put in the necessary certificate to obtain a quotation, in which they certified that £561,100 of the Honduras Railway Loan had been raised in England, and that instalments equal to £74,782 3s. 1d. had been paid to date. The remainder, being appropriated to the Continent, was said to be represented by French scrip. Will it be credited that at the time of this statement, according to the Honduras Legation itself, the loan was such a failure, that 'there were hardly any other subscriptions than one of £10,000 by the firm of Bischoffsheim,' the contractors? On or before 30th June, 1868, out of the million sterling which was the nominal amount of the loan, £951,660 had come into the possession of the representatives of the Honduras Government, so that the whole amount taken by the public was £48,340, nominal value. All the remainder had, in consequence of non-allotment or by re-purchase, been taken by the Government itself. The loan, in fact, was regarded by the public—as Don Carlos Gutierrez acknowledged—'with perfect indifference and with profound contempt.'

No one will question that the public instinct was in this case right, but the contractors were more wary than the public. The tactics of the promoters underwent a change. Having failed in the first effort to float the loan, a new plan was tried. A deed was executed on 30th June, 1868, to which M. Herran, Don Carlos Gutierrez, Messrs. Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt, Mr. Charles Lefevre, Mr. Cotterill, and Mr. Robinson were parties, under which Mr. C. Lefevre undertook to place the whole bonds, representing £951,660, by the end of 1869. Mr. Lefevre promised to pay the Honduras Government £68 12s. for each of the bonds, in respect of which £73 11s. 10½d. would have been received from the public in terms of the prospectus. Don Carlos Gutierrez and others, trustees for the railway, were to receive in all £500,000; and £82,000, or 12 per cent., were to go to Messrs. Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt, for commission; and £100,000, or 14½ per cent., to Don Carlos Gutierrez and Charles Lefevre. Bonds to the nominal amount of £175,700 only could be disposed of, and a new agreement became necessary, under which the remainder of the bonds were sold to Mr. Lefevre. A Mr. Richard Evans now appears on the scene, and we owe to him the description of the means by which Mr. Lefevre managed to dispose of the bonds to the public. Brokers were engaged to 'direct the attention of their friends to the security,'

and the broker would offer to purchase bonds from Evans; and if it were for a large amount, 'Lefevre would be willing to sell it at much below the market price.' Since the inevitable effect of selling large quantities of any stock is to run down the price, it was arranged to make purchases to keep up the price. A Mr. James Barclay was employed to buy the stock when the market was flat.

'First,' said Mr. Barclay, 'the jobber would come to me and say that there were lots of sellers about, and I reported that the first time Mr. Evans came to my office, and asked what was going on; and Mr. Evans would go with the information to Mr. Lefevre, and come back with the order, "Take so much stock;" which I bought on commission. At the settlement, if there were a debtor balance to Mr. Lefevre, he would take the stock and pay for it.'

By these devices £631,000 of the stock of the Honduras Loan were sold to the public between 30th July, 1868, and 21st June, 1870, the quoted price being maintained above £80. In November, 1868, it was £94, and in June, 1870, it was £88. After 1st July, 1872, the Honduras Government ceased to make any payments in respect of either interest or sinking fund; and the bonds, which were cunningly foisted on the public by Mr. Lefevre and his confederates, being no longer supported by fictitious dealings, and being intrinsically worthless, have ceased to represent any real value. They are still quoted in the Stock Exchange list, but there are scarcely any dealings in them; and they stand at £2 or £3 instead of £80, at which they were issued, or £94, to which Mr. Lefevre drove them up for the purpose of deceiving the public, and to induce purchases.

A similar process was tried to float the other two loans; and substantially, though with incidental variations, it was the same with the Paraguay, San Domingo, and Costa Rica loans. In all cases the promoters, who acted the part of go-betweens in reference to the state issuing the loan, and the public who were asked to take it up were altogether disregardful of the resources of the borrowing state. With one unimportant exception there is no instance which has come before the Committee in which the borrowing Government has repaid any portion of its indebtedness in respect of these loans, except from the proceeds of the loans themselves. A cunningly-worded prospectus was in every instance so drawn as to mislead the investing public, who were tempted to invest by enticing promises of the great pecuniary advantages that would result from dealing in the loan. The contracting state was re-

presented to be possessed of abundant resources, which rendered both principal and interest secure, while the special hypothecation of the revenues for the service of the debt made the creditors feel satisfied. Chief among the 'flagrantly deceptive means' adopted to induce the public to advance money, were 'dealings in the stock by the contractors for the loan before its allotment to the public.' The contractor, operating through a number of dealers and brokers, creates a purely fictitious market by dealings that drive up the price, and the public are deceived into the belief that the enhanced price represents the actual value of the stock. Seeing it going up, they expect it will go still higher, and make applications for allotments, in the hope of securing a good investment, or afterwards realising a profit. So long as the contractors have stock to sell they keep up the price in their own interest, and when they cease to support the market by fictitious dealing, the price goes down with a run, and the public are left to bear the loss on their depreciated securities that are intrinsically worthless. The suggestion to render dealings in unallotted stock illegal is natural; but the prohibition would be evaded, and we fear must prove practically useless. It is doubtful if any other means can be devised of guarding against the evils due to speculative dealings. It is very uncertain if legislative interference with the regulations of the Stock Exchange would do good. The creation of merely legal offences that bear no moral stigma might only open the way to other irregularities of a worse type. What ought to be rather aimed at is to bring to bear upon the Stock Exchange itself such a public opinion that the deeds and devices by which 'eminent financiers' are able to rob the public for their own benefit—for the borrowing state has often received less of the proceeds of the loan than the contractors and promoters—may be stamped with infamy. It is so far satisfactory that the promoters who are pilloried in the Report of the Foreign Loans Commission are not Englishmen, but foreigners, mostly German-Jew adventurers, to whom the evil reputation of our Stock Exchange is largely due. The exposure has already made London too hot to hold some of them, and ere long we trust our Exchange and the City will be wholly purged of the evil leaven. These financing speculators are the natural enemies of the public, for they make their living by preying upon their fellows. They exist on the weakness and credulity of their dupes, by exciting their cupidity by false promises in brilliant prospectuses. The warnings and exposures

of their doings have been so numerous however of late, that there is some reason to hope they may find their occupation is gone.

The more recent history of foreign loans is a disastrous one, even worse than the Committee's Report indicates. Since its issue we have seen Turkey by an arbitrary decree reduce the interest on her debt by a half—a measure of pure confiscation, because adopted without consultation with her creditors. The depreciation of Turkish bonds which followed has mulcted the bondholders far more heavily than the partial loss of their interest. All confidence in the good faith of the Porte is gone, and the financial has precipitated a political crisis, which bids fair to seal the doom of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. A variety of schemes have been suggested by which the interests of Turkish bondholders may be protected, and it is possible that those who hold on will not ultimately be losers. Any partition of the Turkish Empire by which the independence of its component parts will be secured under the protection of the Great Powers must be accompanied by an apportionment of the debt among the various states erected on the ruins of the empire. This however is still a remote prospect. What is now patent is the fact that the Porte has reaped all the discredit without any of the advantages of repudiation. It has acted with the precipitation and recklessness of a barbarous power, and it will be a just retribution if its financial default brings its political overthrow. The case of Peru is not much better than that of Turkey, though there is hope the worst may be staved off. The Peruvian Government empowered a commission to sign a treaty or contract for arranging the service of its debt; and, after it had been signed, revoked. The bad faith in this case is quite as manifest as with the Porte. According to a table compiled by the City editor of the 'Times,' the depreciation of foreign loans during the last four years reaches the enormous total of seventy-seven millions sterling, or nearly forty-nine per cent. of the total, as compared with the price of issue. Of these seventy-seven millions, the editor estimates that sixty have probably come directly out of the pockets of the public, and the rest indirectly. The only consolation is that the game seems nearly played out. Unfortunately it is not only by foreign loans that the English people have been victimised. There have been numerous other schemes of eminent financiers and shifty promoters which stand on the same moral level with the Honduras Loan. Not to speak of the Erie Railway, the bulk of whose

shares and bonds are held by English men and women, we have had such swindles as the Emma Mine and the Canadian Oil Wells. The greed for exorbitant profits—the speculative propensity—is at the bottom of the success of all these gigantic impositions. Last in date, but happily least in success, comes the Co-operative Credit Bank, appealing to the 'industrial classes,' and promising 18 per cent. interest on deposits, and a share in profits up to 30 per cent., by means of the most risky speculative transactions, such as 'operations in shares and stocks.' This scheme has been exposed in time, and the designs of the promoters have been balked. The 'Times,' too, is very full of virtuous indignation just now (perhaps it is 'righteous over much'), but it would have been more to its credit had it warned the public at first, when it knew how and by whom these financial schemes were being floated.

But all these things demonstrate the existence of a deep-rooted disease which has eaten like a canker into the heart of society, and whose virus has infected all classes and both sexes of our population. It is the eager haste to be rich, and the preference of speculative ventures to the slow processes of industry and economy, which alone renders possible the success of deceitful foreign loans and gigantic schemes of railway and mining imposture. Blame the active agents in the several swindles as we may, their operations could never have succeeded unless the moral fibre of the public had been deteriorated by the predominance of the spirit of gambling, and the only certain cure of the evil is the extirpation or proper regulation of the speculative propensity. We trust the press will succeed in stamping out the insidious proposal of a Night Exchange for the West End of London. It would vastly intensify the mischief; and with the knowledge we have of the scandalous results of nocturnal gambling of the same sort in Paris and New York, we protest against the scheme in the interests of public morality.

ART. VI.—*Disestablishment in New England.*

PERHAPS no part of the history of man more requires for its faithful comprehension the application of the rule, 'Put yourself in his place,' than the early history of New England, or has suffered more of misconception for the want of that application. Had it,

like Canada, remained to this day a dependency of the mother country, many things would have appeared, and would have been, perfectly natural, which in the light of actual political and social changes seem to require explanation.

First of all, it should never be forgotten that the founders of New England were Englishmen of the early part of the seventeenth century. As such, while exceptional in those respects which led to their emigration, they were still strongly marked by the peculiarities of their age and country. They had no ambition to found a new nation. It was a great cross to them to be driven to that necessity. Nothing could have pleased them better than to have seen King James's policy so far modified as to have made it possible for them to stay at home with a good conscience. They sincerely believed that, in the main, the government was right in its fundamental principles, only mistaken in its application of them; right in rigidly ruling with reference to spiritual things, wrong only in the data by which that rule was determined; right in compelling men as to their Church polity, wrong only as to the kind of polity which was the object of such compulsion. It would be the height of absurdity, therefore, to expect that when landed, after a voyage of three thousand miles, in the North American wilderness, such Englishmen should launch themselves at once into the middle of the nineteenth century. Clearly the only course natural to them was—*mutatis mutandis*—to reproduce as well as they could on the western side of the Atlantic the mother country, as they thought she ought to be, and as—if they had had the power—they would have made her to be, at home. Those who came the nearest to being exceptional to this were the Plymouth men. They had tarried long enough on the continent to have become in some things modified by its influences; while the very character of their separatism, intensified by the malignant persecutions to which they had been subjected, had pushed them to the forefront of those thinkers of their time whose faces looked toward the better day of civil and religious freedom that was dawning.

The fact that the settlement of New England had a distinctively religious intent, which found recognition in the early charters,* is one important to be remembered in

this connection; inasmuch as such an intent would, on the one hand, make probable and justify a closeness of supervision by the new colonies as to the quality of the religion which might seek development in them, which would scarcely be natural in settlements looking purely towards commercial or political ends; while, on the other, it would give fair warning in advance to all intending emigrants that they must expect to find some special stringency guarding that department of the colonial administration which, if it threatened to be distasteful, could, most wisely be avoided by going elsewhere.

It is significant that the Articles of Confederation by which, early in 1643, the four colonies of New Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Newhaven became joined as *The United Colonies of New England*, lay down, as the fundamental article of union, the following:—‘Whereas wee all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and ayme, namely, to advance the kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospell in puritie with peace,’ &c.*

It seems quite a matter of course that such men, so situated, should proceed to legislate religion into their State. It had been the way of their fathers. It was the way of their brethren at home, only the religion was not to their taste. It was contemplated in their own organic law. With the light they had, it was not merely a just and right procedure, but it appeared to be the only alternative to an intolerable anarchy; while the Scripture—upon the close interpretation of which they had been thrown by all their

And, lastly, because the principall effect which we can desire or expect of this action, is the Conversion and Reduction of the people in those Parts unto the true worship of God and Christian religion, in which Respect, wee would be loath that any Person should be permitted to pass that way suspected to affect the Superstition of the Church of Rome; Wee do hereby declare that it is our will and pleasure that none be permitted to pass, in any Voyage from time to time to be made into the said Country, but such as shall first have taken the Oathe of Supremacy,’ &c.—‘The Great Patent of New England’ (Roll 2231, Record Office).

‘May win and invite the Natives of the Country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith; which, in our Royal Intentions, and the Adventurers’ free profession, is the only and principal end of this Plantation,’ &c.—‘Charter of Connecticut’ (Hazard, ii. 602).

* ‘Plymouth Colony Records,’ ix. 8. See also in this connection the remarkable paper entitled, ‘Reasons to be considered for Justifyinge the Undertakeraes of the Intended Plantation in New England.’—Hutchinson’s ‘Original Papers,’ &c. 27; but in its best form in R. C. Winthrop’s ‘Life of John Winthrop,’ i. 309.

* ‘In the hope thereby to advance the in Large-ment of Christian religion, to the glory of God Almighty, . . . which tendeth to the reducing and conversion of such sauages as remaine wandering in Desolacion and distress to civil societie and Christian Religion. . . .’

reasonings about Church polity—seemed to command them to seek first 'the kingdom of God and his righteousness,' with the promise that all needful secular prosperity should 'be added' unto them.

The Plymouth Colony began as a voluntary association subject to the will of its majority, as applied to each individual case when it arose, and not to a code of laws. It might be safe to say that, in the first decade of its struggle for life, its use of the enacting power was scarcely more or other than if its members had been living still in Leyden under purely Church rule. All had not indeed been members of that Church, nor were all members of any Church; yet the prominent men were such, and the regnant influences were in keeping with that fact. All the legislative acts of this colony, of which we have any knowledge during its first twelve years, could easily be printed in legible type upon a single octavo page. No provision was made therein for the support of the gospel, because the maintenance of the ministry was quietly assured in the affection of the colonists, without the intervention of law. Such a people, of simple manners, rigid principles, and warm-hearted piety, living mainly in each other's eye, and under the close observation of their venerated elder, might be expected to maintain, for a time at least, essential integrity of conduct, without resorting to much help from the secular arm. But as their clearings were pushed into the wilderness, as trade and commerce began to offer at once opportunity and temptation, and as strangers, who lacked sympathy with their central religious idea, and in whose eyes gain out-ranked godliness, began to come in among them, it became necessary to agree upon the fundamentals of civil power, to define the relations of magistrates and people, and to establish suitable laws upon some just foundation. Chiefly—because to settle this was to determine all—it was needful to designate the qualifications of the freeman having the right to voting citizenship. The Old Colony was not hasty in her action on this subject. The *Mayflower* compact of the 11–21 Nov., 1620, had inaugurated an infant State, and had made its signers members of the same. Naturally here was the point of departure. Until 1656 they seem to have been satisfied with admitting by vote such individual applicants as they thought would be suitable and useful, without enacting any general law whatever as to qualifications. Then they ordered that it should be essential to membership of the State that a candidate be propounded by the deputy of the town where he lived, after

having been approved by his fellow-townsmen.* In 1658 it was decreed that candidates should be propounded during the space of a year, from one June Court to another, before reception.† In 1671 a further step was taken, and it was enacted that besides being propounded for the space of a twelvemonth, a candidate must produce the testimony of his neighbours that he was 'of sober and peaceable conversation, *Orthodox in the Fundamentals of Religion*, and such as have also twenty pounds rateable estate, at the least, in the Government.'‡ The scope of the clause which we have here italicised would seem to be determined by the phraseology of a law of 1658, which forbids 'manifest opposers of the true worship of God' § the privilege of being freemen; and by a further clause in the law of 1671, which provides that 'apostates from the fundamentals of religion' || may be disfranchised; that is, it was not required by the Plymouth men that a colonist should join one of their Churches in order to acquire eligibility to civil power and office, but only that he should be of the same general way of thinking with themselves, and should not be an open opposer and contemner of what was dearest to them. This was as far as they ever went in this direction.

For a long time the interest of the people in religious things and the faithfulness of all parties avoided the necessity of any defining by the civil power of the duties, responsibilities, or relations arising from them. But in process of time, partly by some change which crept over the feeling of the colony, and partly in consequence of the coming in upon them of men of an alien spirit, it became necessary to legislate both with regard to Churches and to ministers. In 1650 it was forbidden 'to set up any Churches or publicke meetings diverse from those allready set up and approved, without the consent and approbation of the government.'¶ In 1651 a penalty of ten shillings was affixed to the neglecting 'in any lazy, slothfull, or prophane way,** to attend public worship; but this was repealed in 1659.†† In 1655 we find the first Plymouth legislation in regard to ministers. It appeared that complaints of want of due maintenance had been made by some ministers, whereon the General Court decreed (1) that no pastor should leave his congregation for this

* 'Plym. Col. Rec.' iii. 101.

† Ibid. xi. 79.

‡ Brigham's 'Compact, Charter, and Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth,' &c., 258.

§ Ibid. 118.

|| Ibid. 258.

¶ 'Plym. Col. Rec.' xi. 57.

** Ibid. 58.

†† Ibid. 122.

cause without notifying the magistrates; and (2) that where a 'reall defect in the hearers' appears, the magistrates shall 'use all gentle means to persuade them to doe their duty therein;' but if these fail, 'it shalbee in the power of the magistrate to use such other meanes as may put them upon their duty.*' This proving insufficient, in 1657 the principle was broadly laid down that 'in asmuch as the severall Townshippes graunted by the gouernment was [on the understanding] that such a Companie might bee receiued as should maintaine the Publicke worships and service of God there; they [the Court] doe therefore judge that the whole, both Church and towne, are mutually ingaged to support the same.†' It was therefore enacted that four men be chosen by the inhabitants (or, in case of their refusal, three by the magistrates) to decide upon 'an equal and just proportion upon the estates of the Inhabitants according to their abilities;' the amount of the salary of the minister to be determined by the Church, 'with the concurrence of the rest of the Inhabitants, if it may be had, or by the magistrates incase of their apparent neglect;' and 'that destresse accordingly, as in other just cases, bee made upon such as refuse to pay such their proportions which is in justice due—this law to bee in force onely to them, but not vnto others that doe their duty.' In 1669 this was modified by ordering the magistrate, or select man where there be no magistrate, to cite such defaulters, previous to the 'destresse,' to the next Court, to answer for their neglect, and 'incase such person or persons doe not make out just cause for such neglect, they shalbe amerced double the same.‡' But this order was repealed the following year, when [1670] a further provision was added, by the Court's appointing two persons in each town to 'gather in of their minnesters maintenance for that year, by inciting of the people to their duty in that respect, and, if need be, by procuring dstraint upon the estate of any that shall neglect or refuse to pay;§ the reason given being the inconvenience of requiring the ministers, as heretofore, to collect their own wage, and that their doing so 'may be an occation to prejudice some persons against them or their ministry.'

As early as 1663, the Plymouth Colony declared that 'it hath bine, and is, the pious care and true intent of this Court, that all such plantations and Townshippes as are by them graunted should maintaine the publicke

Sabbath worship of God and the preaching of the Word, and doe to that end afford them such proportions of lands as may accommodate such a society as may be able to maintaine the same.*' The policy here indicated was faithfully carried out. New settlements were not encouraged until there was evidence that they would not be without the means of grace, and they were aided in erecting meeting-houses and in the support of the gospel by the public authority; and wherever a village started up in the wilderness almost spontaneously, the Court was apt to recommend to them (as in case of Gaconeeset, Acushenett, &c.) 'to apply themselves in some effectuall way for the increase of their number as they may carry on things to better satisfaction both in civil and religious respects, especially that they irdeavour to procure an able Godly man for the dispensing of God's Word amongst them; and for their quickening and Incouragement therein this Court doth order that all such lands as are within their respective places, though not inhabited, shal be lyable to be rated in some measure of proportion for the defraying of such charges as shall nessesarily arise concerning the premises.†

To complete our glance at the legislation of Plymouth Colony in these respects, we need to recall the fact that, in the days of the Quaker tribulation, they had their share, and that, by their nearness to their stronger neighbour of the Bay, they were at last constrained so far to follow her as to forbid attendance upon Quaker meetings,‡ which they had considerable cause to look upon as ranting nurseries of sedition, civil and religious.

The first prominent point of divergence in the Massachusetts Colony from the policy of its humbler and older neighbour was developed in its General Court, held at Boston,

* 'Plym. Col. Rec., xi. 141.'

† 'Plym. Col. Rec.' xi. 141. It was enacted generally, 5 June, 1678: 'That in every place in this Government where a Township is, or that is capable for a Township being begun to be peopled, though not filled with inhabitants: they, or few of them, being desirous to promote the publicke worshipping of God amongst them, shalbe assisted by this Government, soe as that the charge to gett an able faithfull preacher of God's Word, and to maintaine the same, shalbe raised upon all the chattles and lands, or other rateables, of all the Proprietors of any such place that is there found.'—Ibid. 247.

‡ 'And forasmuch as the meeting of such persons prounth desturbing to the peace of this Government, it is therefore enacted that henceforth noe such meetings be assembled or kept by any person in any place within this Government, under penalty of 40 shillings a time for every speaker, and 10s. a time for every hearer, and 40s. for the owner of the place.'—Ibid. 101.

* 'Plym. Col. Rec.' xi. 64.

† Ibid. 67. ‡ Ibid. xi. 224. § Ibid. 226.

May 18th, 1631, when it was 'ordered and agreed that for time to come noe man shalbe admitted to the freedom of this body politticke, but such as are members of some of the Churches within the lymitts of the same.*' The charter of the Massachusetts Company had laid down no condition as to citizenship, leaving this necessarily to the judgment of those who had already become citizens by acquiring membership in the Company. Having travelled so far to gain a new home, having a charter from the crown, giving them the fullest right to decide what manner of persons they would associate with themselves, and the new western world being wide enough to provide abundant room elsewhere for all who wished to emigrate, but whose character did not offer reasonable hope of a harmonious life with them, the Massachusetts men felt that it was right in itself, and due to themselves, that they should confer the freedom of their State only upon those whom they could hope inust fully to trust. And the best test which lay in their power they judged to be this.† Well says Dr. Palfrey concerning it: 'The conception, if a delusive and impracticable, was a noble one. Nothing better can be imagined for the welfare of a country than that it shall be ruled on Christian principles; in other words, that its rulers shall be Christian men. . . . The conclusive objection to the scheme is one which experience had not yet revealed, for the experiment was now first made.‡ Four or five years of trial demonstrated that their legislation must take another step, or they would be wounded in the house of their friends. They must regulate that Church-membership out of which citizenship was to grow. This was done partly by restraining the gathering of Churches,§ and partly by some attempt to

order their discipline.* The old law remained, being reaffirmed in 1660,† until 1664, when, in response to a request in the nature of a command by Charles the Second, of date June 28th, 1662, the provision was abolished, or rather superseded, by another, ingeniously contrived to evade the royal displeasure without putting out of the hands of the Churches, through their ministers, some decisive power in the determination of the quality of those who should be voting members of the State.‡ If this could have been done ten years before, it might have saved New England from the theological ills resulting from the Half-Way Covenant, which grew out of the result of the Synod of 1662, a result largely stimulated by the desire to contrive some avenue to a more general citizenship, without abolishing the ancient and fundamental law.§

Massachusetts—and it was natural that it should be so with so much larger and more miscellaneous composed a colony—had nearly twenty years the start of Plymouth in enacting the support of the gospel by every inhabitant.|| And it was a suggestion from Massachusetts which led the Confederate commissioners of the United Colonies, in 1644,—one Plymouth commissioner dissenting,—to recommend to the General Courts of all the colonies whom they represented, 'that those that are taught in the Word in the severall plantacions be called together, that every man voluntarily set downe what he is willing to allow to that end and use [the support of the ministry]. And if any man refuse to pay a meet pportion, that

greater part of the Churches in this jurisdiction, with their intencions, and have their approbation herein. And, further, it is ordered that noe person, being a member of any Church which shall hereafter be gathered without the approbation of the magistrates, and the greater parte of the said Churches, shalbe admitted to the freedom of this Commonwealthe.'—Mass. Col. Rec.' i. 168.

* 'Mass. Col. Rec.' i. 142, 242, &c.

† Ibid. iv. (1), 420.

‡ 'From henceforth all Englishmen presenting a cirtificat, vnder the hands of the ministers, or minister, of the place where they dwell, that they are orthodox in religion, and not vicious in their lives,' &c., &c.—Ibid. iv. (2) 118.

§ Palfrey's 'New England,' ii. 490-493.

|| It was ordered, September 6, 1638, as follows:—'That every inhabitant in any towne is lyable to contribute to all charges, both in Church and Commonweith, whereof hee doth or may receive benefit; and withall it is also ordered that every such inhabitant who shall not voluntarily contribute pportionally to his ability with other freemen of the same towne, to all common charges, as well for upholding the ordinances in the Churches as otherwise, shalbee compelled thereto by assessment and distres to bee levied by the cunstable,' &c.—Mass. Col. Rec.' i. 240.

* 'Mass. Col. Rec.' i. 87.

† 'None,' says John Cotton, 'are so fit to be trusted with the liberties of the Commonwealth as Church members; for the liberties of the freemen of this Commonwealth are such as require men of faithful integrity to God and the State, to preserve the same.'—Answer to Lord Say and Sele,' &c., 'Hutchinson's Massachusetts,' i. 436.

‡ 'History of New-England,' i. 345.

§ Forasmuch as it hath bene found by sad experience that much trouble and disturbance hath happened both to the Church and civill State by the officers and members of some Churches, which have bene gathered within the limitts of this jurisdiction in an undue manner, and not with such public approbation as were meete, it is therefore ordered that all persons are to take notice that this Court doeth not, nor will hereafter, approve of any such companies of men as shall henceforth ioine in any pretended way of Church fellowship, without they shall first acquainte the magistrates and the elders of the

then hee be rated by authoryty in some just and equall way. And if after this any man withhold, or delay, due payment, the ciuill power to be exercised as in other just debts.*

The policy early adopted, and rigidly carried out, in Massachusetts, was that every town† should supply itself with a minister, a meeting-house, and a parsonage, and that all the inhabitants should contribute to this end—peaceably, if it might be—forcibly, if it must be. If any town proved remiss, the county court was charged with the duty of interference, with right to the town of appeal to the General Court should it conceive itself unduly burdened. Down to 1800, the exact penalties which towns must pay for neglecting to supply the preached Word to the people were specified.‡ Nor were the law-makers forgetful that sometimes the pews might be recusant when the pulpit was faithful, and accordingly, as early as 1634–5, the people were required by statute to attend upon the preaching provided for them, under a penalty of five shillings for absence on Lord's Day, fast, or thanksgiving.§ In 1791, the milder provision which allowed able-bodied men, absent from meeting for three months, to compound for the same by a fine of ten shillings, was a great modification of the original strictness; and this fine of ten shillings might be imposed upon any such delinquent in Massachusetts down to 1835, when the law was repealed.||

Church and State went further, however, than this in Massachusetts. In 1638, it being found that divers persons who had been excommunicated from some of the Churches made light of the same, the General Court ordered that any excommunicant who should allow six months to pass 'without

labouring what in him or her lyeth to bee restored,' should be proceeded against 'by fine, imprisonment, banishment, or further,' as the case might deserve.* But this was repealed in the following year.† Not long after this, the Court requested the Churches to 'proceed against' some of their members for wearing too much lace, and like 'disorders in apparrell.‡ In 1646 it was ordered that any person, whether in Church-fellowship or not, who 'should go about to destroy or disturb the order of the Churches established in the country,' upon the alleging of 'any groundles conceits,' should be mulcted in 40s. a month 'so long as he continues in his obstinancy.§ In 1652 the 'New Church' in Boston proposing to settle Michael Powell as their minister, the General Court forbade their doing so, on the ground that he was not thoroughly educated, and 'considering the humor of the times in England inclineing to discourag learning, agaynst which we have born testimony, which we should contradict if we should approve of such proceeding among ourselves.¶ In 1658 it was enacted that 'no person shall publicquely and constantly preach to any company of people, whither in Church society or not, or be ordeyned to the office of a Teaching Elder, where any two organnick Churches, ye Councill of State, or ye general Court, shall declare their dissatisfaction thereat, either in reference to doctrine or practice.'¶¶ In 1675 the Court, casting about for some reasons which might be presumed to justify the Supreme Disposer of human events in allowing the scourge of King Philip's war to desolate the colony, concluded that too great neglect of discipline had been allowed in the Churches, and especially that the 'chattechising' of children and 'inquiring into their spirit uall estates' had been deplorably overlooked; whereupon they solemnly recommended to the respective elders and brethren of the Churches throughout the jurisdiction to 'take effectuall course for reformation herein.'***

* 'Plym. Col. Rec.' ix. 20.

† In the early days of New England, ecclesiastical as well as civil boundaries were alike denoted by the word town; the term parish, although necessarily familiar to the colonists at home, being unknown. It was not until after the revolutionary war that that term, in its strictly ecclesiastical sense, came into use.

‡ Neglect for three months out of six was fined from \$30 to \$60; if repeated, it was from \$60 to \$100.—'Commonwealth v. Waterborough, 5 Mass.' 257.

§ 'Mass. Col. Rec.' i. 140; ii. 178. By the word 'fast' is here intended the religious service of the day—usually in April—annually devoted to 'public fasting, humiliation, and prayer;' and by the word 'thanksgiving,' the religious service of the day—usually in November—annually set apart to thank God for the harvests. Both days are still observed by proclamation of the governor with the advice of the council.

|| Buck's 'Mass. Eccl. Law,' 27.

* 'Mass. Col. Rec.' 242.

† Ibid. i. 271.

‡ Ibid. 274.

§ Ibid. ii. 178. Open contempt of God's Word and messengers thereof was to be punished by reproof openly by the magistrates, and being bound to good behaviour. A second offence was to be punished by a fine of £3, 'or to stand two hours openly upon a block 4 foote high, on a lecture-day, with a paper fixed on his breast, with this, A WANTON GOSPELLER, writ in capitall letters, that others may fear and be ashamed of breaking out into the like wickednes.'—Ibid. 179.

¶ Ibid. iii. 293.

¶¶ Ibid. iv. (1) 328.

*** Ibid. v. 59.

The civil power in the Massachusetts Colony claimed the right to convoke the Churches in Synod, but waived it in 1646, because all were 'not yet clearly satisfied in this point,' and so thought it expedient merely to 'express' their 'desire.*' After that Synod had assembled, the Court, thinking that doctrine as well as polity should receive consideration, took the liberty of requesting seven of the elders of the Bay to 'take some paines each of them to prepare a briefe forme.†' After the platform had been duly reported, the Court sent it down to the Churches, 'desiring a return from them at the next General Court how farr it's suiteable to their judgements and approbations before proceeding any further therein.‡' In 1656, when 'severall questions of practicall concernment in the Churches' were sent to the General Court from the General Court at Hartford, the Court 'ordered' four of the elders of the County of Suffolk, five of Middlesex, and four of Essex, to meet at Boston, 'to confer and debate the said questions,' and Robert Turner was ordered to 'take care to provide convenient entertainment for the said gentlemen dureing their attendance on the said meeting.§' By 1661 the Court had outgrown its modesty as to the matter of convoking Synods, or its constituents had outgrown their scruples; for, 'having taken into consideration' the reasons why a Synod should meet, the Court, December 31, 1661, 'doe therefore order and herebye desire, that the Churches doe send their messengers of elders and brethren to Boston the 2nd Tuesday of the first moneth, then and there to discuss and declare what they shall judge to be the minde of God," &c.||' The Court further 'ordered' the elders to prepare the questions which the Synod should discuss when met.¶ In like manner, though upon 'a motion made by some of the reverend elders,' the Court 'ordered' the assembly of the Synod of 1679-80, and it was further 'ordered' that 'the charges of this meeting shall be borne by the Churches respectively.'**

The cross light of the treatment of Dis-senters will, however, bring out the real quality of Church and State in its palmiest days in Massachusetts into its fullest distinctness. As early as 1644 the Court levelled an ordinance at Anabaptists, 'whom experience had plentifully proved' to be 'the incendiaries of commonwealths.' It was or-

dered that all 'who either openly condemne or oppose the baptising of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use therof,' who shall 'appear to the Court wilfully and obstinately to continue therein after due time and means of conviction,' be 'sentenced to banishment.*' Five years after, the General Court wrote a letter to the Plymouth Colony, saying that it had come to its knowledge that divers Anabaptists had been connived at within Plymouth jurisdiction, and it appeared that the 'patient bearing' of the Plymouth authorities had 'encreased' the same errors; that thirteen or fourteen persons (it was reported) had been rebaptized 'at Sea Cuncke;†' under which circumstances 'effectual restriction' was desired, the more as the interests of Massachusetts were concerned therein. 'The infection of such diseases, being so neere vs, are likely to spread into our jurisdiction,' and God equally requiring 'the suppressing of errors as the maintenance of truth' at the hands of Christian magistrates. In 1651, John Clarke, Obadiah Holmes, and John Crandal, going from Newport, R. I., to the house of one Witter, in Lynn, Clarke preached, administered the sacrament, and rebaptized Witter. The three intruding Baptists were arrested, tried, and heavily fined; and Holmes, refusing to pay his fine, or allow it to be paid for him, after having been kept in prison a few weeks, was whipped.‡

In 1656 the storm of that coarse, impudent, and violent body of enthusiasts, who called themselves Friends and were called by others Quakers, and who seemed to have been as unlike the meek, sober, thrifty, and drab-clad inheritors of the name in our day, as the Anabaptists of Munster were different from the Immersionists whom we know, burst upon New-England. There had been forewarning of its coming, and if Fatherland trembled before 'the man in leathern breeches,'§ it was not strange that her feeble colonies felt much solicitude as to how their as yet unripe and plastic institutions should be affected by these fierce fanatics, who, if they were not disguised Franciscans from Rome, as the rumour ran at home,|| were yet the sworn foes of everything established, provokers of tumult and violence, nearly as likely to insist on walking stark naked into a crowded Sabbath congregation¶ as not to do it; and, in whatever light

* 'Mass. Col. Rec.' ii. 85.

† Seakonk, or Rehoboth.

‡ Lewis and Newhall's 'Lynn,' 230.

§ George Fox's 'Journal,' 55.

|| Besse's 'Collection,' &c. i. 40.1

¶ Bishop's 'New England Judged,' part ii. 69.

* 'Mass. Col. Rec.' ii. 155.

† Ibid. ii. 200.

§ Ibid. iii. 419.

¶ Ibid.

† Ibid. ii. 285.

|| Ibid. iv. (2) 38.

** Ibid. v. 215.

considered, social trials, if not public nuisances. New England had not been settled for their, but for far other, use; and, under all the circumstances, it is not surprising that the vehement Endicott, and the scarcely less unceremonious Bellingham, should have favoured the pushing of matters to extremities. When the Court met in October, it took order concerning this 'cursed sect of hereticks lately risen up in the world, which are comonly called Quakers, who take upon them to be imediatelie sent by God, and infallibly assisted by the Spiritt of God to speake and write blasphemous opinions, despising government and the order of God in the Churches and Commonwealth, speakinge evill of dignities, reproaching and revileing magistrates and ministers, seekinge to turne the people from the fayth, and gayne proselites to their pernitiuous wayes, &c. ;'* decreeing a fine of £100 upon any ship-master transporting such persons into the jurisdiction, committing Quakers to the house of correction, enacting penalties for harbouring them, &c., with various further like provisions, indicating the excitement, almost panic, of the public mind. There was frequent occasion, and these laws were executed, and, proving inadequate to their design, were strengthened. The United Commissioners, in 1658, recommended to the colonies to enact that convicted Quakers returning after banishment be re-expelled on pain of death; and, should they again return, be put to death 'as presumptuously incorragable, unlesse they shall plainly and publicly renounce their said cursed opinions and diuellish tenetts.†' Massachusetts was the only one of the four colonies which acted upon this advice. It had tried this threat often before—as in the case of Francis Hutchinson,‡ Samuel Gorton,§ and others—always to find it effectual in inducing the banished persons to stay away; and it did not probably indulge a doubt that such would continue to be its practical working.¶ And so it provided that thenceforward persons 'convicted' by a special jury 'to be of the sect of the Quakers, shall be sentenced to bannishment upon payne of death.'¶ This worked well in the case of the first six to whom it was applied. But afterwards it encountered others of sterner stuff, and four

times did the gallows do its fatal work before the pressure of public sentiment led the government to recede from this extreme and terrible position. The other colonies enacted some savagely-sounding laws, but, on the whole, the Quaker historians themselves admit that there was no insupportable suffering under them. And so soon as the strength of New-England became a little more assured, these harsh measures toward sectaries, which had been thought to be indispensable, were allowed to fall into disuse and forgetfulness. As Cotton Mather pleasantly said of such disturbers: 'Since our Jerusalem was come to such a consistence that the going up of every fox would not break down our stone walls, whoever meddled with 'em?'

In 1691 the new Charter of William and Mary, which united the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, granted liberty of conscience in the worship of God 'to all Christians except Papists.† But this was construed as giving the General Court power to encourage and protect that religion which is the general profession of the inhabitants therein; ‡ and its practical working, as described by Cotton Mather in 1726, was on this wise:—

'In some Churches the salary of the minister is raised by a voluntary contribution, especially in populous places, and where many strangers resort; but in others a tax is levied for it, there being too much truth in Luther's words: "Duriter profecto et misere viverent Evangelii Ministri, si ex libera Populi Contributione essent sustentandi." In those (which are almost all) parts of the country where the stipend of the minister is raised by a tax upon the people, the case is thus: The Laws of the Province, having had the royal approbation to ratify them, they are the King's Laws. By these laws it is enacted that there shall be a public worship of God in every plantation; that the person elected by the majority of the inhabitants to be so, shall be looked upon as the minister of the place; that the salary for him, which they shall agree upon, shall be levied by a rate upon all the inhabitants. In consequence of this, the minister thus chosen by the people is (not only Christ's, but also) in reality the King's minister; and the salary raised for him is raised in the King's name, and is the King's allowance to him. If the most of the inhabitants in a plantation are Episcopalians, they will have a minister of their own persuasion; and the Dissenters, if there be any in the place, must pay their proportion of the tax for the support of this legal minister. In a few of the towns, a few of the people—in hope of being released from the tax for the

* 'Mass. Col. Rec.' iii. 415.

† 'Acts of Com. of United Col.' ii. 212.

‡ 'Mass. Col. Rec.' i. 336. § Ibid. ii. 57.

¶ In England Quakers were then faring much in the same way. More than 4,200 were cast into prison, of whom more than 500 were in London and its suburbs.—Sewel's 'History of the Christian People called Quakers,' 335.

¶ 'Mass. Col. Rec.' iv. (1) 346.

* 'Late Memorable Providences,' &c. 142.

† 'Backus,' i. 550.

‡ Hutchinson's 'His. Mass.' ii. 17.

legal minister—sometimes profess themselves Episcopalians. But when they plead this for their exemption, their neighbours tell them they know in their conscience they do not do as they would be done unto. And if a governor go by his arbitrary power to supersede the execution of the law, and require the justices and constables to leave the Episcopalians out of the tax, the people wonder he is not aware that he is all this while forbidding that the King should have his dues paid unto him; and forbidding the King's minister to receive what the King has given him. However, the generous concessions that have been sometimes made in this matter are such that the people of New England have therein exemplarily adorned the doctrine of God their Saviour, and have done what has not been ordinarily exemplified among any other people. Sometimes the Quakers also have given some occasion for uneasiness. But where Quakerism is troublesome, some towns are so wise [as] to involve the salary of the ministry in a general rate for all Town charges, and so the cavils of those who would else refuse to pay the rate for the ministry are obviated.*

Considered as related to all the facts, while this was a gain over the past, it was quite faithfully described, as to its real merits, by some doggerel of the time:—

'Good conscience men allow (they say),
But must be understood
To say as they themselves do say—
Or else it can't be good!' †

Notwithstanding Mather's adroit endeavour to insinuate a considerable catholicity in the working of this new Charter, in his quiet statement above, that 'if most of the inhabitants in a plantation are Episcopalians, they will have a minister of their own persuasion'—a truth quite like the remark that if one thousand Charles Bradlaughs should be raised to the peerage, it would have a tendency to swamp the dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, bishops, and barons now composing the Lords, and render radical legislation highly probable—the impartial voice of history declares that for more than a generation after the reception of this new Charter, Massachusetts exerted its power, both legislative and executive, with every aid which the 'established clergy' could help it to, in the attempt to render certain the universal reception and support of 'orthodox' ministers.‡

Two years, however, after the date of Mather's testimony (1728), repeated and persistent appeal and endeavour on the part of those who felt themselves to be oppressed in being taxed for the support of ministers

whom they did not hear, and in whom they did not believe, while taxing themselves to support a ministry which had their confidence, brought forth the first Act of Exemption, as follows:—

'From and after the publication of this Act, none of the persons commonly called Anabaptists, nor any of those called Quakers, that are or shall be enrolled or entered in their several societies as members thereof, and who allege a scruple of conscience as the reason of their refusal to pay any part or proportion of such taxes as are from time to time assessed for the support of the minister or ministers of the Churches established by the laws of this province, in the town or place where they dwell, *shall have their polls taxed* toward the support of such minister or ministers; nor shall their bodies be at any time taken in execution to satisfy any such ministerial rate or tax, assessed upon their estates or faculty; provided that such persons do usually attend the meetings of their respective societies assembling upon the Lord's Day for the worship of God, and *that they live within five miles of the place of meeting.*'*

Better than nothing, this was radically deficient in that it merely exempted the polls, and not the estates, of those concerned, and because of its arbitrary limitation of distance—sure to work the greatest hardships in the case of the poorest citizens, who were apt to live in sparse and remote places. Renewed agitation secured the next year the exemption of estates also, but this was limited to the period of five years.† At the expiration of that period further agitation procured a third Act, more explicit than its predecessors, and providing that the assessors of taxes of towns where Anabaptists lived should make and transmit to the town-clerk, a list of all such persons, which list should become matter of record, and should procure for all, whose names it bore, exemption from all regular ministerial rates and taxes—this for five years also. The difficulty which was found to be practical with this was that, as no penalty was annexed by it to the neglect or refusal of these assessors to make out such a list, it proved to be entirely in their power to nullify the direct working of the statute, and the lists authorised were prepared in very few of the towns of the province. It is true that the act made it possible for an Anabaptist 'omitted in such list' to be, at considerable trouble and expense, so authenticated to the town authorities by certificates 'under the hands of two principal members of that persuasion, appointed

* 'Ratio Disciplina,' 20-22.

† Edward Goddard, 1753.

‡ 'Backus,' i. 552.

* 'Backus,' ii. 553.

† Hovey's 'Life and Times of Backus,' 168.

thereto by the respective societies,' as that he could claim his exemption. But it was a hardship to be almost in all cases compelled to this course, when an easier and juster one should have been legally open. On the expiration of this act by its own limitation in 1740, a similar one was re-enacted for the next seven years, which was subsequently extended ten years further; both of which, however, were open to the same objections, and fruitful in like vexations. The latter was afterwards made still more obnoxious by an amendment, passed in 1752, requiring an endorsement from each of three other Churches 'commonly called Anabaptists, in this or the neighbouring provinces,' to the effect that they 'conscientiously believe' the persons giving the certificates above referred to 'to be Anabaptists.* There were two minor oppressions ingeniously concealed in this amendment which would escape the casual reader. In the first place, the name 'Anabaptist' was, in point of principle, offensive to these immersed believers, and it was grievous to them to be obliged to certify their conscientious belief in such a designation of their faith. And in the second place, in connection with what was known as the 'New Light' movement, under Whitefield and Tennent, quite a number of Baptist Churches had been formed which were not yet received into the fellowship of the older Churches of the denomination, and who could not therefore hope to obtain the attestation required. The Baptists were not of the stuff to submit to this in silence. They held meetings. They elected an agent to carry their case to England, and state it before the king, subscribing above a hundred pounds to meet the necessary charges. This agent—Mr. John Proctor†—drew up a remonstrance, which was presented to the Assembly in May, 1754, and which was so plain of speech that, but for the politic intervention of Governor Shirley, it is said that its signers would have come to grief. A committee was finally appointed to confer with the Baptists in a friendly way, and, as Backus quaintly expresses it, 'matters were shifted along until the war came on, and their design for England was dropt.‡' In 1757, all these exempting laws having expired,§ a new statute comprehend-

ing Baptists and Quakers was enacted, which continued in force for thirteen years, which relieved from rates for the support of the 'Standing Order' only such Baptists as were named in a list to be signed by the minister and three principal members of the Church to which they belonged that 'they are really belonging thereto; that they [the attestors] verily believe them to be conscientiously of their persuasion, and that they frequently and usually attend public worship in said church on the Lord's day.* In the millennium perhaps this would be found tolerable, but in New England, in the middle of the eighteenth century, there was friction, resulting in oppression. In Middleborough, Mass., in 1763, there was a 'difficulty' between the Third Baptist Church and its minister, which prevented his signing their certificates, so that they were all taxed for parish worship. Two years later, in Haverhill, Mass., a Baptist was taxed to help to build a new church, and to support the Congregational pastor, and his goods were distrained, notwithstanding he had a certificate in regular form. He sued the parish assessors to get his money back, but after two trials of the case, running through nearly three years, the decision went against him, with costs of £70 or £80, on some technicality as to whether the law contemplated a baptized Church-member or only a steady attendant upon public worship, and the failure of the certificate to meet that exact (and extremely narrow) point.† Dr. Backus—who, himself a Baptist, *non ignarus mali*, speaks strongly on these matters—says of this last law, 'No tongue nor pen can fully describe all the evils that were practised under it.‡ And the detailed, and, on the face of it, apparently candid account which he gives of the way in which the Baptists of Ashfield were treated, their remonstrances disregarded, and their land sold by the sheriff to support the Congregational worship, would seem to excuse considerable plainness of speech.§

Near the close of 1770, this old certificate law having expired, a new one was made, substituting the designation 'Antipedobaptists' for *Anabaptists*, and the word 'congregation' for the word *church*; but the word 'conscientiously' was retained, apparently to enable the authorities to meet the case of any whom they were pleased to suspect of being governed in their religious professions by financial motives—'those

* 'Backus,' ii. 194.

† He seems to have been a schoolmaster in Boston. Drake's 'Hist. of Boston,' i. 616, 684.

‡ Ibid. ii. 239.

§ It looks as if these statutes, granting relief to Dissenters thus for periods of five, seven, or ten years, may have been suggested by English enactments of like purpose. Buck's 'Mass. Eccl.

Law,' 38; May's 'Constit. Hist. England,' ii. 805-815.

* 'Backus,' ii. 239.

† Ibid. ii. 241.

‡ Ibid. 240.

§ Ibid. 246-259.

avaricious and dissolute persons who get under water to wash away their minister's rates, without any expectation or desire of washing away their sins.* During the previous year the Warren Association, formed at Warren, R. I., in 1767,† had come to the front, as looking after the interests of the denomination, and appointed committees to draft petitions for redress, and to use their best endeavours to 'obtain the establishment of equal religious liberty in this land.' Their first memorials to the civil power being disregarded, they publicly invited all Baptists who had been oppressed in any way on a religious account to send in to them exact and attested details of the same, and at their meeting at Bellingham, Sept. 11, 1770, such facts were tabled in answer to this call as led the body to the unanimous resolution to 'send to the British Court for help, if it could not be obtained in America.† They also addressed a respectful but earnest memorial to the provincial government, in which they adroitly availed themselves of a vote recently passed (with another aspect: these were the days of the beginning of the revolution which severed the link between the mother country and the colonies), which declared 'that no taxation can be equitable where such restraints are laid upon the taxed as take from him the liberty of giving his own money freely;§ to pray the General Court to give relief in certain specified cases, and to grant perpetual exemption to all Baptists from all ministerial rates whatever, 'according to the full intent and meaning of the charter of the province.' How much this action had to do with the law just referred to, and the slight modifications apparent in it, must be altogether matter of conjecture.

The committee of the Association, having been called together as soon as it had taken effect, unanimously decided not to accept the new law as satisfactory, but to proceed to collect facts and move public opinion for such further action as remained necessary. Dr. Backus sat down to the composition of his 'History of New England, with particular reference to the Denomination of Christians called Baptists,' the patience of research and candour of spirit of which have given him a very high place among the historians of the New World.‖ He printed

also a number of pamphlets, in which he urged, from various considerations, the admission of Dissenters in New England to their full rights. Such appeals as the following from one of these, published in 1773, when the air was full of the coming war-storm, must have been rather hard reading for the men to whom they were particularly addressed:—

'Suffer us a little to expostulate with our fathers and brethren who inhabit the land to which our ancestors fled for religious liberty. You have lately been accused with being disorderly and rebellious by men in power, who profess a great regard for order and the public good; and why don't you believe them, and rest easy under their administrations? You tell us you cannot, because you are taxed where you are not represented; and is it not really so with us? You do not deny the right of the British Parliament to impose taxes within her own realm, only complain that she extends her taxing power beyond her proper limits; and have we not as good right to say you do the same thing? and so that wherein you judge others, you condemn yourselves? Can three thousand miles possibly fix such limits to taxing power as the difference between civil and sacred matters has already done? One is only a distance of *space*, the other is so great a difference in the *nature* of things as there is between sacrifices to God and the ordinances of men. This, we trust, has been fully proved.*

(To be Concluded in our Next Number.)

ART. VII.—Political Questions in Italy.

I.

But a few years have passed since the patriots of the Frankfort Parliament declared themselves hostile to the Italian nationality; since the insurgent students of Vienna enlisted to go and fight the insurgents of Italy; the successors of William Tell, the citizens of free Switzerland, thronged to support the throne of the Bourbon of Naples; the cannons of the French Republic destroyed the Republic of Rome. It was not only the governments and the diplomacy of the principal European Courts that plotted against Italy; it seemed as if she excited the envy and hatred even of some of the nations, and that they also ar-

print, not greatly to its credit, was made by the Backus Historical Society, in 1871.

* 'An Appeal to the Public for Religious Liberty against the Oppressions of the Present Day.' P. 53. Boston. 1773.

* Boston 'Evening Post,' May 17, 1773.

† Benedict's 'General Hist. Bap. Denom.' i. 508.

‡ Hovey's 'Backus,' 175. § Ibid. 177.

‖ The first volume was published in 1777, the second in 1784, the third in 1796, with an abridgment (with additions) in 1804. Happy is the man who owns these original editions. A re-

dently longed to see her oppressed, nay, exterminated.

Who in those days would have dared prognosticate that in less than half a century the scene would be so completely changed? That Italy, that merely *geographical expression*, as the old Austrian minister, Prince Metternich, was pleased to call it, would be able, overcoming so many obstacles and enmities, to form herself into a nation? That she would acquire not only her independence, but also her liberty and unity in the space of as many years as barely sufficed other nations for the accomplishment of but even one of these great enterprises? That she would succeed in so short a time in taking an important place in the assembly of nations, and win for herself the respect and sympathy not only of the peoples, but also of the Cabinets of all Europe?

The causes of this phenomenon are both moral and political. It is impossible to discuss the present state of Italy without carrying back one's thoughts to her past, and discerning in the Italian revolution the providential part so wonderfully blended with that of man. We may well affirm that it was one of those revolutions which reveal themselves as designs of Providence, in whose hands man is but the instrumental agent. Short-sighted politicians vainly tried to appoint it limits: it was destined to run the race marked out for it. It was, so to say, to break into two parts the history of the nation, and to retain in its future hardly any traces of its sad past.

The Italian revolution finds no comparison in the anterior revolutions of other nations. Only in some points does it bear resemblance to the glorious English revolution of 1688, especially as regards the morality of the means employed and the justice of the end.

The Italian revolution has once more solemnly affirmed the rights of Christian nations; their right to be well governed, nay, to govern themselves; their right not to be bartered, ceded, sacrificed in the interest of a so-called *equilibrium*. It has once more affirmed that there is no legitimacy superior to the right of a nation to exist. History has her logic: right ends by becoming a fact. It was time that Italy should begin to belong to none but Italians; that she should cease to be the toy of diplomacy and the easy theatre for so many ambitions never sufficiently satisfied.

It would be a mistake to judge of the political situation of new Italy by the same criterion which one applies to the great States of modern Europe constituted centu-

ries since. In the long period during which the other nations of Europe were busied in increasing and perfecting their existence as modern States, Italy, oppressed and torn, now by one, now by another, and sometimes by several together of those very nations, had been unable to do anything. Later, too, she had been violently excluded from political life; so that, instead of a spontaneous and national policy, which was impossible under those circumstances, Italian policy was long that of whatever foreign nation most weighed on her at the time.

It were thus too much to expect that the Italians should already be furnished with all the qualities on which depends the strength of a great modern State. They have a right to reckon on their difficulties being taken into due account, difficulties entailed by the sad heritage left them by a past of many centuries.

This violent passage from one period of political life to another, this contrast between the present and the past, cannot do otherwise than constitute a danger for Italy which she is obliged to combat. Nothing in fact is so difficult for a nation so to react against its own antecedents as to maintain the necessary harmony between its past and its present.

The present has its root in the past; a generation, and a century, are what preceding generations and centuries have made them: it is unfair not to take into due account the ill as well as the good which they have inherited. When we think of the centuries of slavery and of misgovernment which weighed on Italy, and that her sole political training was till but yesterday only that far from moral training, of sects and revolutions, we cannot repress a feeling of sincere admiration on seeing the young nation, or rather the arisen nation, securely tread the way in the difficult paths of political life, and we have a right to put faith in her and in her future.

Liebig, the illustrious chemist, said to Cavour in 1854, 'Don't be disheartened! If in a heap of dead matter there is an organised and living *molecule*, it suffices to organise and recall into life all the rest. I believe that this little Piedmont at the foot of the Alps is the living *molecule* which will conquer the forces of death, and impart the movement and warmth of life to all the rest.' And such amidst the rest of Italy did Piedmont exactly prove to be, with its king, its men of state, and of war. Twenty years of fears and of hopes, of losses and of successes, of constant struggle, of firm resolves, of sacrifices of every kind, sufficed to realise

the dream of many centuries. The baneful influence of dynasties now fallen, the prejudices of ages, the passions of the demagogue, the dislikes of some privileged classes, the strength of the clerical party, the boundless ambitions and jealousies of her neighbours, her inexperience in administration, the disorder of her finances, all these were so many obstacles, and all were overcome. Italy now exists; the most powerful monarchs in the world value her friendship in the interest of their States, and Victor Emmanuel receives in his palaces the cordial visits of those very same princes who not long ago dragged Italy behind their car, and entertained for her but contempt.

II.

Italy is certainly not on a bed of roses any more than are the nations longer constituted: she too has her troubles. But if we compare these with those of the other great European States, if we think of the long and terrible convulsions which all more or less have had to undergo in order to win their existence, we are obliged to confess that Italy is a favoured nation.

There are but few whose general conditions of existence, both internal and external, are so normal and fortunate. Her dynasty undisputedly the dynasty of monarchical and united Italy; whilst elsewhere, in France and in Spain for instance, dynastical questions so profoundly trouble the country; unity of territory, race, language, and religion, very different from other States, and especially from the neighbouring Austro-Hungarian empire; the conservation of the kingdom without diminution of the actual confines, admitted by all as a European interest of the very first order, which cannot with equal certainty be said to be the case with all the great continental nations. The incentives to social questions are much less formidable in Italy than in France, Belgium, the south of Germany, and elsewhere: still in this respect even Italy cannot be said to be in good condition.

The brigandage, the *camorra* and *mafia* which infest some Italian provinces, are indeed amongst the worst misfortunes of that country. We should, however, be mistaken if—judging by the violent and passionate discussion which took place at Montecitorio last June about the special measures of public security which the government proposed and with difficulty succeeded in obtaining—we should attribute to the brigandage and the *mafia*, which those measures are intended to destroy, the character of really

social, and, still less, political questions. The evil is principally one of the fatal and natural results of the misgovernment which the provinces infested by it, above all Sicily, suffered for so long, and more especially during these last hundred years.* The other provinces are quite free from it, having had governments more moral: it is the same with the Lombardo-Venetian provinces and with those of the duchies, though they were long under a foreign yoke.

Whatever be the nature of the evil which we are deploring, it is nevertheless certain that the Italian government ought seriously to consider, as indeed it is doing, the means of completely and speedily extirpating it. These remains of most horrible barbarity are too painful a contrast with the character of eminent civilisation to which the Italian nation has the right and the duty to aspire.

Much more serious, in a political aspect, is the question lurking in the attempts already made here and there by the International, whenever an occasion, however slight, has presented itself. It is not strange that the International should try to succeed also in Italy, and should find an easier field to tempt her than optimists will allow. In Italy, unfortunately, the habit of secret sects is old and rooted: if the economical conditions of society offer the International less motives than elsewhere for its intromission, the turbulent inclinations of some classes furnish it with better prepared instruments. A country cannot so repeatedly have been constrained to break out in political insurrections without there remaining some fatal disposition to renew them under one form or another. The seeds of sects in Italy are older than the very political condition against which those insurrections were a necessary means of defence. Therefore it is no wonder that also in Italy liberty should be slower than one would have thought in destroying some of those sects which servitude gave rise to, and that the International, the sect which now unites and so to say represents all the others, should show itself a peril for Italy, no less than for other countries.

It is well known that the International, in order to make progress in Europe and

* A discovery recently made as to the origin of the word *mafia* is worthy of notice. Persons versed in Eastern languages are of opinion that that word is the root of the Arabian word *mafala*, which means *to cheat, to defraud*. If it be really so, one might judge from it how far back dates the *mafia* in Sicily, nearly seven centuries having passed since the end of the Arab dominion in that island.

disguise its rascally and subversive designs, does all in its power to take a political hue, and seeks the alliance of the republican party. Such a manœuvre might one day prove all the more disastrous in Italy, where republicanism is ancient and does not cease to work, although political circumstances have obliged it to be prudent for the present. In the Italian revolution there was a time in which, just as conservatives necessarily became revolutionists, so did the best part of those revolutionists who in the past were republicans accept the monarchy. There was no other way: whoever wished the national independence was obliged to wish for unity and for the dynasty which had made itself the *fautor* of it. It was the moment when the supreme necessity of accepting the policy of Cavour imposed itself upon Italy; the policy of reaching by national means, and especially by annexations, the great end of all her efforts, that is complete national independence, which the treaty of Villafranca had left unattained.

But is it possible that the republicans of yesterday have given up all thoughts of attempting again the realisation of their ideal, now that independence is secured and unity is reached?

There was a moment when the acquisition of Rome, which for the conservative and liberal party means the consolidation of the Italian constitutional monarchy, gave rise in the breast of the most obstinate republicans to new hopes, which even yet have not quite vanished. They are those who attach more importance than the speaker himself did (for it is known that he altered his opinion later) to the words pronounced by Count Mamiani della Rovere in 1849, in the memorable sitting where the fall of the temporal government was voted, and it was declared that the form of the government of the Roman States will be that of pure democracy, and will take the glorious name of the Roman Republic. In that sitting Mamiani uttered the following words: 'Gentlemen, let us be sincere, and avoid all subtleties and equivocations: in Rome only the Popes or Cola da Rienzi can reign. Let us then be sincere and open to declare that the fall of the Popes means to establish in Rome a republican government.'

Whatever be the truth of those words, far-sighted politicians must admit that the real question is whether, in the present social and political conditions of Italy and of Europe, it be possible for Italy to separate herself from representative monarchy without endangering true liberty. The great problem for Italy, as indeed for all nations that have succeeded in winning liberty, is

that of restraining the democracy without offending its rights; that of organising it in such a manner as to enable it to participate in the government; thus maintaining inviolate the rights of every one. For although democracy means equality, it does not yet mean liberty.

The problem is all the more important in Italy, where the prevalence of the democracy is a fact connected with the somewhat less recent one of the decline of the aristocracy, nay, of its disappearance as a civil order. We ask again, is it now and in these conditions that Italy could make the experiment of the republic without danger, and with the probability of establishing a durable form of government?

Although in Italy, as indeed in nearly the whole of Europe, the republican party exists, and gives no hope of its wishing to retire for the present from the political field, the great majority of the Italians are monarchial: they have a sufficiently deep conviction that in the present social and political condition it is not possible for Italy to separate herself from constitutional monarchy, and to hazard new steps and new experiments, without endangering and sacrificing liberty.

Italy, entrusted through her *plebiscites* to constitutional monarchy, was conscious of choosing the best means for securing the benefits which she longed after, and getting herself into definite order. An instinctive logic tells peoples that from one form of government more than from another the victory of the principles which interest them is more or less secured. The Italian revolution, we must recollect, was not one of dynasties, but of principles. It is necessary to know how to read the nature of great historical facts. Amongst the fallen dynasties there were some which had once been considered good. In Tuscany the dynasty of Lorraine had had a long and not inglorious rule; besides, its administration had, above all, the merit of being paternal. That very same Bourbonic dynasty, which of late years reigned in Naples with a rule which Gladstone justly called *the negation of God*, for more than half of the 130 years which its sway reckoned at the time of its fall, had been justly loved by the Neapolitan population, for knowing how to satisfy their material wants by economical prosperity, their religious feelings, and their aspirations after equality and individual liberty. In the eyes of those populations, it had also the merit of having worked with an almost democratic administration at abolishing feudalism and the privileges of the social and political castes. The Bourbons, as well as the other

princes of the peninsula, began to work their ruin when, towards the end of the last century, in face of the new social revolution, they looked for safety in immobility and resistance; set themselves against all progress, even just; against every popular aspiration, even legitimate; and sought support in armed forces, in hypocrisy, in arts of police, and in plots with strangers, instead of calling to their aid a new principle calculated to infuse new life.

For the Italian revolution nothing was required to ensure the triumph and the integrity of the principles sanctioned by it, but to overthrow, as it really did, personal government, absolute and anti-national monarchy.

The constitutional monarchy arisen from the ruins of the fallen dynasties is a natural and logical result, corresponding to the wants and wishes of the Italian nation. The dynasty of the Italian king can no longer represent in Italy, free and her own mistress, the monarchy of feudal right, of the so-called Divine right. This suffices for the Italians: they could not suddenly break off with an institution rooted in their history, fitted to their customs, connatural with the national character.

Notwithstanding the intrigues of the republican party, the patriotic sentiment is undoubtedly united with the monarchical in the great mass of the Italian people. To be convinced of this it is sufficient to have been present at the special and enthusiastic marks of honour and of affection which the country gave to Victor Emmanuel on the 23rd of March, 1874, the feast of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his reign. It was touching to witness the enthusiasm with which from one end to the other of the peninsula the populations crowded to celebrate the day on which, twenty-five years before, the son of Carlo Alberto, disheartened and beaten, picked up the crown that his father, nobly angered against his adverse fortune, let fall from his head. One would have said that on that anniversary all the history of the country's vicissitudes had presented itself to the memory of the redeemed people; of that people which at the beginning of its new existence doubted whether it would be allowed to remain of five millions, and has come to be of twenty-seven millions, with Rome for its capital. Can we be surprised at the cry of admiration and gratitude that hailed the king who had so great a part in the wonderful transformation, and who never for one instant ceased to be one with his people?

III.

When we carry back our thoughts to the

above-mentioned epoch of the first war of independence; when we think of Piedmont as it was after the battle of Novara, and in 1850, and how the Italians have succeeded, in the midst of so many sacrifices of all kinds and the struggles of parties, in going forwards, in meeting their engagements and winning the credit necessary to obtain money, and in diminishing little by little and nearly filling up the deficit, even the financial question must appear less grave.

This, however, is perhaps one of the few real troubles of the young nation. Certainly it is to be deplored that in the Chamber at Montecitorio there does not reign a better understanding as to the means to be applied for at length reaching financial equilibrium, and that after Cavour's death no man has arisen who with his *prestige* has known how to impose himself so as to put an end to a state of things which is of material and still more of moral damage to the country. But at the same time we must not forget that in the present financial situation of Italy is comprised the liquidation of one of those profound revolutions which by all other nations were paid with torrents of blood, with civil wars, with repeated failures. We must not forget that the fact of the unexpected and unprepared reunion into one State of many provinces formerly governed by wholly distinct and different institutions was necessarily the cause of immense administrative and consequently also of financial difficulties.

There were an army and a fleet to be created; public instruction to be diffused; many services advantageous to commerce to be organised; the country to be covered with railways and public works; in short, enormous expenses which the provisional government had to incur in order to meet the most urgent necessities, and make Italy. From the beginning of 1860, when the annexations were not yet begun, till the end of 1866, when they were nearly terminated with the cession of Venice, the expenses of the war and naval department alone amounted to more than two milliards and three hundred millions of francs. In the space of the same seven years the public works swallowed up five hundred and eighteen millions. All this without the new taxes which were afterwards recognised as necessary having been imposed.

Had the government succeeded in settling so many things without increasing the national debt, it would have worked a miracle without precedent in history.

At present equilibrium seems to be near being reached, and the harm which is deplored is henceforth more moral than mate-

rial. Indeed, what is most to be lamented is that in this year also the financial plan of Signor Minghetti must prove sterile of results: not that the fifty-four millions which should have been found in order to reach the desired settlement were really too much for the resources of the nation, but that owing to the dissensions and squabbles of the new Chamber of Deputies, only sixteen of the fifty-four millions demanded by M. Minghetti were conceded, thus leaving, as usual, to Providence the care of finding the rest.

This is not calculated to heighten in foreign countries the esteem for the positivity and the financial good sense of Italian legislators, but rather to increase the doubt, but too prevalent already, that the representative and parliamentary system has not as yet reached that degree of perfection which is necessary for leading to good results in the administration of the affairs of the country.

Such a doubt is unhappily but too well founded. As a proof, we need but mention how not only in parliament, but also out of it, the great and true political parties, indispensable for the regular working of the constitutional machine, have not yet been formed. Parliamentary parties can neither be useful nor deserve the name of political parties unless they have formed themselves in the nation itself, and derived from it the reason of their existence—unless they represent the great elements in which the national will divides itself. These and no others are the parties which Burke was the first to call *necessary*.

Now this is not the case in Italy. Though in the Chamber of Deputies there are those who seat themselves on the right and others on the left, it by no means follows that there are two real parties, one of the Right and one of the Left. The Left is more especially wanting, and this is perhaps one of the principal reasons why the organisation of the Right is still defective. To be just, we must however confess that, should a real and compact Right be able to constitute itself, the Left would in its turn probably soon take the form of an organised political party.

It can be affirmed without fear of mistaking that the premature death of Cavour greatly prejudiced the formation of the Right, as later the death of Ratazzi contributed to retard still more the constitution of the Left. Both Cavour and Ratazzi possessed that *prestige* which is necessary to be able to rise above others and direct them, giving to petty and less noble ambitions more harmless satisfactions, and thus impeding their doing any mischief, and their imposing themselves on the country. When

individual ambitions are not allowed natural outlets, such as are to be found where parties are regularly disciplined, they leave the proper road, and, so to say, unconsciously stray into crooked paths, thus disturbing the proper working of constitutional functions and preventing the formation of parties. Then are formed, as is precisely the case with the new Italian kingdom, those kinds of ministerial dynasties which aspire and pretend to government, and whose position, not being sufficiently justified, excites the jealousy of many who take it to be the fault of others if they themselves do not succeed in founding a dynasty on their own account.

It is known that the Right in the Italian Chamber of Deputies subdivides itself into about as many groups as there were individuals who had succeeded in forming a ministry or in taking a principal part in it. The Left also not only divides itself into the *old* and the *young* Left, as is proved by the programmes which came to light last year to announce officially the great scission; but both the old and the new Left subdivide themselves into as many groups as there are men who rightly or wrongly flatter themselves they would be able to be the first to attain power the day in which the Left could be called by the will of the nation and the confidence of the sovereign to constitute a ministry. These groups are called Depretis, Crispi, Cairoli, Nicotera, &c. The jealousy and strife naturally born of so many unsatisfied ambitions must necessarily be all the more perturbing in Italy, where, notwithstanding unity, a long time must elapse before the divisions and the *regional* passions, which arise from the conflict of interests, can completely disappear.

Generally speaking, Italians are proud of their national unity, and would shrink from no sacrifice for its preservation: still they have at the same time remained Piedmontese, Neapolitans, Ligurians, Tuscans, Lombards, Sicilians, &c., and these distinctions abolished from the official Italy of our day, easily appear every moment at the banquet of political life, like the ghost of Banquo.

This is the reason why more than one Italian statesman known for frankly liberal principles has doubted whether the Italian nation has been endowed with a system of government consentaneous with their character, and has come to a negative conclusion.*

* Amongst these is to be principally noticed Senator Stefano Jacini, formerly deputy, and for several years minister, and who wrote in the end of 1870 a pamphlet entitled, 'On the State of Public Affairs in Italy after 1866.'

These think that the remedies adopted to cure an evil which, according to them, is both political and administrative, should precisely be of that very same nature. Thence the double necessity of, firstly, changing the parliamentary system by means of an electoral reform introducing indirect universal suffrage, or, as it is called, suffrage in two degrees; secondly, of altering the political administrative system by means of a reform which would exclude from the centre of the government and from the national parliament the greater number of the affairs of political administration, and refer them to administrative and representative bodies, which would be constituted in the different *regions* in which Italy geographically divides herself.

In the opinion of these politicians, there is between the *legal* Italy of the present day and the *real* Italy a distinction which should not exist, a distinction which would disappear if by a better adapted and more rational system of suffrage the former came to be the true representative of the latter.

Others, and they form the greater number, maintain that such a distinction does not really exist to any greater degree in Italy than it does in other countries longer ruled by a representative government; and that a more widely diffused instruction, a more rational education, will fully suffice to make the legal country in a relatively short space of time act and work like the real country. The question is in fact this: Whether any extension of the suffrage would at present be of advantage to the country, or would not rather tend to increase the confusion? Neither does it seem exact in an absolute sense to think that governmental centralisation is congenial to the parliamentary system. As a proof of the contrary we need only mention England, the most parliamentary and at the same time the most remarkable country in Europe for the widest administrative decentralisation.

We shall not examine here the reasons which militate in favour of those proposals, nor the objections which can be, or really were, raised against them. We need only give a rapid glance to convince ourselves how, amongst the reasons which, according to the opinion of distinguished politicians, hindered the constitution of two great parties in the new kingdom of Italy, is to be reckoned that of not having left sufficient life to the different *regions*. It consequently happens that provincial, or more properly *regional*, ambitions and rivalities, not having a natural and legitimate object, seek it in the parliament and in the central government.

Another amongst the divers remedies

which might be usefully tried, would be that suggested in 1870 by another person of authority, Senator Antonio Scialoja, who was minister both previously and subsequently. The remedy is to reform the first of the two legislative chambers, the Senate, in such a manner as that it should come to represent more distinctly and efficaciously than it at present does the opinions and interests of a more general order, and overcome provincial considerations.

'The senate,' Scialoja wrote, 'is undoubtedly called to act in Italy a most noble and important part in the progress of the new State's constitutional life; but in order to do this it is necessary to think of restoring its authority, which some fear is not at the high point which it had reached in the subalpine kingdom.'

'One will succeed,' he added, 'in overcoming all the more easily the causes of this fear, if the Crown, keeping within constitutional limits and largely using its high prerogative of electing the members of the eminent Assembly, would however surround the exercise of its prerogative with fixed rules, imposed upon itself to assure the nation that political and legislative corps will never be corrupted by elements brought to the surface by the rapid political tides which from time to time bring up the weeds from the lowest depths.'

The means suggested by Scialoja would certainly be calculated to render less hurtful the too frequent ministerial fluctuations, and make up for the want of strong social orders able to resist the action of disturbing causes, as they resist them in England, where they are rendered powerful by history and by their own intrinsic constitution.

Whatever opinion may be entertained as to the value of these remedies, it is certain that the causes of the evil lamented in Italy of the want of strong political parties are of too complex a nature to allow of their being considered under one sole and exclusive aspect. Over and above the special causes, there is one which might be called general. This is that the most prominent points of home and foreign policy, the most vital questions of a political order which have as yet been agitated in Italy, by reason of their very nature have afforded neither occasion nor matter for the formation of real political parties.

IV.

Real and strong political parties form themselves only when, it being necessary to come to practical resolutions about important and interesting arguments of high administrative or state policy, political men and their followers take part, some for this, some for that principle.

But not every kind of administrative or political questions can serve as occasion for the formation of parties. Some questions are too light and insufficient; others, though very important, are not well adapted. This was precisely the case in Italy, as is proved by the negative result to which we are alluding.

From the very first and till 1866 the culminating point, the most vital argument of Italian policy, was deliverance from the foreign yoke. In this nearly all Italians agreed, and the very few dissenters could not form a party in the constitutional order, neither when the deliverance was in process of preparation, nor after its accomplishment. This has no need of explanation. The question of deliverance from the stranger complicated itself in its first stage with that of deliverance from bad governments and internal dynasties.

As we have already noticed, the peace of Villafranca made clear the necessity that Italy, freed from the Austrian yoke, should become really Italian; that is to say, should be formed into a state averse to the stranger, if she really wished one day to complete her independence. This was a new practical argument, for the solution of which every means was considered fitted: consequently it was not calculated to provoke true political divisions. The very existence of Italy was in the balance. The moderate liberals hesitated not a moment in uniting themselves with the most advanced patriots and even with the republican party. The common enterprise, in this as in the other intent, was indeed conducted and maintained within proper limits by the moderate party, but the other also more or less spontaneously gave in its adhesion: thus here too no matter was afforded for the formation of parties.

Those who had joined together for purposes of destruction soon parted, but even then they could not resolve themselves into constitutional parties. There were the discontented and the republicans, but none who, the work ended, had a practical design to separate themselves from the others as to the work itself.

Considered under this point of view, that is to say more properly as an internal question, that of the possession of Rome according to the votes of the Italian parliament was more capable of furnishing matter for parties. This question, however, presents itself under another aspect, namely that of papal Rome, subject not to a prince, but to the chief of a religion the confines of which are much more extended than those of Italy. When we view the question in this light it is clear that in the general condition of Eu-

rope the political reality could not be lightly ignored, that is to say, the external difficulties which would have to be encountered; neither could a party into whose programme means of violence, rather than moral means entered, be considered one capable of holding the reins of government.

Napoleon the Third, in his speech at the opening of the legislative session in 1867, had said: 'Should demagogical conspiracies in their audacity dare to threaten the temporal power of the Holy See, Europe, I have no doubt, would not allow the accomplishment of an event which would create so great a disturbance in the Catholic world.' The voice of the French emperor was still important and dreaded.

After the unconstitutional and still more unhappy attempt which finished with Mentana, the Roman question soon left the domain of practical reality to enter that of unformed conceptions. There it would long have remained, had not unforeseen events given a more favoured ministry the opportunity of going to Rome under better auspices, and with the probability of remaining there.

Once in possession of Rome, what questions were there capable of giving rise to the formation of two great political parties? According to the opinion of the masses, the urgent want of finances and the new relations of the State with the Church dispossessed of temporal power, presented themselves as the culminating point of the new political situation. But any one who would wish to penetrate into the real substance of the thing must convince himself that these two questions, which by reason of their very importance require the existence of parties regularly and strongly constituted, were not however such as by their nature could be the object of the formation of parties in Italy, either in the parliament or out of it.

Certainly no fact is so important as the settlement of the finances in a State but just formed through means of a wonderful revolution, but nothing is more complicated and more connected with the varied functions of social life. So long as one does but acknowledge a fact, and recognise that there is a deficit, all are of one mind in affirming that it must be filled up; but if from generalisations one proceeds to the special means of providing, one comes on ground more calculated to divide the parties already formed than to form them where they do not already exist.

To comprehend and to judge under an economical and political aspect an entire system of taxation is too great and at the same time too scientific a task, for it to be possible to hope that it can become the practical

theme of a political discussion, capable of organising parties. Besides this, however little we may recall to mind the history of the Italian parliament, we must allow that the financial policy of Italy will not take a sure and firm direction if at the same time the baneful action of those causes which prevent the formation of true political parties is not removed or conquered. These causes are especially personal ambitions and the *regionalismo*.

Just as these produce disturbances and disorders in the vital functions of the State, so do they also in its financial mechanism. Every one has the feeling of nationality and the intuition of unity; but the feeling and the intuition are always struggling with other sentiments and old habits, amongst which is the exaggerated municipalism, which had so great a part in the old misfortunes of Italy.

Were this not the case, it would be difficult to explain that, whilst several administrations fell under the imputation of not having known how to find an economical and financial system suited to the wants of the State, the administration which succeeded nowise differed from the former; the men who but a short time before formed part of the opposition party, once in power, followed the very same system as those whom they had combated and supplanted. Speaking but of the three last ministries, it is difficult to find out any financial and political difference in the Lanza-Sella ministry from that of Menabrea-Digny so loudly overthrown by a vote which followed a species of political impeachment brought forward against it by Lanza himself, who, to be able to speak more freely, came down from his seat of President of the Chamber. We have nearly as great a difficulty in understanding the difference between the Lanza-Sella ministry and that by which it was supplanted in 1873, after a long and fierce opposition headed by Signor Minghetti. For the triumph of that opposition he was even obliged to have recourse to a coalition with a large part of the Left, which, however, continued to be as if for ever excluded from any participation in power, to represent the part of the opposition.

The question of the relations between the State and the Church was, as we have already said, far less calculated to give rise and organisation to true political parties than one would be first led to suppose. Considered more especially in a religious light, the thing interests but slightly the great majority of the Italians. If it sometimes occurred that some deputy wished to substitute the religious question for the political one, his voice

found no response in the country, and he rendered himself wearisome to the Chamber itself. The Italians of our day are little, if at all, fond of theological discussions, and if they can be reproved for anything in religious matters, it is certainly not for their over zeal, but rather for their indifference.

On the more specially political ground the question does not find a sufficiently large number of dissenters for it to give place to an important political division either in or out of parliament. If we exclude that group which for some time has taken to consider the question under a third aspect, namely as a means of foreign policy, neither in the parliament nor in the country are there many who, instead of the principle proclaimed by Cavour of a free Church in a free State, prefer relations such as they are understood by the great chancellor of the empire of Germany.

V.

The argument of the relations between the new kingdom of Italy and the Church of Rome is of a complex nature. It could not be worthily treated unless by uniting the brief history which begins by the breach of Porta Pia in September, 1870, and that more legitimate and more complicated, which goes back to many years before, and comprises the divers phases which have unfolded themselves from 1848 to the present time.

It were too far from the general theme and beyond our prescribed limits to give the subject the full consideration due to it: this could be more usefully done in a complete treatise. It is well, however, to give it a rapid glance, for it furnishes the most important and necessary means for obtaining a precise idea of the political state of Italy.

Here, too, it is necessary to recollect that the first impress of the policy which was to lead to such wonderful results was made by Cavour's masterly hand. On the 7th of July, 1850, in the famous discussion of the law known later under the name of the Siccardi Law, which abolished the privilege of the ecclesiastical tribunal, Cavour, in a speech to the Chamber which greatly contributed to his popularity and strength, said: 'It is precisely in a time of tranquillity that true statesmen, true prudent men, think of working useful reforms. Timely reforms, instead of weakening the government, strengthen it; instead of increasing the strength of the revolutionary spirit, reduce it to impotency.*' That law was in fact in-

* The bill had been moved since the 25th of February of that year, by Massimo D'Azeglio, who was then prime minister.

tended to entrust the government with the direction and execution of those reforms which are nearly always violently forced at the last hour by the revolution of the rabble. It was like the germ of a complete programme, which that powerful mind had prepared, awaiting the opportune moment to develop it.

The suppression of the religious bodies, the secularisation of scholastic institutions, civil marriage, the liquidation of ecclesiastical property, &c., were but the logical consequence of that first law. After the death of Cavour, his programme was indeed in some parts imperfectly followed out, either owing to the force of circumstances or to inferior capacity in the executors of his schemes: still in substance it was maintained and was triumphant, notwithstanding the obstacles which under different forms had to be encountered.

Ten years later, on the 11th of October, 1860, Cavour said to the Chamber of Deputies in Turin: 'During the last twelve years the fixed star of King Victor Emmanuel was the aspiration after national independence. What will be this star as regards Rome? Our star, I openly declare to you, is to do in such manner as that the eternal city, on which twenty-five centuries have accumulated every kind of glory, should become the splendid capital of the kingdom of Italy.' Five months afterwards, but a short time before his death, he returned to the same theme, and proclaimed before the Chamber itself the famous formula of *a free Church in a free State*, which has since been generally attributed to him, though, several years before, in France, Count de Montalembert had been the author of it.

'As a proof of the sincerity of our proposals,' said he, 'I beg you to notice that they are consistent with the whole of our system. We think it necessary to introduce the system of liberty into all parts of civil and religious society. We desire economical liberty; we desire administrative liberty; we want full and absolute liberty of conscience; we want all the political liberties which are compatible with the maintenance of political order. Thence it follows, as a natural consequence of this order of things, that we think it necessary to the harmony of the edifice which we wish to raise that the principle of liberty should be widely applied to the representatives of the Church and of the State. We may thus obtain, in a not distant future, one of the greatest results that have ever been verified in the history of humanity—the reconciliation of Papacy with the Empire, of the spirit of liberty with the religious feeling.'

Cavour died in May, 1861. Baron Ricasoli was his successor. It is well known that his principal care in the policy with

Rome was to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor. On the 12th of June, the new Premier in his turn uttered to the Chamber the following words:—

'We wish to go to Rome, not by destroying, but by building up, giving the Church the opportunity for reforming herself, and opening the way by giving her liberty and independence as a means for her regeneration, and a stimulant.'

Several years passed without anything being done, for the work of unifying the army and the administration occupied at first nearly exclusively the government and the parliament. On the 28th of January, 1864, the minister Pisanelli moved a bill for the suppression of the religious bodies and the settling of the ecclesiastical property. The first bill met with nearly the same fate as the two others presented before that of 1866, that is to say, it was not even discussed; still, more or less, in all the similar projects which were proposed the same conception ruled. 'To loosen,' said Pisanelli, in his ministerial report, 'the bands with which the two powers have been fettered to their mutual hurt, so that each may freely move in her own circle, should be the task of the present generation, brought up in sound principles of civil and religious liberty; nor will it be possible to attain this result if the State does not do all in its power to alter the external order of ecclesiastical institutions.'

Towards the end of 1866, immediately after the re-establishment of peace, and the union of Venice to the rest of Italy, the thought of opening the gates of Rome by means of an understanding with the Holy See again arose. Ricasoli, again in power, sends, on the 22nd of October, a circular for the recall of the expelled bishops, and the same ideas of reconciliation and of justice prevail.

'The government,' said Ricasoli, 'thinks of thus hastening the accomplishment of those relations of perfect liberty of the Church with the State which have until now constituted but a simple axiom of the political ecclesiastical Right of the Kingdom; a right which, it would be desirable, should leave the abstract regions in which it has as yet kept itself, and truly pass into the reality of facts.'

Always governed by the same principle and with the same end in view, a little later, in February, 1867, the ministers Scialoja and Borgatti, under that same Ricasoli ministry, presented another bill entitled *For the Liberty of the Church and the Sale of Ecclesiastical Property*. According to the intention of its movers, this law was to have completed that of the 7th of July, 1866.

The bill had no chance : it was obliged to make way for the more administrative and fiscal, but in no wise liberal, law proposed several months later by the minister Rattazzi. It is not the less true, however, that the programme of Cavour, though contended against and ill-used, always showed itself powerful in the midst of the different phases through which the ecclesiastical question passed in Italy, and that, strong in the sympathies and will of the great majority of the nation, it was this which mastered the situation.

It is known how the brief ministry of Rattazzi excited a great agitation in the country, an agitation which had so great a part in the unhappy attempt of Mentana in October of the same year, and in the immediate return to a conservative cabinet with Menabrea for head. The subsequent cabinet presided over by Signor Lanza differed from it but little or not at all. It is well known that the latter, after having been in power a few months, by force of circumstances rather than owing to his own will and opinion, went to Rome ; not, truly, with the moral power imagined by Cavour and for so many years dreamt of by his followers, still, not without something which rendered more apparent than real the use of material forces.

It is necessary to remember the moral support which under these circumstances the Italian government found in the power of Europe, whose interest it would have been to oppose themselves, namely, Catholic Austria, less than four years before Italy's greatest enemy, and even France, but a few months earlier the jealous custodian of Rome. It is necessary to recollect how Count de Beust, Minister of Foreign Affairs at Vienna, wrote, on the 20th of July, 1870, to Prince Metternich, ambassador at Paris :—

'The Convention of September, it is useless to have any illusions on the subject, is no longer suited to the situation. We cannot leave the Holy Father to the inefficacious protection of his own troops. The day in which the French leave the Pontifical States it would be necessary that the Italians should be able to enter with a full right and with the consent of Austria and of France. We shall never have real friends in the Italians if we do not draw out of them the thorn of Rome. . . . And, frankly, is it not better to know that the Holy Father is under the protection of the Italian army than to see him exposed to Garibaldian enterprises ?

VI.

Could Italy once in Rome forget and abandon the principles which had led to the

fulfilment of her great end ? Would it have been just ? would it have been politically opportune ?

Is there not a conscience even for nations and for governments ? And is there not at the bottom of even the most Machiavelian policy a law which imposes consistency as an obligation ? It was just, and politically wise that even in the law of the 13th of May, 1871, the Italian government should hold fast to the principle of liberty. In securing the independence of the pontiff even as regards his action in foreign countries, the Italian government performed a strict duty towards the Catholic powers which had placed confidence in the word of Italy.

Those who so deeply lament the concessions made by the last-named law to the Church of Rome must, if they be sincere, admit that it was difficult for the Italian government to follow another line of conduct. Apart from principles and only looking at the facts, it is evident that the Church has gained a mere nothing in comparison to what it has been gradually losing these last twenty-five years. What then shall we say if we compare the present with what the Church was in Italy fifty years ago ?

The fact is that Italy has in this century preceded all other States in what regards the important question of regulating the relations between the State and the Church, so that the independence of the first, and, what is of still greater importance, liberty of conscience and of thought should be secured. It is well to remember that it is exclusively the moderate-liberal party which in a relatively short space of time, by insistence and firmness, and without any great shocks, has assured liberty and succeeded in planting the Italian flag in Campidoglio ; it is that liberal party which with but few intervals was in power from 1848 till this day, and which the opposition chooses to call too *conservative*.

The attitude taken by Germany in relation to the religious question since the war of 1870 has contributed, as we have already noticed, to strengthen in its accusations the opposition party, which is as acrid and troublesome as it is circumscribed in number and wanting in authority both in parliament and out of it.

The historical bearing of Germany, or rather of Prussia, in the ecclesiastical question, is diametrically opposed to that of Italy. The latter began by revindictating and restricting, and ended with the liberty of the Church ; the former proclaimed in 1850 liberty (as it is formulated in the three articles lately abolished by the new law), and after thirteen years inaugurated a system of

repressions. These have gone on increasing till they have within the last two years taken proportions which must seem exaggerated even to the most lukewarm partisans of religious liberty.

In politics it is not always possible to choose the best and most suitable line of conduct; but as in this request Italy has been favoured, it is natural to ask why in order to please Germany she should relinquish her past and give up a system which has led to such happy results.

Those who, judging by external appearances, or attributing too great an importance to the political pilgrimages at Paray-le-Monial and to other similar fancies, fear the prevalence in France of the clerical party, and as its consequence the revival of the reaction in Italy, may rejoice at their leisure that the policy of the great chancellor is a powerful antidote to so perilous a contagion; but even this would be insufficient to induce the more humble ministers of the kingdom of Italy to abandon a different policy which Italy has no reason whatever to be discontented with. Besides, the danger of contagion does not in truth seem to be very great, either when we consider the conditions of Italy or more attentively examine those of France. Taken in its whole, the history of that people does not indicate that its follies are of very long duration, and nothing induces us to fear that the vivifying and innovating spirit will delay its return this time any more than on former occasions.

By associating herself with the religious policy of Bismark, Italy would favour the interests of Germany but not her own. Bismark well knew that once France was prostrate and Italy arisen, united and full of youthful vigour, the supremacy lost by the Popes would not instal itself at Berlin but at Rome, were Italy no longer at enmity with the Papacy. It was thus to the interest of Bismark to begin a policy of warfare against the Church of Rome and excite Italy to follow in her footsteps. But the interests of Italy counselled her then, as they still do, to follow another line of policy.

The force of circumstances having obliged her to abolish the temporal power of the Pope, but not out of enmity against religion, nay, with the firm conviction of working its real good, it was above all necessary for her to try to take away all motives for conflict by a reciprocal liberty, without any intention of subjecting the first to the second or the second to the first.

Even starting from a principle of justice, the State which would allow itself to be drawn into taking measures of restriction not necessitated by its condition would commit a

great mistake. It is necessary to take into consideration the nature of the populations, their education, their feelings: thus the policy suitable for one State may be unbecoming for another. It is not reasonable to compare a nation entirely Catholic with another the population of which is more than two-thirds Protestant. Laws must be adapted to the special circumstances of each particular State, the necessity of the defence pointing out the choice of the arms.

Under whatever light we may be disposed to view the attitude taken by Germany, it is certain that her plan is entirely different from that carried out by Italy as regards the ecclesiastical question.

The end pursued by the German ecclesiastical laws is the destruction of the independent life of each Church, and its conversion into a civil service, into a kind of *spiritual police*. The fundamental basis of Prussian legislation is the clergy regulated like an order dependent on the State, like a class of political functionaries on whom the government has the right to impose conditions for the exercise of their priestly ministry. It is sufficient to say that the Prussian law of the 11th of May, 1873, is entitled *the law on the education of priests*.

In Italy the case is widely different. Last year, in order to draw more clearly a line of demarcation between the State and the Church, a law was passed for the suppression of the Faculty of Theology in the Universities of the State, precisely because the opinion there predominates that the State ought to interfere in Church matters only within those more narrow limits which political necessity and the guardianship of the liberty of conscience impose upon it, and without occupying itself about ecclesiastical education.

The future will reveal the value of Bismark's policy of making use of the fanaticism of incredulity as an arm to combat the fanaticism of superstition. Italy has no cause to regret the road which she has taken, for it has secured to her all that she wanted, and has also raised her in the opinion of the civilised world. The trial which is being made by Italy is followed with a curiosity not unmingled with sympathy: every one understands that, in case of failure, the government and the parliament have not shut the way against such new measures as might better answer for the defence of liberal institutions and of the rights of the State.

Prince Bismark has most artfully tried to transfer an internal question to the ground of international right, and has considered the law of the guarantees as a law which re-

quires the sanction, so to say, of the other States.

The Italian government has not allowed itself to be entrapped, and on this occasion also it has conducted itself with prudence and dignity. Indeed it would not be fair that a State should arrogate the right of discussing a law of another State only because the law, in the intention of him who made it, was a kind of moral guarantee for the rest of Europe. *

Before entering Rome the Italian parliament declared in the name of the nation what would be the guarantees for the free exercise of the spiritual authority of the Pontiff, whose temporal power was at an end; but even though taking Europe and the world as witnesses, it could certainly not have the intention, nor could any one for a moment entertain the thought of submitting that law to a foreign sanction. Italy cannot do otherwise than hold firm on this point, namely, that every State must defend itself against the Pope on its own particular ground, and by adopting those measures which it thinks most calculated to secure its independence. In the same way that those who find insufficient the guarantees given by the government might, without having recourse to Italy, seek and find ampler ones, those who find them too ample have but to defend themselves as they think best. Prince Bismark labours under a mistake if he does not perceive that the ecclesiastical position of the Pope is not created by the law on the guarantees, but in fact by the political right of Europe. So long as the Pope is recognised and treated by the Powers as on a par with the most lawful sovereigns, it is vain to affirm the wish or the will to consider him in the light of any private person. Even under the international aspect it was evidently the duty of the Italian government not only to secure liberty to the Pope as head of the Catholic Church, but also to guarantee to the Church full liberty for the choice of the Pontiff. This is provided for by the law of guarantees of May, 1871. This law enabled Signor Visconti-Venosta, from the beginning of 1874, to counterwork the effects of the ill humour of the Germans who had caught at the vain question whether a certain Bull of Pope Pius the Ninth was real or false, by sending a diplomatic note to all the governments of Europe. In that note he announced to Europe in the very simplest manner that on the distant or near day of the death of Pius the Ninth, the election of his successor could take place in Rome with all freedom and security. For this end he recalled to their minds the guar-

antees with which the law of May, 1871, surrounds the Conclave.

This second political aspect of the ecclesiastical question in Italy naturally leads us to say something of another subject which remains to be briefly examined, to complete the sketch of that country. The reader has already understood that we refer to the question of foreign policy.

VII.

It is not possible to dwell on the foreign policy of Italy and to sketch even briefly her actual position towards the other nations of Europe without reference to Cavour's great work, the fruits of which, it is but fair to say, Italy is now enjoying.

Italy would probably not have been formed as yet, had not Cavour overcome many diplomatic difficulties, and succeeded in making Piedmont take part in the Crimean war, in 1854, by the side of England and of France. Not only the conservatives, but also the most audacious liberals, were at that time adverse to Cavour's idea, and advised abstention. He had to struggle against such men as Revel, Tecchio, Brofferio, and Pallavicino-Trivulzio, leaders of all the different tints in the Chamber. He stood firm; he converted to himself the majority, and obtained that which every one now allows to have been the starting-point of the fortune of Italy.

From the Crimean war followed as a consequence the intervention of Piedmont in the Congress of Paris in 1856. Cavour succeeded in obtaining in favour of his country the revocation of what had been previously established in the Congress of Vienna, and put in practice at Aix, Lubiana, and Verona, for the exclusion of the smaller States from consulting and deciding on the affairs of Europe; and thus, in the Congress of Paris, Piedmont saw her right to defend the Italian cause formally recognised by England and France, and indirectly consented to by Russia and Prussia. Although conducting himself in that Congress with the most artful modesty, Cavour skilfully took advantage of the conflict of interests and passions to isolate Austria. Having succeeded in his intent, he rose in the name of Italy, that country nearly ignored by diplomacy, which had allowed her to be only a *geographical division*, to throw in the face of Austria her violations of the treaty of 1815, and he succeeded in taking the task of the national independence out of the unskilful hands of sects and conspiracies, and transferring it into the Courts of Europe.

Another great work of Cavour's, if only

we will judge without passion and with reference to the time of its accomplishment, was the Pact of Plombières, concluded with the French. The particulars are still a secret; nevertheless, it is known that the extension of Piedmont to the Adriatic and to the Apennines, so as to form a kingdom of about eleven millions of inhabitants, was agreed upon. This may seem but little now that Italy has been formed; but we must recollect that that great event would never have taken place without the war of 1859, which was precisely prepared by the Pact of Plombières.

Should it be asked why Cavour did not find an alliance with Prussia preferable to one with France, the answer would be that the political transformation of Prussia was of a much later date, and that it was only that transformation which rendered possible, in 1866, the acceptance of the principles represented by the Italian Revolution and the alliance which contributed to the deliverance of Venice.

The anterior policy of Prussia was very different. In so far as it concerned Italy, one might also remember the notes which the Prussian government was not slow to send as a protest against the annexations. Equally memorable are Cavour's replies, and so is especially his despatch to the minister De Launay at Berlin, of the 9th of November, 1860, in which, in answer to the attacks of Prussia, the great Italian statesman sustained the new right of peoples to nationality.

It is worthy of notice that in October, 1860, the Prussian minister went to read to Cavour a note from his government. In it was expressed the greatest disapprobation of the entry into the Marches and the ex-kingdom of Naples. Cavour answered that he was sorry at being blamed, but that 'he consoled himself with the thought that Piedmont was setting an example which in a short time Prussia would most probably be very happy to follow.'

Cavour, with his sure and penetrating glance, foresaw the events which were to change Prussian policy, and with it the fate of the whole of Germany. Thus already, since 1858, he had longed for the alliance with Prussia when she was still so obstinate in her anti-liberal and reactionary policy. We may notice this conception in the visit paid by Cavour to the Prince Regent, now Emperor of Germany, in Baden, in 1858, on his return from the meeting at Plombières, as also in the mission which he immediately afterwards entrusted to Count Pepoli at the Court of Berlin. We see it taken up again in 1860 in his memorable correspondence

with Schleinitz and Brassier de St. Simon, and attempted with the La Marmora mission in 1861, but a little while before death came to cut short a life so precious to Italy. Whatever real good has been effected since Cavour's death by the men at the head of public affairs, has been but the continuation of his policy or its consequence.

The possibility and advantage of an alliance with Prussia had been grasped by him since 1858; and in December, on Pepoli's return from Berlin, he (Cavour) uttered the following remarkably prophetic words, which prove all the power of his political genius:—

'That which cannot be concluded to-day will perhaps be concluded to-morrow. Prussia is inevitably drawn into the orbit of the idea of nationality. The alliance of Prussia with aggrandized Piedmont is written in the future book of history.'

In the mean time, however, Napoleon the Third had been the only one who, in 1855 and in 1856, had put Cavour to the question: *Que peut on faire pour l'Italie?* Is it probable that Prussia, as it is now pretended, would have proved more disinterested? Facts prove rather the contrary. In 1866, being in want of an alliance, Prussia united with Italy to overthrow Austria. This is very true. Nevertheless it must be remembered that this alliance favoured the interests of Germany, to say the least, as much as those of Italy. Had not Prussia had the support of Italy, and in a second line, but what was perhaps still more important, that of France, Sadowa would not have been possible. Italy, as well as France, contributed to that victory, which was to lead to the war of 1870, and to the future of Germany. After those wonderful events, it is not strange that the current of opinion is in some respects changed, and that even that reasoning which formerly would have been deemed nearly impossible should have become natural.

To this we must add the particular circumstances which followed, and which were in no wise favourable to France.

The violence of the French clerical party, and of a certain number of the so-called conservatives of the Assembly of Versailles, contributed to estrange many friends of France, and reawake the odious remembrance that it was she who had so greatly opposed the acquisition of Rome. A part of the sympathies lost by France went over to her fortunate rival.

This is easily understood: the splendour of victory has in all ages had a dazzling effect, and fortune a crowd of worshippers. But this is no good reason for Italy to

forget all that France did for her during more than ten years following, and that, had it not been for France and for Napoleon the Third, Italy would probably not yet exist.

Wishing to reason without passion, it is certain that motives are not wanting for excusing the imperial government, if, in the last stage of its policy, it was no longer such as to please the Italians. It may also be questioned whether, previously to the war of 1870, Prussia or any other continental power would have done, nay, simply *allowed*, that which it is pretended that it was the duty of France to do.

Such among the Italians as would be inclined to be ungrateful towards France and Napoleon the Third should recollect that in the last year of the imperial government the party with which the Emperor was obliged to come to some understanding, and whose implacable hostility was in fact, as history will tell, one of the principal causes of the fall of the Empire, had become more and more violent and audacious. This party was headed by M. Thiers, who, it is well known, spied every possible opportunity for sourly reproaching the imperial government with having propagated false ideas of nationality. A violent discourse of M. Thiers before the Corps Legislatif, on the 4th of December, 1867, cannot be forgotten. In it he maintained that at the very most Italy should have been allowed to constitute herself into a confederation like Switzerland.

'The result,' he said, 'of the policy of France in Italy is to be seen in Germany. Two unities, one made, one allowed to made, who join hands over the Alps, *et qui mettent à la paix cette condition que vous les laisserez s'achever. . . . En Europe,*' he adds, '*il y a un équilibre Européen: et c'est au nom de ce principe qu'on a le droit de ne pas créer à côté de soi des puissances de 25 millions d'âmes.*'

How full of sympathy for the Italian cause was the answer which that day, as always, M. Rouher gave to M. Thiers! How explicit were the declarations which already more than a year before (in the diplomatic circular of the 16th of September, 1866) Marquis de Lavalette had made in the name of his sovereign when he said:—

'Politics should soar above the mean and narrow prejudices of another age. The Emperor does not think that the greatness of a country depends on the weakness of the surrounding nations, and he sees true equilibrium only in the satisfied aspirations of the nations of Europe.'

To say that France, by the cession of Nice and Savoy, was recompensed for what

she had done for Italy, would not only be an indelicacy of which it is impossible for so noble and chivalrous a nation as the Italian to be guilty, but it would at the same time be politically inexact; for the nation which in order to constitute itself invokes above all the principle of nationality could not shame it by refusing to give up voluntarily two provinces which by right of nationality belong to France.

When Cavour in homage to this principle had the courage to tear from his sovereign's ancestral crown the gem which had been the kernel of the small state that had acted so great a part in the destinies of Italy, he, far from performing an act of less noble complaisance, as his detractors and the demagogues pretend, performed an act of deep policy. Those who impartially examine the conduct of the Italian government towards France from 1856 to 1870, will find that it was indeed that of a grateful friend, but never of a vassal.

In 1858, when, for a moment, Walewsky seemed to forget that little Piedmont was a free and sovereign state, Cavour himself, the author of the French alliance, wrote to Marquis Villamarina, minister at Paris, the following memorable words:—

'Courage! and continue to represent a generous king and a loyal government, which, as it will never enter into an alliance with disorder and revolution, so it will never in any case allow itself to be cowed by the threats of its neighbours. Persevere in the diplomatic struggle! . . . Our young king will go to die in America, and he will die, not once but a hundred times, at the foot of our Alps before tarnishing with a single spot the unsullied honour of his noble race.'

The foreign policy is that in which the school of Cavour has been best understood and followed by his successors. Prudent and tenacious, conciliatory and firm, never giving way to the temptation of uselessly magnifying petty questions, but always pursuing the one national end without allowing themselves for any consideration whatever to be turned from it, they have succeeded in happily accomplishing the task begun by that great man. Italy is formed; her unity is attained; Rome, the eternal city, the cradle of the civilisation of the world, is her capital.

VIII.

The means of which Italy was obliged to avail herself in order to obtain her independence and constitute herself, the aids to which she was obliged to have recourse and for which she must be grateful, constitute for her at present a position that would be

embarrassing and fraught with danger, were she, inebriated by the courtesy so largely shown by her rival nations with a view of enticing her into their own particular orbit, to lose sight of the necessity of prudence and moderation. The friends of Italy must have rejoiced when, but a few months ago, her statesmen saw the necessity of creating for Italy a counterbalance to the alliance with Germany in the alliance with Austro-Hungary.

Italy needs Austro-Hungary as Austro-Hungary needs her, for the latter is engaged in an alliance not without danger, and must be sure of Italy, so as to be able to settle to her own advantage the Oriental question. Italy then does well to avail herself of the friendship of Austro-Hungary, just as the other takes advantage of the friendship of Italy. The new system of policy of the Austro-Hungarian government after Sadowa is calculated to awake the warmest sympathies of Italian statesmen.

How distant seem the days, in reality so near, when the new king of Piedmont, who had picked up on the field of battle his father's broken crown, said to Sir James Hudson, minister of England: 'I will fight Austria to the knife!' The motives of that noble hatred exist no longer; Italy is free to the Adriatic. At Vienna as at Venice it was not only the two sovereigns who cordially shook hands, but with them also the two nations.

This does not mean that the friendly relations between the Italian and the German governments are to be considered less cordial. Certainly the history of Germany has entered on a completely different phase; the same is the case with Italy; and it is not possible that the very same perils should renew themselves under identical forms. Nevertheless, if it is prudent for Italy to be, although friendly, still on her guard against France, so long as the latter has not well determined her line of conduct, this is perhaps even more opportune towards Germany. We must not forget that the whole history of Italy in the middle ages, and even in modern times, is comprised first in her struggle to avoid German supremacy, and afterwards in her subjection to Germany. This history will certainly not be gone over again by Italy now that her political position is that of the most favoured.

She is the arbitress of an eventual conflict between Germany and Austro-Hungary, for owing to her happy geographical position, and to the political position created for her by events, she can dispose of the political action of Austria in the East, and be ready to take advantage of any complications

which may arise for Austria from the part taken by Russia.

Italy knows the road to the East—that East so long a fount of riches and of glory for her. Free from all suspicion of aiming at territorial conquests, Italy is the nation most fitted to exercise in those regions a provident and efficacious action for European civilisation, of glory and great utility for herself. In the East, not elsewhere, do all the important questions which have too long kept Europe in a state of agitation await a solution. Italy may be happy should she in the longed-for day be able to contribute to the settling of those questions in the interests of civilisation and of the rights of peoples. It may be that later, owing to her position and to the favourable conditions in which she finds herself, she may be reserved an all-important task—that of peacemaker between France and Germany, at present divided by so deep an enmity; a task which might perhaps be of use not only to Italy, but to the whole of Europe. After all, Italy is bound to Germany by ancient community of destiny and to the French nation by ties of blood and homogeneity of principles. A line of policy which would lead to so great a reconciliation would be a policy worthy of the nation to which Cavour belonged. But for the present Italy must moderate her ardour, and content herself with a policy mostly of observant concentration.

Amongst all the different undertakings of Italy, especially after 1870, the most difficult is certainly that of taking amongst the other European nations a completely independent position, where she may defend herself, not so much against open enmities—but little probable—as against interested alliances and dangerous protectorates.

On this account her alliances should not be such in the proper meaning of the word, but rather friendships, which would not fetter her movements nor confine her to a line of action too minutely pre-established. She requires alliances which would procure her the very fewest enemies, and, as much as possible, leave her apart from the particular disputes of the other Powers. She need not enter into a special league either with the Northern Powers against the Western, or with the Western Powers against the Northern. Italy must maintain as much as possible her liberty of action, reserving to herself the right of supporting at the proper moment what would be most conformable, firstly, to her principles, secondly, to her interests.

The first interest of Italy is peace. Not a day passes but she repeats it: all are convinced of it. Consequently it is her right and

duty to refuse to enter into any too close alliance which might draw her into a war.

The absence of any threat from abroad is one of the best foundations of internal policy. With a foreign policy of this kind Italy will be able to strengthen herself at home and take advantage of a leisure which might perhaps one day fail her, to re-establish public security in the provinces requiring it, to increase production, restore the finances, raise her credit, improve the treasures with which Providence has so abundantly blessed her, and turn to the best account the elements of power and of prosperity which she possesses.

A great example has lately been given to Italy by one of her most illustrious citizens, Garibaldi. After Aspromonte, the Garibaldian party had become, both at home and abroad, a grave cause of embarrassment for Italy. The hero of Caprera was henceforth a banner around which crowded all the most turbulent passions. There was a moment when so great an abuse was being made of the name of Garibaldi as to induce Mazzini himself, a short time before his death, to separate his own cause from that which the name of Garibaldi, however honourable, was made to serve.

It is not that Garibaldi has done less for Italy than Mazzini. If the merit of the latter lies in the creative idea, that of the former lies in the genius for execution. He had, besides, the advantage of being less absolute and more practical than the other, believing in the possibility of the conciliation of monarchy with the unity and liberty of Italy.

The having entrusted Garibaldi with the organisation of the volunteers for the war of independence had been one of the most wonderful acts of Cavour's policy, one of the most useful ideas brought forward by the meeting of Plombières. Garibaldi was the representative of a new principle in the history of revolutions and of wars. He was, so to say, the fusion of two social principles co-operating for the formation of the country—the prince and the people, authority and liberty, the old world and the new, legitimacy and the revolution. Were it not for the prestige which surrounded that chieftain, not only would the expedition to Sicily, a year after, have been impossible, but it could not have been even dreamed of; that wonderful expedition, by means of which, and with sacrifices relatively so light, the south of Italy was delivered and united to the other half.

How sad then it was to see the man who had rendered himself so well-deserving of his country, and who had spontaneously

made a gift to the Italian monarchy of the provinces which he had liberated, become later a danger for the tranquillity and even for the unity of Italy!

One day, however, the true Garibaldi again reveals himself. He breaks every impure fetter, puts an end to the impotency to which he seemed to have condemned himself, and proves to his countrymen that he has understood the way in which the country is now best served. He accepts the mandate of representative in the Italian parliament, leaves Caprera, goes to Rome: and whilst there are those who fear and those who rejoice that his appearance may be the signal for discords and turbulent agitations, he edifies Italy and the world by his prudence and good sense. His first thought is given to the amelioration of the economical condition of his country and to its material well-being. His first project, his first speech, concerns the great work of the devolution of the Tiber, and the consequent improvement of the *Agro Romano*, a work which will be productive of great riches, and which should be the first step towards the increment to be given to agriculture in so highly agricultural a country as Italy.

Garibaldi by his example shows to his countrymen that these, and none others, are the questions which mostly interest Italy at present. He well understands that concord is requisite for this; therefore, nobly forgetting every petty rancour, he associates in his work the men at the head of government, and shows himself affable and friendly. He goes to visit the King, and the Roman population has the satisfaction of seeing Victor Emmanuel by the side of Garibaldi on the balcony of the Quirinal, as the population of Naples had formerly seen them side by side in the Via di Toledo.

Certainly the new page of Italian history which Garibaldi is preparing will be neither less noble for him nor less glorious and useful for Italy, than that of Garibaldi the hero of Marsala and of Calatafimi.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVELS.

The Southern States of North America: a Record of Journeys in Louisiana, Texas, the Indian Territory, &c. By EDWARD KING. Profusely Illustrated from Original Sketches, by J. WELLS CHAMPNEY. Blackie and Sons.

Accepting this large and profusely illustrated volume for what it is, it is deserving of very high commendation. It is the record of

a journey by the author and the artist, extending over more than twenty-five thousand miles, undertaken at the instance of the publishers of 'Scribner's Monthly Magazine,' for the purpose of presenting to the readers of that journal a full account of the present condition of the Southern States, just emancipated from slavery. Every important city and town was visited, and information from all available sources was gathered. Of necessity, a book so compiled must be both imperfect and inaccurate; and we were at first disposed to look upon it as partaking of the character of a series of 'Daily Telegraph' articles, an impression deepened by the somewhat rhetorical style of the first few pages. But when the author has settled down to his work this disappears, and he evinces a judgment equal to his industry, the result of which is a volume in which as much as the past history of the different States is given as suffices to enable an intelligent understanding of their present condition. Facts and figures concerning manufactures, trade, politics, races, religion, and the general state of the country, are carefully compiled and picturesquely presented; so that we feel put in possession of as thorough a knowledge of the country as the observation of another can convey. The account of New Orleans, for example, with which the book opens, is singularly complete and instructive. Its present characteristics are connected with its history. Its occupation successively by France, Spain, and the United States; its growth, architecture, markets, quays, cotton trade, shipping, manners and customs; with its residents of various nationalities, are all sketched with great vividness and completeness. Mr. King belongs to the class of Commissioners of which Dr. W. H. Russell is *facile princeps*, and combines great painstaking, close observation, and picturesque description in a very unusual degree. His chapters make no pretension to the dignity or the philosophy of history: they are panoramic sketches in the first instance, and careful statistical reports in the second, the whole being interspersed with historical information, travelling experience, and illustrative anecdote. The writer gives evidence of having consulted the highest authorities, and produces the impression of having thoroughly mastered each topic. He writes moreover with solicitous impartiality and kindness, but also curiously produces the impression of an intelligent foreigner giving us the result of his observation; so that he gives us a repertory of information, that if not strictly history, will admirably do duty for it for some years to come. If the book were not got up in a style so sumptuous, so as to be too big for a portmanteau, we should earnestly say that no traveller in the Southern States should be without it. It is one of the best handbooks that we have seen, and something more. We cannot comment on particulars. The account of the terrible condition of devastation and poverty in which the civil war has left Louisiana and New Orleans, however, will be read with deep interest;

but surely the statistical tables of the produce of cotton since the war, and the wonderful solicitude and provision for education, are a sufficient set-off against the writer's somewhat gloomy vaticinations respecting the commercial prospects of New Orleans. The chapters on negro life, revivals, negro religious services, negro songs and singers, are full of interest. The work is really a valuable one. The illustrations, which are so profusely scattered over its pages, are also of great merit.

White Conquest. By WILLIAM HEPPWORTH DIXON. Two Vols. Chatto and Windus.

Mr. Dixon will write in exclamations. He scorns the thought of taking his readers into his confidence and of patiently and familiarly teaching them. He summons them into a theatre, prepares stage and scenery, and poses before them. He opens his mouth in this fashion: 'RUINS! A pile of stone, standing in a country of mud-tracks, adobe ranches, and timber sheds? Yes, broken down, projecting rafter, crumbling wall, and empty chancel, open to the wind and rain, poetic wrecks of what in days gone by have been a cloister and a church.' The meaning being indicated by the notes of exclamation and interrogation. The former we can understand, but are at a loss to conceive to whom the latter is addressed. Thus he introduces his two thick volumes. As soon as any proper name occurred, we had recourse to the best maps in our possession to discover whereabouts on the Pacific coast we had suddenly been transported, but our search was fruitless. We began to suspect that we were somewhere on the Californian coast, and, from the name Pinal Grande, we should have thought in the neighbourhood of the Pinal Mountains, but they are too far inland. If Mr. Dixon could have condescended to anything so prosaic as direct information, he might have told us where Monte Carmelo is, and so relieved us from an inquisitiveness that hindered our surrender of ourselves to his performance. And in this style we are jerked on from chapter to chapter. The lights on his landscape are lightning flashes; we advance by glissades, and sail over cataracts. It is long since any book has given us such an ache.

Mr. Dixon does not narrate; he constructs dramatic scenes, not unfrequently melodramatic, beginning with the 'Here we are again' of the tumbling clown, and ending in pyrotechnics. He always seems struggling after scenic effects, and seeking after some violent association of antipodes, either of place or of thought; and mentally asking, 'Isn't that clever?' Of course exactness of statement and of thought is impossible. One has mentally to subtract the war paint, and the feathers, and the gyrations, and, as well as we can, form an estimate of the actual man. It is all glitter and epigram and sonorous magniloquence. It interests us, but we are glad when it is over, and turn away laughing, wondering whether the children

have been pleased with it. You never feel as if you were listening to exact statement or could grasp precise truth. Mr. Dixon has something to tell you which you would like to know, but he tells it in a way so exaggerated and grotesque, that you are never sure whether he is preaching or romancing. His style is full of literary tricks, all sensational. If he has to make the simplest statement, it furnishes occasion for allusions absurdly remote or hopelessly obscure; or else for a series of grand comparisons, beginning with Homer and ending with Brigham Young, e.g., vol. ii. pp. 136-7, a passage too long to quote, but worth referring to as an example of Mr. Dixon's cyclopædic sweep, which would have given special emphasis to the expletive of Dominie Sampson.

Mr. Dixon's idea is to present to us pictures of the conflict of races on the North American continent. Beginning with the Pacific slope, he portrays the conflict of the White Man with the Indian Races. His scenes are selected from the entire period from the days just after the Spanish conquest until the present. Then the scene changes, and we suddenly find ourselves in Louisiana, spectators of the conflict between the white man and the negro. Again the curtain rises, and we find ourselves in San Francisco, studying the problem of Chinese immigration. Under each of these divisions of his work Mr. Dixon has interesting and important things to say. The questions springing out of this conflict—the intermixture or supercession of races—are of vital importance to both the present and the future of the United States. They largely influence present legislation, especially through the representation and the ballot-box; and through the admixture of moral, religious, and social ideas, they are not unlikely to exercise an important power in the modifications of race. What, in blood, in laws, in religion, will the United States be a century hence? Mr. Dixon's book raises these important questions: it gives interesting information, it abounds in shrewd hints and sagacious judgments, but it is vitiated by its manner of statement. One grave defect of it is the fascination which abnormal characteristics and romantic crime seem to exercise over the writer. As in his 'New America,' he picks out instances of fanaticism and crime such as are to be found everywhere, but are specially plentiful in a new country, under such conditions of settlement as we see in the United States. He puts these upon his stage in single scenes, and says nothing to counteract the impression that they are not normal types; which is very much like taking typical portraits of English character from the 'Newgate Calendar.' Thus the real value of Mr. Dixon's delineation is reduced. Without questioning the truth of his representation, we have no means whatever of judging of its relation to the general state of society. As is usual with Mr. Dixon, he has a great deal to say about the relations of the sexes, those of new settlers with the Indians, of slave-owners with their slaves, of the Chinese

with Americans and Indians especially; as also about the numerical disproportion between the sexes in some of the newer States. The problems that thus arise are very grave, and demand the anxious care of the statesman, the moralist, and the Christian teacher; but we should have been glad to have been spared a good deal of Mr. Dixon's salacious recurrence to them. Mr. Dixon's book, in spite of its great literary defects, is an important one. It raises questions of great moment and is interesting in many of its details. When Mr. Dixon forgets, as he occasionally does, especially in the second volume, his stage attitudes, and forgets himself in his subject, we read with great interest, and regret that he should mar the effect of his literary powers by tricks of the pen that he has no need to employ.

The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America. By HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT. Vols. III. and IV. Longmans and Co.

The successive volumes of this work as they appear bear out the more favourable impression produced by the second, in which it lost the merely encyclopædic character of the first, and assumed a place of importance in connection with the philosophy of history and of human life. As the plan of the author expands its comprehensiveness and unity become more evident, while his ability to grapple with such a series of problems as are brought before us is made unmistakable. He has accepted the last results of modern culture, and is familiar with the final achievements of science. To us, indeed, he sometimes appears rash and hasty in accepting as proved what are mere theories, which yet await final confirmation; but his zeal rarely outruns discretion in the use he finally makes of either the facts or the theories. In the third volume the author has advanced to the great subject of the mythology of the peoples of the Pacific States, which includes the philosophy of language as well. We should probably have more than one lance to break with him in regard to his philosophy of mythology were it more detailed and more fully developed; but the value of the mythological and linguistic facts regarding the primitive races of America is independent of the value of the initial speculations. The importance, magnitude, and novelty of these facts are equally great. The fourth volume is devoted to monumental archæology, and includes a detailed description of all material relics of the past which are known. Two chapters on the monumental remains of South America and the Eastern United States give an illustrative completeness to the author's subject proper, which is of very great value. The researches of some five hundred travellers are laid under contribution with great painstaking and critical acumen; and as the author tells us that he makes no claim to personal archæological research, these are the authorities upon which he relies. The result is a more encyclopædic presentation of this important branch of the author's great subject than we have

hitherto possessed. Mr. Baldwin's small duodecimo volume on Ancient America has been the completest manual of American Antiquities up to the publication of the present work. Here we have a sumptuous volume of eight hundred pages. Another volume on traditional and written archæology is to follow—which will lead up to the author's theories concerning the origin of the American people and of Western civilisation. The very magnitude of these volumes restricts us to this mere indication of the fields which they traverse. In the author of these volumes, Central America has gained an interpreter to whom it ought to be for ever grateful. In addition we may state that he unites a fairly picturesque and attractive style which imparts liveliness to his narrative. In these days of diffuse reading the general reader may turn away from such an elaborate work as this, but to the student of antiquities and archæology, as well as to the man of science generally, it will be found a most acceptable gift.

Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History. By JAMES PICCIOTTO. Trübner and Co.

Very few persons know much about the Jews in any of the lands where they dwell. Their distinctive characteristics—of race, religion, and social life—are almost inviolably preserved. They mingle with all peoples; they become incorporated with none. They have often been persecuted, 'peeled and spoiled.' We know them as keen traders, and now and then their race effloresces in a remarkable genius; but their religious and social exclusiveness hinders their being known either to history or to their contemporaries.

In giving us some sketches of their history in England, therefore, Mr. Picciotto has broken ground as interesting as it is new. Few peoples have undergone more romantic vicissitudes or are better worthy of study. The rise and history of the Jewish community in London alone is a very romantic chapter of our history. Mr. Picciotto has had access to the archives of the older synagogues, which were almost unknown to the Jews themselves. They were guarded by official jealousy, and written in Spanish, Portuguese, or a Jewish-German dialect. He has also made researches in libraries, public and private, and in family records; everywhere, indeed, where information could be obtained. His labours were undertaken for the 'Jewish Chronicle,' and took, therefore, the shape of sketches. We wish that he had formed the purpose and adopted the plan of a regular history, for which he has many qualifications. We can only hope that the interest excited by the present publication will induce him to recast and complete his materials in this form.

We cannot touch the rich and multifarious contents of the volume, beginning with the early history of the cruel persecutions of the Jews in England, under the misguided Christian instinct which forgot and reversed the yearning love and forgiveness of the crucified Lord. Apparently their wealth furnish-

ed a welcome excuse for this religious antipathy. Down to the time of Edward I. theirs is a uniform history of spoliation. Their money contributed largely to the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey, just as the fines of Dissenters did to the building of the Mansion House: at the same time efforts were made to convert them to Christianity. Edward I. banished them from the realm; but he appropriated their homes and a great part of their property to himself, while the convents appropriated their valuable libraries. About 16,000 quitted England, going to Spain, Sicily, Africa, and the East, and for two centuries no Jews were recognised residents in this country. Their readmission seems to have been due to Oliver Cromwell, who negotiated for their return with Manasseh Ben Israel, of Amsterdam. Burnet tells us that Cromwell brought over to England a company of Jews, and gave them leave to build a synagogue. Their formal establishment, however, was not accomplished until the reign of Charles II. The book is full of curious reading.

The History of Protestant Missions in India from their Commencement in 1706 to 1871. By the Rev. M. A. SHERRING, M.A., LL.B., Missionary of the London Missionary Society; Fellow of the University of Calcutta, &c. With an Illustrative Map of India. Trübner and Co.

This goodly volume of nearly five hundred pages is another testimony to the extensive reading, careful and judicious accumulation of important information, and fine catholic spirit of this distinguished missionary. Not long since we called the attention of our readers to his learned work on Benares, and since then he has published the most complete view which exists in our language of the numerous castes of India. He has, in the volume before us, told the wonderful and refreshing 'story of Protestant missions in India. The narrative is written throughout in a fine tone of generous recognition of all the work and workers in this great enterprise. Volume after volume has appeared, descriptive of the various epochs and departments of Protestant missions in the Peninsula from the days of Ziegenbald and Schwartz to those of 'Carey, Marshman, and Ward.' We have had the marvellous story of Choti Nagpore, of the Karens and the Kôls. The garden of the Lord in Southern India has been often pourtrayed, and the work done in Bengal and the North West, in the Punjab and Madras, has been specially detailed by the representatives of various missionary societies. Mr. Sherring has collected his information from all these sources, and has given us a succession of tableaux of extreme interest; until the reader, under his guidance, travels over the entire field of British India, as well as of the independent states from Affghanistan to Travancore. Our author always writes clearly and often eloquently, and the selection of material is judicious and well mastered. The work of thirty-five societies is

chronicled with extreme care and patience. The noble catholic spirit which prevails among those who are working in India, side by side, in their grand crusade against superstition and degradation, and in the vigorous attempt to promote education, moral life, true manliness, and Christian character has transfused itself into these pages. The principle of classification has been a geographical one; and the records are made much more comprehensible by a valuable illustrative map, in which the work of the various societies is laid down very intelligibly. At the close of each section, brief statistical tables are appended which set forth the results of missionary labour. It is refreshing that one who has lived a quarter of a century in India, who weathered and recorded the results of the great rebellion, should now, in 1875, have such heart and hope for the future. Taking his stand in the very sanctuary of Hinduism he can say confidently, 'India is fast losing its ancient landmarks. Its former condition of unprogressiveness and stagnation is rapidly disappearing under the renovating and life-giving influences of education, civilisation, and Christianity.' After enumerating these results, he makes bold to say, 'It is beyond dispute, that the most prominent, earnest, and indefatigable agencies in producing these results have been Protestant missions, which have operated like a regenerating power on all classes of the community.' Considerable portions of the remarkable testimony of Mr. Clements Markham to Protestant missions, published by order of the House of Commons, are here introduced.

The volume deserves a most extensive circulation, and richly repays perusal. The objections to missions are quietly stated and effectively undermined. The difficulties which the missionary has to encounter have been unfolded by this writer in his other treatises. Here he details a work of noble promise, of untiring determination, and of splendid positive fruit. We may rejoice in nearly 400,000 converts and in a complete army of native evangelists, in numerous schools and colleges, in translations of the Holy Scriptures, in the splendid results of Dr. Duff's experiment, and in the indirect consequences of missionary zeal. But objectors are never weary of comparing these triumphs with the vast population which is as yet untouched and unchanged. As well might the promise of the spring be scorned, because an observer can see only the shooting of a few catkins and may count his daisies on his fingers.

Mr. Sherring's review of the whole series of facts is masterly, and his suggestions seem to us very wise. The closing appeal on the qualifications needed for Indian missionaries sounds like a trumpet-call to the mother country to send her best men to carry on this work of stupendous magnitude and incalculable importance to the well-being of the world.

History of Music from the Christian Era to

the Present Time. In the form of Lectures. Designed for the use of Students, &c. By FREDERICK LOUIS RITTER, Professor of Music at Vassar College. William Reeves, Fleet Street.

Professor Ritter has carefully studied details, but he can also rise to principles, and writes well and attractively. He is full of the idea of the capacity of music to teach and to elevate, and is earnest in enforcing it on the student, giving instances and anecdotes illustrative of the growing desire in these days to gain the crown of reward without undergoing the needful labour. He shows how different it was with the old masters, giving us in the process excellent studies of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and the rest. His criticism of Rossini we regard as one of the most impartial and discriminating we remember to have read: it gives him credit for power, but shows his incapacity to rise to the very highest reach of musical sentiment. We regret, however, that Professor Ritter somewhat fails to do justice to some of our early English composers, Tallis, Purcell, and others being, in our idea, inadequately presented. But there can be no doubt of the exact knowledge and the high idea he has formed of the purpose of music. He shows, too, a fine instinct for illustrative biographical details, using them with great tact. His sketches of the origin and development of the madrigal and opera bouffe are very interesting. Though the volume is very far from exhaustive, being really more of a series of studies of characteristic productions in relation to the producers and their periods, than a complete history of music, yet we can, on the whole, safely commend it to students, who might readily turn away from a more pretentious effort. But we should not omit to say that those who would like to supplement Mr. Ritter on some points may turn with profit to the pages of Mr. John Hullah or Mr. Haweis; and certainly some of his strictures on Wagner and the Wagnerites demand a little qualification, notwithstanding that he admits frankly the great merits of the school. We should not omit to add that the sketchy character of the book is exaggerated by the writer having discarded chronological order, and described and discussed each marked line of musical development by itself.

The Roman and the Teuton. A Series of Lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge, by CHARLES KINGSLEY, M.A. New Edition, with Preface by Professor MAX MÜLLER. Macmillan and Co.

Professor Max Müller's preface is a very tender and fervent tribute to the memory of his friend, and to his really high genius in many forms of literature. He frankly admits the defects of these lectures as exact and scientific studies in history, although he successfully vindicates his friend from some of the specific objections brought against him. He testifies to the great moral power of the lectures in exciting interest in historical

studies and in guiding to right moral judgments. The book is, as he justly says, 'Kingsley's thoughts on some of the moral problems presented by the conflict between the Roman and the Teuton.' As such we gladly welcome this new and cheaper edition of it. A truer and more wholesome book was never written.

Life of the Earl of Mayo, Fourth Viceroy of India. By W. W. HUNTER, B.A., LL.D. Two Vols. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Dr. Hunter has produced a readable biography of the late Viceroy of India. His task was a comparatively simple and evidently a congenial one, for Lord Mayo's attractive individuality drew to him the affectionate regards of all with whom he came in contact. His career was one of almost unchecked success; and his death took place at a time when he was in the full blaze of a well-earned fame. It required little art, therefore, to make an interesting work out of materials which his life offered, and Dr. Hunter has succeeded in doing that. The only fault we can find with his volumes is the disproportionate amount of space devoted to the late Viceroy's Indian career as compared with the earlier part of his life. The Irish administration of Lord Naas, which was Lord Mayo's political and administrative training-ground, is touched very lightly. The vigilance and firmness that nipped the Fenian rising in its bud deserved fuller consideration than it receives, and the same remark applies to the other work, both legislative and administrative, done by Lord Mayo as Irish Secretary. The biographer was, no doubt, hampered by the limits he imposed on himself, which led him to avoid discussions into which party elements and party spirit might enter, and to devote himself mainly to the elucidation of the Viceroy's Indian career. The first portion of the work traces rapidly and pleasantly Lord Mayo's early Irish life, and shows us the wholesome home influences, in which there was an element of genuine though unobtrusive piety, under which his character was developed. His entrance into public life as member for County Kildare, his Parliamentary career, in which he appeared more solid than brilliant, his experience and work as three times Chief Secretary for Ireland, are all despatched in little over a hundred pages of the first volume, and the remainder, with the whole of the second, is then devoted to his brief but brilliantly successful Indian administration. On this subject Dr. Hunter only confirms the common view. Public opinion, long before the Viceroy's assassination, had come to be unanimous in applauding the wise and vigorous policy of Earl Mayo. Mr. Disraeli never showed his knowledge of men to more advantage than when he selected the comparatively unknown Irish Chief Secretary to succeed Lord Lawrence. The clamour which at first greeted the appointment subsided under the influence of the strong good sense, administrative capacity, and wide knowledge of men, manifested in

his Indian policy. The tangled skein of Indian finance was unravelled, surpluses took the place of deficits, in military matters a sound discretion was practised which brought a maximum of efficiency out of the resources at the Viceroy's disposal, and his foreign policy was distinguished by the same soundness and sagacity, and by a comprehensiveness of plan and purpose for which even his friends were scarcely prepared. The predominating impression which Dr. Hunter's narrative produces, however, is that in Lord Mayo England had a statesman who, as few other public men have done, exhibited a harmonious blending and co-operation of the gifts and graces of a wholly healthy man. Manliness was above all others his characteristic, and the strength and vigour which that enabled him to display in his public work was mingled in private with a consideration for others, and an unaffected modesty of bearing which endeared him to all. Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, in a long letter to Dr. Hunter on the Indian legislation of Lord Mayo, printed in the second volume, sums up his character in the following pregnant sentence: 'I hope you will succeed in making people understand how good and kind, how wise and honest and brave he was, and what freshness, vigour, and flexibility of mind he brought to bear upon a vast number of new and difficult subjects.' Dr. Hunter has succeeded in doing this, and, though by dint of numerous repetitions, he has helped to confirm the general opinion in favour of the lamented Viceroy as one whose name England will not willingly let die.

Benjamin Robert Haydon: Correspondence and Table-Talk. With a Memoir. By his Son, FREDERIC WORDSWORTH HAYDON. With facsimile Illustrations from his Journals. Two Vols. Chatto and Windus.

This work is one of special, almost unique, interest. It presents us with many letters from Sir David Wilkie, Sir Walter Scott, Charles Lamb, Leigh Hunt, Keats, Canova, Mrs. Opie, Miss Mitford, Mrs. Barrett-Browning, and others equally distinguished; letters, too, that are, for the most part, familiar and characteristic in a high degree. But, over and above, it invites us at once to study a rare genius and to witness a tragedy. Haydon had the faculty of drawing others round him, of calling forth their sympathy and admiration and service, and yet he as certainly infected his best friends with a doubt of his capacity to bear himself sensibly in the midst of practical affairs. Even Sir David Wilkie, a true friend and believer in his genius, often finds himself implicated and awkwardly circumstanced, and is constantly uttering significant words that may be construed as warnings; begging him now to continue a little longer at some piece of uncongenial, money-yielding work, and again imploring him to refrain from rash, intemperate, and uncalled-for attacks on others. With the Royal Academy Haydon remained at feud, gratuitously exposing what he conceived its

stupidities, even after it had shown its willingness to forget the past by exhibiting one of his pictures. Combined with impatience of others' views in matters of art, and unrelieved scorn for timidity, weakness, or shuffling, he had the tenderness of a woman, was almost heroic in his devotion to his friends, as witness his brotherly care for Keats and his filial regard for Wordsworth. But he was easily moved from his first feeling by a fresh set of circumstances, as seen in his later letters in reference to poor Leigh Hunt, where affection has almost wholly yielded to scorn for the weaknesses of the man, weaknesses which would have been easily excused had he not become successful and famous. One trait in Haydon is very beautiful,—the childlike simplicity which he maintains in the midst of his early success, when he was the 'rage,' when the 'Jerusalem' brought dukes and earls to his rooms, and when it seemed as though he was to outwit the Academy and to found a great school of historical painting. Still he wrought hard, was as watchful as ever over his scheme of schools of design, of which he was the originator; and when the great world turned away, as it would from any other 'show,' he went on patiently for long without tacking to catch a fair wind, till neglect came upon him in the form of absolute want. Even then he bears himself bravely. Still, considering what he had done for high art in England during these nineteen years, the number of distinguished artists who had studied under him—all the Landseers among them—the liberality of judgment he had shown in directing their true paths, and the great works he had put forth, how sad it is to read these extracts from his diary:—

'Obliged to go out in the rain. I left my room with no coals in it, and no money to buy any.'

'Arose in the greatest distress; prayed earnestly.'

'Not a shilling in the world. Walked about the streets. I was so full of grief I could not have concealed it at home.'

'Arose in an agony of feeling from want.'

'In the greatest distress. Merciful God! that Thou should'st permit a being with thought and feeling to be so racked!'

He was repeatedly in prison for debt, and thus lost season after season, when the light was good. On one occasion the officer was so struck with him, and with the expression of his head of Lazarus, that he could not take him away, and accepted his promise to come at a given time to the attorney's. Not a hand was held out to him, but for years he remained sanguine that success would come, that the wave of fashion would turn back and enrich him. But it was not to be, and after unparalleled suffering he died by his own hand. What has surprised us much in carefully reading his letters and table-talk is the shrewd and incisive way in which, not-

withstanding his impracticable self-willedness, he often discovered the inner secret of a man's purpose. This, for example, is remarkably decisive:—

'I do not know that I like Algernon Greville's brother [the late Mr. Charles Greville] so well as most people. He is a fussy man, too fond of meddling, and affects to be so very diplomatic. He has that contemptible tendency in a man of telling little womanish tea-table lies—as George II. said of Lord Chesterfield—which makes mischief in families. D'Orsay tells me Greville keeps a regular daily journal of everything he sees and hears. If he does, God help his friends, for if he records as he talks, he will put down a great deal of what he neither hears nor sees, but suspects.'

His son has done this work well; with clearness, insight, and instinct for interesting *ana* and anecdote; and if he charges a little too decisively sometimes, we can easily forgive it for the filial devotion that prompted the warmth. Haydon is now before the world at full length; and, in spite of some self-will and impracticableness, he figures as a true genius and high-souled man, a faithful friend,—in a single word, a poet and patriot.

Memoirs of the Sansons, from Private Notes and Documents. 1688-1847. Edited by HENRI SANSON, late Executioner of the Court of Justice of Paris. Two Vols. Chatto and Windus.

This is a family monograph that is, we suppose, unique. It is the history, by the last of his race, of five generations of public executioners and of the notable executions which they performed. ('Performed,' however, as applied to executions is a word as wanting in precision as when applied to funerals; we sadly want a word for both.) Such a work might easily pass into a recital of revolting butcheries. The editor, however, avoids this mistake, and, on the whole, keeps his book free from the horrors of his profession, and fills it with historical and personal allusions, which are full of interest, and some of which are not without value to the historian. The exception is in the diary of Charles Henri Sanson—the great Sanson—during the Reign of Terror. One does fairly sicken at the terse matter-of-course record of daily executions, ranging from half-a-dozen to between fifty and sixty at once,—the butchery being so uniform that the diary records as a remarkable exception a solitary execution on one particular day. Now and then details are given, as when the King and the Queen and Madame Elizabeth, Danton and his companions, Madame Roland, Charlotte Corday, and other notabilities were executed. The diaries are judiciously compressed, and are, to a great degree, purged of what is revolting. The Sanson family was of noble descent, and, to the last of the executioners, its representatives were men of culture and kindly feeling. In the fifteenth century it was established at Abbeville, 'belonging to the high and rich

bourgeoisie.' Nicolas Sanson, in the seventeenth century, was a very eminent geographer, of European fame. In 1638, when Louis XIII. was at Abbeville, he honoured the geographer by becoming his guest. The first of the profession to which this singular book is dedicated was Charles Sanson, born in 1635. He was in the army; fell from his horse when quartered at Dieppe, and was carried into a house outside the walls, where he became enamoured of Marguerite, the daughter of his host. He so far committed himself before he knew his host's occupation that ultimately he had to marry the girl, and, as a condition, to accept the father's profession of executioner. A singular autobiographical record, apparently genuine, tells the details. It became a kind of social necessity that the son should take up the profession of the father. The last of the race, the editor of these memoirs, was dismissed in 1847, and happily had no son. He has since, he tells us, lived in retirement under an assumed name. We cannot quote any of the interesting details of the book, which is largely a romance of great criminals; biographical sketches being given where either the social position, the political actions, or the romantic adventures of the hero of the executioner's axe justified it. When one thinks of the historical personages who in France have suffered during the last two centuries, the great interest of these records may be imagined. One thing that impresses us is the brutality of many of the punishments inflicted—of the diabolical tortures to extort confession, and of the still more diabolical ingenuities by which, with the cord, the axe, the sword, the faggot, or on the wheel, men were done to death. No savage tribe could surpass in atrocity the legal punishments of the first nation in Europe until the guillotine was invented. Its humane projector, for it was not really invented by the man whose name it bears, was impelled by the most compassionate of feelings; and there can be no doubt that of all instruments of capital punishment it is the most merciful. Interesting details of the invention are here given. It is remarkable that Charles Henri Sanson was summoned to aid in the exhibition of the new invention to Louis XVI., who suggested important improvements in the knife. The next time they met was on the scaffold, when Louis was its victim. We can hardly say that a book on such a subject is lively reading, but it is marvellously divested of what might seem necessary horrors, and is full of interesting and important information which apparently may be substantially relied upon.

GOETHE AND CORONA SCHRÖTER.

Vor Hundert Jahren. Mittheilungen über Weimar, Goethe und Corona Schröter aus den Tagen der Genie-Periode. Festgabe zur Sakularfeier von Goethe's Eintritt in Weimar, 7 Nov. 1772. Von ROBERT KEIL. Zwei Bände. Leipzig: Verlag von Veit & Co. 1875.

These two volumes are intended to com-

memorate the opening of Goethe's life in Weimar, the centenary of which was on the 7th November last. However we may deprecate the extremes to which the Germans carry the fashion of centenary observances, which they no longer confine to commemorating the birth and death of their great men, but seek, through them, to keep green the memory of the different epochs of their lives as well, we need not be too critical of an impulse which has given us these two pleasant little volumes. Yet the impression their perusal leaves on the reader is by no means one of increased respect or admiration for Germany's greatest poet. They tell the story of a love, faithful and tender through many years, but too fitful to last in the case of Goethe, and which at length, in the case of Corona, was mellowed into feelings of tender friendship before her death. It is impossible to retain the old veneration for Goethe when we see him professing equally passionate devotion at the same time to the Frau von Stein and Corona Schröter. This is the revelation made to us here, given in Goethe's own writing; and there can be little doubt that for a time he had a genuine passion for the gifted and lovely musician who realised the ideals of some of his most famous characters, and, during the early years in Weimar, occupied so large a space in his thoughts and life. In the first of the two volumes we have a copy, printed here entire for the first time, of Goethe's diary from the year 1776 to 1782. It is a valuable document for the light it throws on Goethe's Weimar career and on his character. Not that there is anything really new, but there are many illustrations of Goethe's familiar characteristics—his untiring industry, great laboriousness, the width and variety of the interests which occupied him, and the spirit in which he did his work in those early years. What is new is the information regarding the poet's relations to Corona. It is impossible to doubt the reality and power of the passion for the intellectual artist, the first German Iphigenia, and one of the most attractive of German singers, who is closely associated with German poetry and German art. And as Goethe fled from his own passion, and after his journey to Italy had succeeded in obliterating her image from his heart, so that he was able to think and speak of her with indifference and coldness, we have a fresh illustration of the sensuous impressibility which Goethe was seemingly able to silence at the word of command.

The second volume is wholly devoted to Corona, and tells the tale of her public and private life in a fresh and agreeable fashion. It is a narrative interesting on its own account; but of course a more vivid interest attaches to the parts illustrating the Weimar life and the relations of Corona with Goethe. All the world knows the exalted selfishness of the great poet, and the disclosures of these volumes bring it into more vivid relief than ever. It was an odd idea to glorify the opening period of his public career by the publication of such a record; but to the Ger-

mans, Goethe is so much of a god, that his very imperfections are dear to them. The fate of Corona may not have been so sad as that of Frederica of Esenheim, who loved the poet more after his desertion of her, and devoted herself to perpetual worship of her ideal, because 'the heart that had once loved Goethe must love none other;' but the story does not assuredly increase the respect we feel for the great poet.

Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of South Africa. Edited by his Son, the Rev. CHARLES GRAY, M.A. Two Vols. Rivingtons.

This work, we are sorry to say, is another instance of the small object held close to the eye, shutting out the whole world. The writer, very nearly related, idolises Bishop Gray, speaks of him as perfect, as 'the greatest bishop of recent times,'—and we all know what that implies, utter incompetence to be truthful, because unable to discriminate. To paint all in white is as ruinous as to paint all in black; either spread over a large surface soon wearies the eye. Bishop Gray had abilities, and many good qualities—he saw clearly in some directions, and was true to what he believed; but he allowed his Church to think for him, and held that she had a monopoly of the truth. He was pious, earnest, most assiduous in practical work; deeply concerned for others; but he would see only one way of redemption for them—by the communion-table of the Church of England. And his High Churchism led him to great excesses; he would have subdued the State to the Church, and he had enough of the bigot in him to have persecuted for conscience' sake, though, perhaps, he would himself have willingly suffered had need been. His name is so associated with that of Bishop Colenso that in future it is likely, if remembered at all, to be so chiefly in that relation, and, unfortunately, he shows but poorly in it, as a self-sufficient hater of heretics. His narrowness and his spite everywhere appear; his biographer, apparently, fancying that his zeal, too often without knowledge, may be mistaken for humility and devotion. He does not mince his words either; and in the many controversies into which he thrust himself, his cause did not lose by reserve in the use of plain, and sometimes even offensive, terms. Such words as 'infidel,' 'heretic,' 'unbeliever,' 'impertinent intermeddler,' are not seldom resorted to. He says at one place of the Privy Council that 'in that body all the enmity of the world against the Church of Christ is gathered up and embodied;' which is a very odd position for such a one to take, seeing that the Privy Council, on the only intelligible theory of a State Church, is but a section of the said State Church; that is, a section of the nation, administering in ecclesiastical matters. But even while he spoke thus of the Privy Council, he summarily used the word 'Dissenter' as a term of contempt, which shows that a cer-

tain kind of consistency did not find favour in his eyes. We respect the earnestness of the man, but do not like his spirit. Something, however, may be owing to the style of his biographer, which is most inapt. Detail crowded on detail, and what might have been readable and interesting, if condensed into due proportion, is simply tedious and burdensome. Save to a section of High Church people we cannot recommend it as a model or readable biography.

Life and Epistles of St. Paul. By THOMAS LEWIN, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. Third Edition. Two Vols. George Bell and Sons.

It was to the disadvantage of Mr. Lewin's work, upon which he tells us he had bestowed the labour of forty years, that almost simultaneously with its publication the 'Life of Paul,' by Conybeare and Howson, appeared. It was impossible but that the two works should be judged comparatively, and there can be no doubt that the verdict, both of scholars and of general readers, was in favour of the latter work. Mr. Lewin is a writer of excellent scholarship and unwearying painstaking, but he lacks the picturesque power, the *vis viva animi* of his competitors; and inasmuch as to this both added a scholarship of a very high kind, their great work found very much favour and rapidly passed through several editions. Characteristically enough, Mr. Lewin was only stimulated to endeavours to make his work in all material respects equal to its rival, and in all other practical ways to improve it. This sumptuous edition, profusely illustrated, is the result; and it is something that such has been the appreciation of Mr. Lewin's work that it has reached a third edition. We cannot go into a detailed criticism of its comparative merits, we can only speak of two or three general characteristics. And, first, in common with the work of Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, it seems to us greatly to overlay its subject with incidental matter. The fashion of our day to build pyramids for memorials is somewhat appalling. Every allusion is made matter of a substantive discussion or of a pictorial illustration. Thus Paul must have passed the burial-ground of Corinth; in it the famous courtesan Lais was buried,—a sufficient reason for one engraving of her portrait and another of her tomb; just as Professor Masson is enshrining Milton in the entire history of the Commonwealth, so Paul is enshrined in the entire civilisation of his day. The sense of proportion is lost; instead of the symmetrical development of the man himself, he is made a lay figure for all the clothes that can be hung upon him. These Lives are dictionaries of Biblical matters. This is, we think, both an artistic and a popular mistake.

Mr. Lewin has simply brought together all the material concerning Paul and his times that can be collected. He has submitted it to careful critical examination; has investigated every question to its last issue, and has therefore provided a repertory of information about Paul which will be rich

in materials for all students,—and these illustrated in a very high style of antiquarian research and of art.

Mr. Lewin is an authority on Biblical chronology, as his 'Fasti Sacri' attests. With this he has in this work taken great pains, and in this field he is very strong. We cannot, however, eulogise the narrative and graphic power with which Mr. Lewin writes. He is always intelligent, but he is almost always dull. He never glows with enthusiasm or soars in imagination. In a plain, business kind of way he works on from beginning to end. We must, therefore, accept Mr. Lewin's work as a storehouse of materials rather than as a historical picture. As such it is of great—we might almost say unsurpassed—value. But the portraiture and age of Paul have to be delineated yet. We should welcome an artist who could use, as simple accessories, the abundant materials collected and prepared, and delineate the great Apostle as he really was, the great central figure of the new religious world which he so largely created.

My Youth, by Sea and Land, from 1809 to 1816. By CHARLES LOFTUS, formerly of the Royal Navy, late of the Coldstream Guards. Two Vols. Hurst and Blackett.

We have not often met with a more interesting record than this. Mr. Loftus entered as a lad as midshipman on board one of his Majesty's ships, and saw naval service from 1809 to the close of the great war. He was present at the burning of the French fleet by Lord Cochrane in the Basque Roads; at the miserable Walcheren enterprise; at Lisbon, where he got leave of absence and visited his brother, who was in Wellington's army. He once or twice dined with the Great Duke, and had the distinction of bespattering him with mud in a hunting expedition. He cruised a long time in the Mediterranean, and, of course, saw a good deal of active service. He afterwards served in the North Sea; then was ordered to America and the West Indies. On the breaking out of the American war he took part in several engagements with American ships. After a short stay on land, where, with his usual luck, he met with various sporting adventures, he was appointed aide-de-camp to the Duke of Clarence, and attended him at St. James's. He had a dangerous fall from the rigging to the quarter-deck, which led to his relinquishing the sea and getting a commission in the Coldstream Guards. Ultimately his illness resulted in total blindness, in 1849. Nothing can exceed the modesty and good taste of these recollections, and, as they relate to the most stirring times of our history, they are full of interesting incident and exciting adventure. Captain Maryatt's sea stories scarcely surpass them.

The Life of Samuel Hebach. By Two of his Fellow-Labourers. Translated from the German by Colonel J. G. HALLIDAY. Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

Herr Hebach was a missionary in Southern India, sent out by the Basle Missionary Society, and for twenty-five years did faithful and useful service. He was a man of singular devotedness and faith—literally 'in season and out of season' seeking to make men know and love Jesus Christ. He was somewhat eccentric and independent, and occasionally not wise in judgment; but few men have been more fearless and indomitable or self-sacrificing. He seems to have acquired an amazing influence over the natives, and to have left behind him a venerated name. The memoir is somewhat prolix in its details, but it is a stimulating record of what a man, thoroughly devoted, may do. Colonel Halliday, who knew Hebach, has been moved by his admiration of him to give us his memoir in an English translation. He merits hearty thanks, for the seeds of great inspiration are in it.

Four Years' Campaign in India. By WILLIAM TAYLOR. Hodder and Stoughton.

Mr. Taylor did a work, in some respects, resembling that of Hebach, the characteristic difference between the two men being that of the energetic American revivalist and of the energetic German pietist. Mr. Taylor is a man of masculine thought as well as of vigorous hand. He is great in revivals, and the details results of his labours, which are analogous to those of Mr. Moody in England.

Ernst Rietschel, the Sculptor, and the Lessons of his Life: an Autobiography and Memoir. By ANDREAS OPPERMANN. Translated from the German by Mrs. J. STURGE. Hodder and Stoughton.

This memorial of Rietschel, of whom, although he attained great eminence as an artist, but little is known in this country, is characterised by much intellectual and moral beauty. In addition to the German sentiment which suffuses it, and which has a great charm for us, Rietschel, as he reveals himself in his autobiography, was a man of beautiful soul. His early poverty and aspirations, his filial tenderness, and his feelings on entering upon his career, his relations to Rauch—his master, his artistic successes, and his notices of his brother artists, are told with exquisite simplicity and beauty. We do not care so much for Herr Oppermann's continuation. The book has charmed us very much.

Isaac Watts: his Life and Writings; his Homes and Friends. Religious Tract Society.

Mr. Hood has compiled his life of Watts with great care, and written it in a style that is bright, vivacious, and interesting. He has mixed together narrative, anecdote, quotation, and criticism in a very skilful way, and out of a fulness of various knowledge, which few possess in equal degree. As he justly says, fresh records of honoured men are necessary from time to time. The best biographies wear out. At any rate, men of the past need to be etimated in their relation to the present; the life of a man of letters especially.

Mr. Hood has done this service for Watts very lovingly and very successfully. We can commend this biography much more heartily than we could some things that Mr. Hood has written. We have read it with much interest. It leaves little to be desired in relation to the manifold gifts and works of our great hymnologist, whose comparative claims to stand first among English singers of the sanctuary are strongly, but we think successfully, urged. Our chief qualification of it is that Mr. Hood seems to minimise Dr. Watts's Nonconformity, as if he were ashamed of that, and that he is apparently ashamed of his own name, which does not appear on the title-page.

A Fine Old English Gentleman. Exemplified in the Life and Character of Lord Collingwood. A Biographical Study. By WILLIAM DAVIES, Author of the 'Pilgrimage of the Tiber,' &c. Sampson Low and Co.

Lord Collingwood's character abundantly justified the designation which the title of Mr. Davies's book gives to him, and, as exhibited here, it is really grand in its beautiful simplicity, unselfishness, and bravery of the highest moral order. We do not, however, much like Mr. Davies's treatment. He tells us that it is not a biography; but neither is it what he calls it—a 'study,' that is in the artistic or judicial sense of the term. It is more like a funeral sermon than anything else, with its extended 'uses' and fervent panegyric; criticism gives place to commendation throughout. We quite agree with Mr. Davies in his estimate and admiration of the man, but we wish that he had embodied it in a higher historical and critical form.

Documents concerning the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg. Collected, Translated, and Annotated by R. L. TAPPEL, A.M., Ph.D. Vol. I. Swedenborg Society.
Swedenborg Studies. By RICHARD M'CULLY. James Spiers.

English Swedenborgians are certainly indefatigable in their use of the press—their propaganda indeed has from the first taken a literary form, and in this they are worthy of all praise. They subject their dogmas to the most severe of all intellectual tests. There is moreover in Swedenborg such a singular combination of intellectual power, scientific acquirement, spiritual moonshine, or inspired lunacy, that his writings are interesting to cultured minds, notwithstanding his hallucinations.

The first of these volumes consists of a great variety of interesting documents which illustrate both the biographical history of Swedenborg himself and the general history of his time. These are classified. First, under the head 'General Biographical Notices,' we have accounts of Swedenborg from various letters and memoirs. Under the head 'Swedenborg's Ancestry,' &c., we have a series of documents, including twenty letters of Bishop Swedborg, with extracts from his autobiography, all bearing upon

Swedenborg's family. Another section consists of about a hundred letters selected from Swedenborg's correspondence for forty years; another of documents concerning his private property; another of documents concerning his official life in the College of Mines for thirty years; another of his public life as a member of the House of Nobles; another of documents concerning him as a man of science. An appendix of nearly 150 pages gives us biographical notices of as many of his contemporaries. Altogether the volume is one of curious interest. Its hero-worship notwithstanding, much might be culled from it.

Mr. M'Cully's 'Swedenborg Studies' consists of a dozen miscellaneous chapters, some of them only remotely connected with Swedenborg, e.g., Mary Magdalene; the Christhood of the one God our Father; Hettie Barclay; Primitive Quakerism; Emerson; &c., most of which are reprinted from the 'Intellectual Repository.' They are criticisms very fairly written by an ardent disciple.

The Chaldean Account of Genesis; containing the Description of the Creation, the Fall of Man, the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, the Times of the Patriarchs and Nimrod; Babylonian Fables, and Legends of the Gods; from the Cuneiform Inscriptions. By GEORGE SMITH. With Illustrations. Sampson Low and Co.

Mr. Smith's researches are producing such rapid and brilliant results that this second volume follows the 'Assyrian Discoveries' within a few months. We can hardly exaggerate the interest and importance of the opening chapters of these new archæological records. As is known, arrowhead tablets have been accumulating in the British Museum from the time of Mr. Layard's first discoveries,—Sir Henry Rawlinson and others having added largely to those brought home by Mr. Layard. Mr. George Smith, sent out by the 'Daily Telegraph,' and sanctioned and aided by the Trustees of the British Museum, has added invaluable literary treasures. The gradual decipherment of the inscriptions has followed their acquisition. Mr. Smith is placed by Sir Henry Rawlinson at the head of Assyrian scholars. He knows, therefore, how to find as well as how to interpret. He is, as our readers may be aware, now prosecuting a new expedition of discovery among the debris and unexplored parts of the magnificent library of nearly 20,000 tablets, collected by Assurbanipal in the eighth century before Christ. Assurbanipal was the grandson of Sennacherib. He was the voluptuous Sardanapalus of the Greeks, but seems to have been a great lover of literature. He was not the founder of the library at Nineveh, which was the work of Assur-nazir-pal, who built Babylon; but he collected its chief treasures. He seems to have brought together from every quarter all the tablets that he could procure relating to the history and literature of the older monarchy of Babylon; and where he could

not acquire originals he had copies made. The library was lodged in the palace at Nineveh, now the Mound of Konyunik—opposite Mosul—and its ruins have been explored by Mr. Smith, who has brought many of its treasures to England, and is, at the present moment, on his way to acquire more. There is, according to Mr. Smith, clear demonstration that some of the transcripts made by Assurbanipal were made from originals as old as from fifteen to twenty centuries before Christ—as old that is to the time of Abraham; so that we are obtaining access to the oldest known literature of the world—and are able to read myths, legends, poems, histories, and laws written in the time of the Patriarchs.

It is, we say, impossible to exaggerate the importance of these records in their bearing upon history, comparative mythology, ethnology, and the historical character of the Book of Genesis. Unfortunately the tablets of Assurbanipal's library suffered in the destruction of the city, and are much broken and mutilated. The translations that Mr. Smith gives are, with few exceptions, fragments, often without any coherence, but he has already effected some wonderful restorations, and is not without hope that many of the tablets may be completed from as yet undeciphered fragments already in the British Museum, or from fresh treasures to be brought home. It is hardly too much to say that the entire civilised world has an interest in the result.

Mr. Smith's renderings are consequently tentative. With the candour and the carefulness of a true scholar he propounds many of them as such, and corrects the interpretations of his former volume by revised readings, which enlarged reconstructions through the discovery of fresh fragments have enabled.

The result is of intensest interest to Biblical students. Legends of the creation and the fall, of the flood, and of the builders of Babel—and, above all, the legend of Istubar, or Nimrod, have already been discovered, some of them full of details which leave no doubt about their reference to the identical events recorded in Genesis. If these tablets should, by any happy find of Mr. Smith or others, ever be restored to their completeness, we shall have a contemporary literature of the times of the Patriarchs from the literary centre and capital of the old world with which to compare the history of Moses. Years, perhaps generations, of archaeological and historic criticisms are clearly before us in this particular field. We cannot, in justice to Mr. Smith, go into any details of these legends, nor into any exact computation of their bearing upon the Scripture history; indeed, discovery and interpretation have not yet proceeded far enough to enable any certain judgments. Closing a chapter on the tentative results, Mr. Smith justly and modestly says, 'There can be no doubt that the subject of further search and discovery will not slumber, and all that I have here written will one day be superseded by newer texts and fuller and more perfect light.' Indeed, once

and again Mr. Smith, with the scrupulousness of a true scholar, administers rebukes to rash interpreters, such as Bishop Colenso, who, from very imperfect data, leap to hasty generalisations. Enough, however, has been deciphered to set the dignity and rationalness of the Bible histories in a very advantageous light.

We should add that the legends of extra Biblical character, deciphered in part by Mr. Smith, are of intensest interest to comparative mythology and folk-lore.

Clearly a distinct step has been taken in Biblical illustrations, compared with which the interest of almost every other is subordinate. To be thus introduced to Babylonian literature fifteen centuries before Christ, to the very centre of the thought and life from which the literature and religions of the Semitic races have sprung, is a discovery of intensest literary, scientific, and theological interest. We can only hope that Mr. Smith's researches will be successful in completing the tablets, of which he has here deciphered the fragments, so that their clear and indubitable light may be thrown upon both the sacred records and the problems of early history. Meanwhile Mr. Smith is connecting his name imperishably with the greatest archæological achievements of our generation.

Two Trips to Gorilla Land and the Cataracts of the Congo. By RICHARD F. BURTON. Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

Captain Burton's volumes excite in us only a languid interest. It is not easy to warm over again cold meat, and Captain Burton has not very successfully resuscitated the enthusiasm and freshness of his ten-year-old diary. That it has been kept in his desk for that period is a presumption against any very special interest attaching to the journeys that it records. Accordingly we find ourselves incontinently skipping page after page of monotonous details, and—must we say it?—some chapters of material suspiciously like padding. Captain Burton was on ground comparatively familiar; he had no adventures; the Gaboon and the Congo have been repeatedly visited; both were the common resorts of slave-traders, and are settlements of Portuguese and French traders. Captain Burton's volumes, therefore, are valuable simply for ethnological and geographical verifications, as being the records of observations by an acute and experienced African traveller. He verified some of M. du Chaillu's statements about the gorilla and the gorilla country, and he points out the exaggerated, not to say imaginative, character of others; but he does not in any way modify the general verdict which the intuitive judgment of du Chaillu's readers, and subsequent information, has pronounced upon his book. We do not exactly like the tone of Captain Burton's book. He loses no opportunity of sensuous allusion, and is altogether destitute of the high tone of either appreciation or hopefulness which an English gentleman, not to say a Christian, should evince when speaking of

racers so abject as the Fans. He thinks much of the denunciation of slavery by Englishmen a sickly sentiment; but inasmuch as any return to slavery is impossible, he advocates a system of negro emigration, which he thinks is now becoming possible. He has nothing better to say about missionaries than to fill a chapter with reminiscences and anecdotes of Roman Catholic missions on the Congo. He is emphatic in making a distinction between Dr. Livingstone the traveller and Dr. Livingstone the missionary. In the latter capacity the illustrious crusader against slavery wins only a sneer. One would like, however, to test the sentiment created by the missionary by comparison with that created by Captain Burton. We know the enthusiasm produced by the single-minded, philanthropic, and Christian aims of the one. We cannot conceive either enthusiasm or elevation from a traveller whose tone rises no higher than the level of this book. Mr. Winwood Reade may be worthy of the high commendation which Captain Burton bestows upon him for his 'noble candour' in publishing the 'Martyrdom of Man.' It is a sufficient indication of Captain Burton's sentiment of travel that he can thus commend one of the most audacious, not to say ribald, atheistic books of this generation, while he has only a sneer for the Christian philanthropy of Livingstone.

Explorations in Australia; with an Appendix on the Condition of Western Australia. By JOHN FORREST, F.R.G.S. Illustrations by G. F. ANGAS. Sampson Low and Co.

Closely following upon the exciting expedition of Colonel Warburton from Adelaide in Southern Australia to the De Grey station on the Western coast—a journey of 4000 miles, occupying eighteen months—come these journals of three important journeys of exploration made by Mr. Forrest. The first journey, in 1869, was from Perth, N.E. and E., and was undertaken on the report of some natives concerning remains of white men, to discover, if possible, the fate of Dr. Leichart's expedition in 1847, a journey which proved fruitless save in the additions to our topographical knowledge which it made.

The second journey, in 1870, was more arduous. Starting from Perth, Mr. Forrest, following in the track of Mr. Eyre in 1840, traversed the entire distance to Adelaide along the shores of the Great Bight, enduring considerable hardships and perils—often in extremity for want of water, and once or twice having to defend the party from attacks of the natives. This journey contributed very valuable information concerning the country.

The third journey, in 1874, started from Geraldton, a few miles north of Perth, and, taking a direction N.E. and E., after very arduous experiences, struck the telegraph line a little above the Peak Station.

These three journeys give Mr. Forrest a high place among Australian explorers. He does little more than reprint his journals—which are replete with that kind of useful in-

formation which will constitute the data for further colonisation. There is not much of adventure to interest general readers—there is a necessary sameness in the diurnal records of spinifex and thirst; but Mr. Forrest's experiences are noted down with careful accuracy and commendable modesty. A valuable report of the state of Western Australia, by Governor Weld, is added, and some long details of speeches, &c., at public receptions, which might have been spared.

Mr. Forrest is a type of explorer of which we may be proud, and his book contributes materially to our knowledge of the interior of the continent which our colonisation has hitherto only fringed. Conclusions respecting the arid and uninhabitable character of much of the interior seem established.

Arabistan; or, the Land of the Arabian Nights. Being Travels through Egypt, Arabia, and Persia, to Bagdad. By WILLIAM PERRY FOGG, A.M., Author of 'Round the World,' 'Letters,' &c. With an Introduction by BAYARD TAYLOR. Sampson Low and Co.

It cannot be said that Mr. Bayard Taylor—who, if we mistake not, himself needed at one time the aid of another to introduce the account of some striking journeyings of a compositor—has been very generous towards Mr. Fogg. If he undertook to write at all a preface to a volume of Eastern travel, surely he ought to have done something more adequate. If Mr. Fogg's book meets with favour, it will not be, we think, to be attributed to Mr. Bayard Taylor's effort. But Mr. Fogg might as well, perhaps better, have stood on his own feet. When he has once quitted beaten paths, he writes with great force and attractiveness. He has the 'open eye,' and eke the Yankee 'cheek.' He can meet a pasha on his own ground, and question him unflinchingly; and is not 'put out' by trifles. But generally he really manages by his dash to get hold of some fresh fact; and what we admire in him is that, together with these qualities, he has the knack of finding the best side of foreigners. Our readers will admit there is something Yankee in the process, but there is a heartiness in this record of it that is refreshing. 'At the close of the play, the majority of the games being against me, on one occasion in Damascus, I called the attendant, and, being the losing party, I proposed, according to Western notions, to pay the score. This my Arabian friend at first strenuously opposed, but I insisted; and holding out to the servant a dozen or more silver coins of various denominations, from a *piastre* (five cents) to a *mejeide* (about a dollar), I pointed to the *narghilehs* and coffee, and by pantomime told him to take his pay. Having no definite idea of the proper charge, I should have been entirely satisfied if he had chosen the largest coin in my hand. To my surprise he selected a two-piastre piece. Thinking that he might have made a mistake, I again pointed to the table, *narghilehs*, and coffee, and held out my hand to him

to take the proper sum. But he only made a low salaam, and held up the trifling coin as all right.' The best part of the book is that concerning Bagdad; and those who wish to learn about that romantic city, and the ways of the people there, could not do better than consult 'Arabistan,' which, in spite of its over-gorgeous binding, is a better book than many we get from America.

Among the Zulus and Amatongas: with Sketches of the Natives, their Language and Customs; and the Country, Products, Climate, Wild Animals, &c. Being, principally, Contributions to Magazines and Newspapers. By the late DAVID LESLIE. Edited by the Hon. W. H. DRUMMOND. Second Edition. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

The first edition of this book was an 'In Memoriam' volume, printed for private circulation. It is so full of intelligence, useful information, and general interest, that we are very glad that it has been given to the public. Mr. Leslie went to Natal when a child; entered into business as a merchant at Durban, but took to hunting and trading with the native tribes of the North; whereby he acquired an intimate acquaintance with the Zulus,—their politics, manners, modes of thought and life, &c.,—which, perhaps, was unsurpassed. With a considerable degree of scientific knowledge, a vigorous intellect, and a ready and graphic pen, he became a valuable interpreter of Zulu to England and Europe. Mr. Drummond, in his work on 'The Large Game and Natural History of South and South-East Africa,' bears testimony to Mr. Leslie's great knowledge and experience. The papers here collected—about fifty in number—relate to all kinds of matters connected with Zulu hunting, Kaffir doctors, marriage, the Tsetse, Kaffir characters and customs, hunting journals, with one or two tales, &c. They have considerable literary merit, and convey a good deal of reliable and valuable information. Mr. Leslie died at the early age of thirty-five.

Three Months in the Mediterranean. By WALTER COOTE. Edward Stanford.

The Mediterranean is not so familiar to us as to make the interest of a book about it depend entirely upon what the writer brings to it. It has still its towns and coasts of which ordinary readers know but little and are glad to know more. Mr. Coote sailed from Liverpool, touched at Gibraltar, Genoa, Leghorn, and Pisa, Naples, Messina, Alexandria, and Cairo, the Levant, Constantinople, Smyrna, Greece, Malta, Tunis, and Carthage; and he tells us what he saw with modest intelligence and vivacity, and with considerable descriptive power. His little book pretends to no more than *impressions de voyage*, but it is a very pleasant book to read. It is a good deal more than a reproduction of guide books. The individuality of the writer enters into all that he describes. He is a

pleasant travelling companion whom we shall be glad again to meet.

Travels in Portugal. By JOHN LATOUCHE. With Illustrations by the Right Hon. T. SOTHERON ESTCOURT. (Ward, Lock, and Tyler.) We are glad to see the second edition of Mr. Latouche's fresh and instructive book, of which, in common with almost all our critical contemporaries, we spoke with such high commendation in our last number. It is, in respect both of independent observation and freshness and freedom of style, one of the best books of travel of the year.—*The Story of the Jubilee Singers, with their Songs.* (Hodder and Stoughton.) This is a compressed and improved history of the remarkable experiment and success of the Jubilee Singers, brought down to the present time, with the addition of a considerable number of new songs, including 'John Brown's Body,' the 'Lord's Prayer,' and several other of the pieces with which the first set of Singers electrified every audience. The Singers, with some changes in their *corps*, are in England again. They were unable to meet even half the demands for their presence on their first visit, and, commendably anxious to supplement their great service to the admirable institution for educating their race at Nashville, they have paid a second visit to England and are having, we believe, great success. This volume is in every way an improvement upon the first.—As a companion to their guide book for Northern Italy, Messrs. T. Cooke and Sons have published *A Tourist's Handbook for Southern Italy* (Hodder and Stoughton), which comes to hand just in time for the season. The former volume ended with Florence; the present comprises the rest of the Peninsula. All the necessary information about money, luggage, routes, &c., is given. Necessary brevity reduces description, but all that the tourist will care to see is indicated, and information is given sufficient for intelligent appreciation.

POLITICS, SCIENCE, AND ART.

Introduction to the Study of International Law.

Designed as an Aid in Teaching and in Historical Studies. By THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, late President of Yale College. Reprinted from the Fourth American Edition. Sampson Low, Marston, and Co.

Dr. Woolsey's very high reputation as a jurist has carried his able work on International Law into a fourth edition. It has become the text-book on the subject on both sides the Atlantic, and that in virtue of the ample information and judicial impartiality which are the characteristics of its eminent author.

This fourth edition has been revised; the treaties brought down to the present time; and a note discussing the case of the *Virgin-*

ius added, in which Spain is justified in the capture of the *Virginus* on the high seas, not only on the ground that she was really a Spanish vessel falsely bearing an American flag, but on the higher ground of self-protection, which justifies the seizure of any vessel known to be engaged in violating its laws.

Essays on Social Subjects. By MATTHEW JAMES HIGGINS ('Jacob Omnium'). With a Biographic Sketch of the Author by Sir WILLIAM STIRLING-MAXWELL. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Mr. Higgins was entirely *sui generis*. He was a satirist and a humourist, but his satire and humour were of a very peculiar order. He seized the remote and unnoticed aspect of the thing or the question with which he dealt, and turned it suddenly face to face with the most obvious aspect, suggesting a certain grotesque departure from the true type in the very features to which society had most perfectly accommodated itself, and in which very often it most thoroughly believed. He had a quick fancy, united with rare analytic and logical powers; and, besides this, an unusual self-restraint and reverence for individual character, such as most frequently rendered spite and narrow ill-nature impossible to him. He was one of the valued influences which bring social life, in spite of its modern complexities and disparities, to a unity in its relations with literature; and in thus setting forth, in forms suited to the humour of the day, an ideal of social right and duty and fairness, he did no slight service. What seems trifling or whimsical in his methods may, to a great extent, be accounted for by a wonderful sensitiveness of mental constitution, which led him to forecast multitudes of objections—the necessary offsetting of individual demands in a complicated society; but the leading moral aspect of the question he seldom missed. All this the careful student will find illustrated in the essays reprinted here. We regret that our space will not permit us to particularise. Perhaps in nothing were the salient characteristics of his mind and method seen more expressly than in his treatment of that institution at which Thackeray also made a decisive blow through the *alter ego* of 'Policeman X,' in the ballad of 'Jacob Omnium's Hoss.' The biographic sketch is full of fact and remark, which tempt us to disquisition. It puts its subject very fully and faithfully before us in small space, and gathers up with rare tact the apparently contradictory tendencies in his character. There is a dash of grotesquerie, too, when we read, for example, how Mr. Higgins, being some six feet eight inches in height, was distinguished from another of the same name, who was six feet four inches, by the application to the latter of the title, 'Little Higgins.'

Jack Afloat and Ashore. By RICHARD ROWE, Author of 'Episodes in an Obscure Life.' Smith, Elder, and Co.

Mr. Rowe always writes with picturesque force, showing the results of a quick observation—apt to run, after the manner of Dickens,

into concatenations of detail—a humour that slides easily either into sentiment or pathos, and a warm charity that finds points of interest in characters hardly interesting in themselves. All this is found in the present volume, which is almost as picturesque and graphic as Mr. Rowe's former works, notwithstanding that the subject is precisely of the sort to tempt him to the side on which he usually errs by excess. Nevertheless, few will begin to read the book and not go on to the end—he is so apt at catching traits that are likely to escape the ordinary observer, and so full of out-of-the-way information, which he manages to communicate in a masterly manner. The object with which it is clear that he has written this book should also have its own influence with the reader. His whole mood is charged with benevolence, and he has the adequate tact and humour to relieve the strain and pressure which the benevolent mind, working in the line of reform, is so very apt to carry with it.

Thrift. By SAMUEL SMILES, Author of 'Character,' 'Self-Help,' &c. John Murray.

Mr. Smiles in this instance has hardly put his best foot foremost. The first few chapters read rather like a working up of materials which had been rejected in the writing of his former books; but as you go on you discover that he has started with a definite plan, has great aims in view, and that this book is even more original than some of the former ones. He states a principle clearly, adds, it may be, a few facts, and then caps all with an anecdote, a biographical instance, or a good story. The title seems more and more appropriate as you proceed. Building Societies, Savings Banks, Lotteries, Assurance, and a hundred other cognate subjects are discussed in this attractive and commanding manner, and the book contains not a few short biographies of real originality and value—the more that they are compressed into a page or two, and hardly a word wasted. Those of the Crossleys, Mr. Baxendale, and Pickford and Co., are especially fresh and interesting. The great subjects of competition, of giving, lending, charity, method, amusements, debt, dirt, and so on are discussed in a simple and thoroughly popular way. The last few chapters are, to our thinking, almost perfect in a line of literature which seems easy but is most difficult. The last, on the Art of Living, deserves to be widely read and deeply pondered by young and old also. Ceaseless industry in collecting his facts, careful statement, with a quick eye to practical illustration, a fine feeling for characteristic traits in leading men, together with an easy yet polished and graceful style, these are the most marked points in Mr. Smiles' writings, and have combined to raise him to the high rank which he so deservedly occupies. He well exhibits in practical work his own principles of industry and thrift. The concluding words are so suggestive and full of sympathetic colouring that we may quote them:—

'The art of living may be summed up in the words, "make the best of everything." Nothing is beneath its care; even common and little things it turns to account. It gives a brightness and grace to the home and invests nature with new charms. Through it we enjoy the rich man's parks and woods as if they were our own. We inhale the common air and bask under the universal sunshine. We glory in the grass, the passing clouds, the flowers. We love the common earth, and hear joyful voices through all nature. It extends to every kind of social intercourse. It engenders cheerful goodwill and loving sincerity. By its help we make others happy and ourselves blest. We elevate our being and ennoble our lot. We rise above the grovelling creatures of earth and aspire to the infinite. And thus we link time to eternity, where the true art of living has its final consummation.'

Written since the attack of paralysis, of which the author speaks in his preface as having delayed the publication of the book, we may take it as an illustration of the gentle courage, the care, the industry, the large heartedness, the generosity which he seeks to stimulate and encourage.

East and West London. By the Rev. HARRY JONES, Rector of St. George's-in-the-East. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Mr. Jones has had one charge in Westminster and another in the far east of our 'city of extremities;' and he fully verifies the truth of the expression, that among the poor, typical scenes constantly repeat themselves. He is energetic, practical, and, within certain limits, 'prudent,' giving one the idea that, without pretension, he is quite the man for his work. He writes with appreciation of the grim humour of the situations in which he occasionally finds himself placed, and also of the difficulties which a clergyman in such districts is constantly called upon to face. He has not exactly imitated Mr. Hansard in some of his endeavours, but he tells us enough to prove that he has run risks, describing, as he goes on, some of the odder industries, or ways of 'knocking out a living,' among the very poor. The book is most interesting on account of the insight it gives us in this respect; but it will also be found helpful by the practical philanthropist, because of the many hints it gives as to the true methods of dealing with the poor of our large cities. Mr. Harry Jones could not write in an uninteresting way; but here he has the subject so much at heart, his facts are so familiar, and he shows so much *naïve* good-nature in his narrative that this book may be regarded as *unique* in its way, and may be confidently recommended to all those who would like to have a glimpse of the London poor as they really are.

Money and the Mechanism of Exchange. By W. STANLEY JEVONS, M.A., F.R.S. H. S. King and Co.

This is a volume of the 'International Sci-

ence Series,' now in course of publication by Messrs. H. S. King and Co. Like most of the series it is written in plain language fitted for general apprehension, and the writer is thoroughly qualified for his task. There is a mystery about the laws that regulate the circulation of money which plunges even the most clear-headed minds into mazes of confusion. No one has yet written on the laws of currency and banking without being landed in quagmires. Professor Jevons has not shared this fate, because he has only skirted the debatable land, confining himself for the most part to historical and descriptive work. His volume is a descriptive essay on the monetary systems of the world, past and present, the materials out of which and the processes by which money is made, the way in which paper does service instead of coin, and the manner in which the cheque and clearing system economises labour in its use. The book supplies the preliminary information which ought to be possessed by all before they proceed to high and dry discussions of theories of currency and banking. It has been supplied by Professor Jevons in an interesting and workmanlike manner, and, so far as we have had opportunity for verification, his statements may be relied upon as thoroughly trustworthy. Towards the close, Mr. Jevons describes the cheque-bank system, which he regards as marking an important epoch in monetary development. Unfortunately since he wrote we have learned that the Cheque Bank, as an institution, has failed to be profitable, and is to be discontinued. It may be hoped, however, that the principle which has been its main characteristic will be utilised in some other way; for there can be no doubt it offers great facilities—which may be almost indefinitely multiplied and extended—for the transaction of business.

The Theory and Practice of Banking. By HENRY DUNNING MACLEOD, Esq., M.A. Third Edition. Vol. I. Longmans, Green, and Co.

Mr. Macleod's work has won its way to mercantile confidence, and may now be regarded as our chief authority on banking. The third edition, of which this is the first volume, has been remodelled and simplified by the omission of certain preliminary discussions on political economy, more fully treated in works of the author subsequently published. The present edition restricts the discussion more closely to the theory of credit.

The author fairly claims credit for having largely contributed to the exposure of the arithmetical errors and the unphilosophical conceptions upon which the Bank Act of 1844 is founded, and to have demonstrated the principle now acted upon by all banks throughout the world—the Bank of England included—viz., that 'the only true way of controlling the paper currency, or credit, is by sedulously adjusting the rate of discount by the bullion in the Bank and the state of the foreign exchanges.' Mr. Macleod is justly proud of the acceptance of his general principles of polit-

ical economy by M. Chevalier in an elaborate report on his works to the Academy of Moral and Political Science of the Institute of France; and by M. Rouher, who distributed an account of his system of Political Economy to all the Chambers of Commerce in France.

Mr. Macleod's is the only work in this country giving a full exposition of the theory and mechanism of credit and banking, which is somewhat surprising, and not much to our scientific credit.

The History of Creation; or, the Development of the Earth and its Inhabitants by the Action of Natural Causes. From the German of Ernst Haeckel. Two Vols. H. King and Co.

Although this work is termed by its author 'a popular exposition' of the doctrine of evolution, it is of so strictly scientific a nature that its claims to be taken as a trustworthy guide can only be adequately criticised by scientific specialists having equal knowledge with Haeckel himself. The author is well known for the zeal and pertinacity with which he has advocated what is generally known as Darwinism. Less modest than Darwin, however, he rushes in where cautious experimentalists have hitherto feared to tread. He drives the Darwin doctrine of development to its farthest logical extreme; and whereas Darwin has never excluded the action of a Creator, but expressly requires it in order to the creation of the first primordial forms, from which all things have come, Haeckel dispenses with conscious purpose and intelligence, and reduces everything to a self-mechanical force. In a wonderfully learned fashion, which cannot fail, and was probably intended, to impress the non-scientific reader's imagination, he essays to fill up the gaps between species, between the organic and the inorganic, vegetable and animal life, and to drive back everything to the Moneres, which derive their existence again from Protoplasm. The peculiar feature of the book is that it contains an actual attempt to show the pedigree of the animal creation, in order to justify the reduction of all to the primal identity of formless Protoplasm.

We have said that it would require scientific learning equal to Haeckel's own to discuss the details of his work; but fortunately we are under no necessity to do that. Life has other duties than to pursue scientific specialists through all the wanderings into which a perverse and predetermined purpose may impel them in order to bring proofs in favour of a foregone conclusion. Haeckel, in this work, correctly defines the difference between philosophical capacity, as the power of forming adequate conceptions that will account for the facts, and the mere observing of individual phenomena, to which many experimentalists confine themselves. Without the former, he says truly, no inductive science is possible. But if the scientific inquirer takes up with a certain theory, resolved to make all facts and phenomena fit into it, and to throw aside all

that are not serviceable, what difference is there between him and the *a priori* speculator whom Herr Haeckel treats with such sovereign contempt? Both alike make their own fancies the measure of the universe; both alike discard the facts that are not acceptable to them; both alike fail to be the interpreters of nature and reality. Haeckel is bolder and more rash than Darwin just because he is less faithful to truth. What Mr. Darwin offers as a theory or hypothesis, Haeckel claims has been demonstrated as a great inductive law. He will allow no doubt or uncertainty in regard to the Theory of Descent, and alike asserts its adequacy and its logical completeness. The theories of natural selection, heredity, and the struggle for existence, are elevated by the German naturalist to the level of demonstrated propositions; and he has not the slightest difficulty in showing how a world may be created, how life may be evolved out of the lifeless, and how reason and consciousness will emerge from the non-rational and the unconscious. The great gulf fixed between matter and feeling, which to a Dubois Reymond seems impassable, does not daunt Ernst Haeckel. He is restrained by no doubts, checked by no feeling of modesty, but goes on his high dogmatic way as if he had been made the recipient of a revelation (we shall not offend him by using the term Divine) which enabled him to see the end from the beginning; instead of being a scientific inquirer who is bound carefully and toilsomely to make his way by explaining every fact in the light of other facts, and performing the humbler but more useful part of an interpreter instead of a scientific dogmatist.

We have said that Herr Haeckel ignores all the facts that are not convenient, and his dogmatism is so extreme as to be offensive; while the arrogant and dictatorial manner in which he deals with opponents is alien to a true scientific temper. In one way it may be well that Evolutionary Materialism should be presented in the light it bears in Herr Haeckel's hands. We have been told over and over again that Theism has nothing to fear from the theory of development, that there is a majestic grandeur in the idea of evolution through immense cycles of immeasurable time, and that, therefore, our conceptions of the Creator may be heightened instead of suffering injury or loss from the acceptance of Mr. Darwin's hypothesis. We do not deny that there may be a sense in which Evolution is reconcilable with Theism, or that the Theory of Descent may be so held as to be compatible with belief in self-conscious, creative intelligence. We have said that Mr. Darwin himself, so far from excluding, expressly postulates a Creator. And if Mr. Darwin means, or will say, that the creative act which he assumes must have taken place at the first, and implied the creation of all that was to be afterwards developed—that it was first of all involved before it was evolved—then the Theist need have no quarrel with him. The difference between them will refer only to the manner and not to the fact of cre-

ation. Mr. Darwin, equally with the Theist, must postulate the creation *in potentia* of all that is afterwards to become actual. But it is impossible for any evolutionist to deny that the theory by which he removes the Creator to the farthest limit of inconceivable time does often suppress the idea of creative action. It is only for the first germ or the first few germs that creative action is required—everything else that afterwards flows from these is assumed to be sufficiently accounted for through the interaction of the molecular particles and the conditions of their environment. There is a silent suppression of the conception of a Divine *potentia*, and therefore an attribution to matter of powers of self-regulation and self-development. Haeckel, adopting this view, presses it to its furthest possible limit, and excludes all intelligence, all conscious purpose or thought, and therefore all Divine influence. He does not, indeed, explain how Protoplasm has power to become Moneres, and how Moneres came to develop into the infinite diversity of life which actually exists—he assumes it all. He dogmatically asserts the reality of spontaneous generation, and simply brushes all the difficulties aside by which the idea is beset. This, of course, is easy work, but it is neither philosophical nor scientific. Herr Haeckel has no word to explain why one kind of Protoplasm should have had the power of developing from Moneres into men, while other kinds of Protoplasm remain persistently *inorganic* all through the ages. But if there were different kinds of Protoplasm, whence the difference? The first *κινούν ἀκίνητον*, as Max Müller says, remains as unknown as ever. Nor does Herr Haeckel attempt to meet the difficulties (except in an airy superficial way) interposed in the way of the evolutionary theory by the science of language. That science has proved that language could never have been derived directly from imitative and interjectional sounds, but has proceeded from roots, every one of which expresses a formal concept, and therefore must have been preceded by thought. This erects an insuperable barrier to the acceptance of Evolutionary Materialism. Herr Haeckel simply disregards it; and from that fact we may judge of the trustworthiness of his general views. We do not deny that his book contains much valuable scientific material, but as a 'History of Creation' it is a blank failure, and its dogmatism and arrogance render it as offensive as its philosophy is unsound and inadequate. The work, we would only add, has been admirably translated, though the translation was only revised by 'E. Ray Lankester,' whose name is made prominent on the outside and title-page. The translator is said to be 'a young lady'—obviously of the strong-minded order.

Life's Dawn on Earth: being the History of the Oldest Known Fossil Remains, and their Relations to Geological Time and to the Development of the Animal Kingdom. By J. W. DAWSON, LL.D., F.R.S., Principal

and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University. Montreal; Author of 'Acadian Geology,' &c. Second Thousand. Hodder and Stoughton.

No one is so well qualified as Principal Dawson to write the history of Eozoon; and it is so interesting and instructive a one, that it deserved to form the subject of a special treatise.

Only sixteen years ago geologists were startled by the announcement that the Laurentian Rocks of Canada—highly crystalline limestones, equivalent to the Gneiss of Scotland, the oldest rock-formation of the British Isles—were fossiliferous, so that the term Azotic, hitherto applied to rocks of that age, was no longer appropriate. The nature of the contained fossils was not, however, so clear as to defy opposition; and though the evidence was soon accepted by the first sayans of the day, there were others who would not readily give up their preconceived notions. The earliest specimens were regarded as merely mineral concretions; but the circumstance of their uniformity in character, while consisting of different mineral ingredients, led Sir William Logan to suspect their organic origin. For this he was already somewhat prepared by other considerations: the constant recurrence of graphite and iron ores in the Laurentian rocks had suggested the probability of abundant vegetable life, and the alternation of bands of limestone pointed equally to the existence of animal organisms; all that remained then was to verify by the best tests available the suspicions thus aroused and warranted. Dr. Dawson being consulted, he brought the microscope into requisition, and soon detected evidence of organic structure. This was confirmed by Dr. Carpenter and Professor Rupert Jones, for whose opinions specimens were brought over to England; and the studies which they had been making of the Foraminifera enabled them to work out the natural history of Eozoon, and assign, with pretty tolerable exactness, its place amongst the Protozoa. This first (as far as we yet know) of living creatures was, therefore, of the very simplest form of animal life, though of much larger size than the modern representatives of the same order.

The nature-prints of polished sections of Eozoon, etched with dilute acid and then electrotyped, are most valuable, as no drawing by hand could possibly impart so correct an idea of the structure of the animal.

The Recent Origin of Man, as Illustrated by Geology and the Modern Science of Prehistoric Archaeology. By JAMES C. SOUTHALL. Illustrated. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia. Trübner and Co., London.

The author of this work is enthusiastic for his cause, but his discretion and judgment are scarcely at all times equal to his enthusiasm. He enters the lists against those he terms the 'scientists' with the greatest ardour and gallantry, and he deals them many a hard and heavy blow; but he endeavours to occupy too much ground. As with Americans gene-

rally, his plan—like everything in the country—must be on a big scale. The result is, that while we have abundant materials drawn together, often of great value, they too frequently assume the appearance of a miscellaneous collection, without the unity of connection that distinguishes a true book. We cannot say that Mr. Southall's 'Recent Origin of Man' is free from this blemish, notwithstanding his evidently assiduous labours in connection with it, and the zeal with which he fights for his views. The Transatlantic aspect of the work, moreover, will militate against its acceptance on this side, though the forms of expression to which critical English readers will object be in themselves as justifiable as many in use at home. Those who are not deterred by these blemishes may be assured that they will find a formidable array of arguments in 'The Recent Origin of Man' against modern theories which have come to be generally accepted, but are seen on a closer examination to be without sufficient evidence. The readiness with which the most comprehensive theories are built upon the most slender array of facts is made manifest repeatedly by Mr. Southall. The announcements of science with regard to the antiquity of man are shown to have been premature, and to have been constantly varying, so that every few years some scientific novelty—generally an old foe with a new face—is presented as the final solution of the mystery of the universe. Mr. Southall says he has no patience in these circumstances with the imperious airs of science, but if we lose patience we shall give the enemy the advantage.

Genesis and Science; or, the First Leaves of the Bible. By the Rev. JOHN MUCHLEISON ARNOLD, B.D., D.D., Honorary Secretary of the Moslem Missionary Society. Second Edition. Longmans and Co.

Mr. J. M. Arnold has long been known as a vigorous writer and ardent missionary. His knowledge of literature is considerable, and he makes abundant references to the facts and details of science, history, philology, and ethnology. These references are thrown together loosely, the valuable with the worthless, the settled conclusion of science with the wildest conjecture, the well-known fact with the most extravagant hypothesis, so that without further indication of the sources of his information and the grounds of his dogmatic assertions, we fear that his reader will derive small advantage from these essays. There are some very shrewd remarks on Materialism, but the sketch of its history is crude, and it is disfigured by some most unnecessary details. Why should he here describe the profligacies of Alexandra VI. ? or make Cromwell (against whom he is at liberty to entertain political or religious grudges) a fruit of the materialistic philosophy of Hobbes ? He professes to deal with the theory of Evolution, but he caricatures it, which is a very easy thing to do, without adequately answering it. Some of the difficulties of the hypo-

thesis are set forward with a trenchant pen, but the long joke about how the 'monkey became a man' will convince no one.

The most interesting and perhaps valuable attack upon the vast and undated antiquity of the human race, is something like an exhaustive proof that we have no records of any nation which transcend the flood. The rejection of most of the results of modern geology by a mere *ipse dixit* of his own will not commend the argument. The discussions of the fall, the deluge, the size of the ark, the sons of God, &c., are entertaining from the curious admixture of legendary and mythical matter which the author accumulates in illustration of the historical accuracy of the records which have been 'faithfully preserved by Moses,' but which have been modified and degraded by the historiographers and traditions of other nations. If this method had been carefully followed out, and the reasons given for the belief that the legends of Nineveh, Persia, China, and South America all reveal a local colouring, and a clear development from an anterior source, something would have been established of service to the Biblical critic. It is a pity that Mr. Arnold has not utilised his vast reading by a more scientific and judicious use of his materials.

Lucretius and the Atomic Theory. By JOHN VEITCH, LL.D., Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. Glasgow: James Maclehose.

It is quite impossible for us in our limited space here to do full justice to the clear, exhaustive, and graceful manner in which Professor Veitch has, within narrow limits, treated one of the most interesting and most difficult of philosophical problems. His fine tact in following up the leading idea of Lucretius, carrying with him all the time a refined sympathy for the poetic side of that great genius, who foresaw so much and so far, is such as we could well wish to see carried more frequently into philosophical discussion, at once to elevate and to refine it. For though Professor Veitch sets out with the interpretation of what is remote, he very soon proceeds to show us that it touches closely a hundred points at which modern discovery and discussion are most active; and he finds himself confronted by the speculations of Professors Huxley and Tyndall (who, with many others, he finds, are rather inconsistent when they allow themselves to roam into the region of abstract truth), the Authors of the 'Unseen Universe,' and many others. He is very keen in his siftings of the contradictory terms too often used by the modern atomist, and is very successful, to our thinking, in redeeming from their endeavours a sphere of mystery—the Unconditioned, in a word, God. Nothing could well be more faithful or more conclusive than his exposure of Professor Tyndall's logical inconsistency at pp. 70-1; and this, at p. 83, is so good that we must gratify ourselves by quoting it.

'We may quite well allow atomic combination, mechanical and chemical, in obedience

to idea; we may allow the apparent or phenomenal passage when proved, *which has not yet been done*, of the inorganic basis of life into the living germ; the rise of sensation in the animal organism, and of personality in man; and all these as keeping pace with increased structural development. But we should err in isolating these successive stages of progress from the free power of their real causality—contemporaneous Life, Reason, and Will, fixed in an Unity. It would be easy to name this doctrine Pantheism. It is really not so. It is at once Pantheistic and Theistic. It is pantheistic, inasmuch as it separates no power from the Deity; it is theistic, inasmuch as it represents the world-evolving power as regulated by idea, and, therefore, grounded in Personality.

With its fine insight, its quick, clear perception, large, calm, philosophic reach of thought, and exquisite style, we can conceive no better book to put into the hands of students.

The Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants.

By CHARLES DARWIN, M.A., F.R.S., &c. Second edition, revised. With Illustrations. John Murray.

Since the publication of the original essay ten years ago, Mr. Darwin has been adding to his store of observations on the nature of climbing plants, and we have the outcome of his prolonged researches in this volume. He gives us, too, the benefit of his opinions on the recent labours of Sachs and De Vries in the same field of study.

Every one is aware of the fact of many of our plants being climbers, but few will be prepared to find how much that is curious is involved in the process. Our author has devoted his attention specially to plants that twine, of which the hop is a familiar instance; those which use their leaves for climbing, such as the clematis; and those which throw out tendrils, as the common vine and the passion-flower. It seems that in all cases the faculty of climbing is primarily due to the circumstance that the newer growths revolve; for though some few plants in the second and third categories scarcely show any signs of doing so, Mr. Darwin gives reasons for believing that such have lost the faculty through force of outward circumstances. Instances are given of climbing plants having adopted the erect principle of growth in situations where their natural powers could not be brought into play, and of having subsequently regained their original habit—a circumstance to which the author very naturally attaches a high significance. He, of all men, is certainly entitled to do so. Some of his readers however will be hardly prepared to accept the conclusion which, he says, is forced on his mind, that the capacity of revolving is inherent, though undeveloped, in almost every plant in the vegetable kingdom.

A Course of Practical Instruction in Elementary Biology. By T. H. HUXLEY, LL.D., Sec. R.S., assisted by H. N. MARTIN, B.A., M.B., D.Sc. Macmillan and Co.

This book is exactly what it pretends to be—eminently practical. One who is about to enter upon the study of Biology cannot do better than provide himself with a copy of the book, a microscope, and the appropriate apparatus, and go step by step through the course, beginning, as Professor Huxley does, with the most elementary forms of vegetable and animal life, and working gradually up to the higher forms of each. Under the head of 'laboratory work,' precise directions are given both what and how to observe, so that any one with a clear head and delicate touch can work out each lesson for himself; and he will rise from the study with an intelligent conception of how the more highly developed organisms are built up.

Our Place among Infinities: a Series of Essays contrasting our Little Abode in Space and Time with the Infinities around us. By RICHARD A. PROCTOR, Author of 'Saturn and its System,' &c. Henry S. King and Co. *Science Byways. A Series of Familiar Disquisitions, &c.* By RICHARD A. PROCTOR. Smith, Elder, and Co.

We remember to have read already in one periodical or another the greater portion of the articles which are gathered together in these two volumes; but Mr. Proctor is so pleasant a writer that he need not make any apology for thus putting them again before the public in a more convenient form than that of scattered essays in various magazines.

The former of these volumes is of the more set purpose; the main topic being a reopening of the discussion which was fought out with some keenness rather more than twenty years ago, when Whewell, Brewster, and Baden Powell argued for or against the probability of the other heavenly bodies besides our earth being inhabited. The progress of science since that day has been so rapid, that many ascertained facts can now be brought to bear upon the argument; and in Mr. Proctor's hands it takes a different turn from that of any of the former disputants. Of the principal bodies in our own system it can be demonstrated, with pretty tolerable certainty, that some have not yet arrived at, while others have passed, a habitable stage; but of the systems beyond, the argument is all inferential. The author inclines to the view that at some period or other all the heavenly bodies are destined to be the theatre of life. Passing from this speculative subject he treats the reader with some chapters illustrative of the grandeur and immensity of the universe; and winds up with a disquisition on the influence of astronomy, as then understood, upon the Jews and other nations of antiquity.

'Science Byways,' as indeed its title indicates, is of more varied character—mainly astronomical, but digressing into meteorology, mental physiology, and coming down even to automatic chess and card playing. Some of these articles we fancy must have been written by way of relaxation from severer studies; but perhaps they will be all the more

readable on that account, though Mr. Proctor has the happy knack, much rarer than he seems to think it, of putting a really scientific article into an attractive form.

Tobacco: its History and Associations, including an Account of the Plant and its Manufacture; with its Modes of Use in all Ages and Countries. By F. W. FAIRHOLT, F.S.A. With 100 Illustrations by the Author. Chatto and Windus.

Mr. Fairholt does not discuss the physiological questions involved in the use of tobacco, concerning which such a fierce conflict rages. He restricts himself to the matters indicated on his title-page, and has filled an instructive and interesting little volume with facts connected with the *habitats*, growth, manufacture, and uses of tobacco, gathered from a wide range of reading; and, we need not say, very intelligently and skilfully put together. The chapter on tobacco-pipes and cigars, and that on snuff and snuff-boxes are especially curious. It is, however, almost appalling to think that the consumption of tobacco for the whole world is estimated at nearly two millions of tons a year, or seventy ounces per head. In Great Britain, in 1858, the consumption averaged nineteen ounces per head. Upwards of £8,000,000 per annum are spent on tobacco and snuff. In France it is still more. A thousand million of cigars are yearly consumed in Austria. The history of the tobacco trade is one of the most curious in the annals of commerce. A weed originally smoked by a few savages has come to be one of the most cherished luxuries of the whole civilised world. Mr. Fairholt thinks that smoking does not increase drunkenness. Our Saxon forefathers were notorious drunkards, as the English have been throughout their history. They are, Mr. Fairholt thinks, less given to drink now than at any period of their history; while the Turks and the French smoke more than we, and both are sober nations. The greatest smokers, as a rule, are temperate men. Still, the enormous consumption of tobacco, and the individual habit—first in boys, then in 'over indulgence in men—suggest matter for very grave consideration.'

Diagram Illustrating the History of the Consumption, Stock, and Price of Cotton, from the year 1834 to the present Time. By JOSEPH SPENCER, 105, Portland Street, Manchester.

Mr. Spencer has compiled, in a skilful, tabular, and diagrammatic way, the weekly statistics of the cotton market for forty-two years. His method is, on a large sheet with a graduated margin, and divided into small squares,—First, to state the American crop of cotton each year; Second, by certain lines and distinctive colours to register the sales made to spinners in Liverpool each week, in averages of six, thirteen, twenty-six, and fifty-two weeks respectively; Third, to indicate by lines like those in an isometrical map the number of weeks' stock of cotton in Liverpool at any given week; and Fourth, to give

the prices quoted for middling Orleans cotton in the 'Liverpool Cotton Brokers' Weekly Circular.' By this method every fluctuation of supply, consumption, and price is clearly shown, and the general course of the market strikes the eye at a glance, and imprints itself on the memory without taxing the brain, as statistics sometimes do. The labour of preparing such a diagram must have been immense, and could only have been achieved by one who had kept careful registers.

As a systematic, concise, and simple record of the course and progress of not the least important branch of our national trade, it will be interesting to all who seek such information in a compact, handy, and easily available form. The statistician and the student of economics will find its perusal very useful; but its convenience and value to all engaged in the cotton trade is simply incalculable.

Some curious facts stand out very prominently. The largest American crop was in 1859 to 1860, when the receipts at the ports of the United States were 4,676,000 bales; in 1870 to 1871 they were 4,256,000 bales; in 1874, 4,042,000 bales; in 1875 only 3,702,000 were received. The largest average sales to the trade were in the eighth week of 1872, when the six weeks' average was 82,000 bales per week; the thirteen weeks' average 75,200; the twenty-six weeks' average 68,500; and the fifty-two weeks' average, 63,200 bales per week. The fifty-two weeks' average ending in the first week of December, 1875, was only 58,017 bales per week. The largest stock, relatively to consumption, was on the twenty-seventh week in 1843, being forty-four-and-a-half weeks' supply; at the same period in 1875 it was only sixteen-and-three-quarter weeks' supply. The highest quotation for middling Orleans cotton was made in August, 1864, being 81½d. per lb. From that time it has fallen, with occasional, sometimes violent fluctuations, until now, in the beginning of December, 1875, the price stands at 7 3-16d. per lb. We commend the diagram to the study of all our readers whom its contents may concern.

Essays and Papers on some Fallacies of Statistics. By Dr. RAMSEY. Smith, Elder, and Co.

This book consists of sundry essays criticising rather severely the sanitary statistics published by the local government board. One axiom underlies the whole of them, and is everywhere assumed, namely, that the registration posts should be a strict preserve of the medical profession, and that all statistics collected by laymen are *ipso facto* valueless. Passing this professional prejudice by, the chief point which the writer appears to us to establish is, that in comparing the death-rate of manufacturing centres with agricultural districts, sufficient allowance is not made for the enormous disproportion of the infant population. This is often so great as to raise the death-rate of the crowded towns of Lancashire and Warwickshire far above that of the average country village, whilst really the con-

ditions of the former can be proved for each decade of human life to be more favourable than the latter. Indeed, Dr. Ramsey does appear to prove that the health and sanitary condition of our town populations are far better than would be generally expected.

On other points Dr. Ramsey does not realise the tendency arising from the complex conditions of social life around us, of contradictory errors to neutralise each other. Notwithstanding, this book deserves the careful consideration of all interested in the compilation or study of vital statistics.

The Universe ; or, the Infinitely Great and the Infinitely Little. By F. A. POUCHET, M.D. Third Edition. The Translation Revised. Illustrated by 270 Engravings on Wood. Blackie and Son.

We are glad to see this third and cheaper edition of Dr. Pouchet's interesting and able work. It is somewhat reduced in bulk and in illustrations, but it is not thereby lessened in either popular or instructive interest. Dr. Pouchet is a well-qualified interpreter of scientific discovery, and has admirable skill of elucidation and arrangement, as well as great power of eloquent exposition. There is just a touch of sensationalism in his descriptions, which is characteristic of his school and nation ; but the book is absorbing in its interest, and is one of those compendiums of the romance of natural history which are so popular with almost all classes of readers.

Disestablishment from a Church Point of View.

By WILLIAM GILBERT, author of 'Shirley Hall Asylum,' 'De Profundis,' &c. Tinsley Brothers.

We are not aware that Mr. Gilbert's book on Disestablishment has spread dismay among the bishops, or attracted special notice from the 'Guardian.' The 'John Bull' still goes placidly along, unruffled, and the 'Record' has only blinked. But a book may be good and true, and yet fail of its immediate practical object, when it deals with a matter of such magnitude and so rooted in vested interests as is the temporal and political element in the Church of England. And yet, to those who carefully read Mr. Gilbert's book, there may be some cause for surprise. When Mr. Matthew Arnold in his delicate and bantering fashion charges at Dissent, he unconsciously suggests more than one reason why the Church can ignore the arguments of Dissenters. But in Mr. Gilbert's case Mr. Matthew Arnold's arguments will not hold. Mr. Gilbert was brought up as a devout Churchman, is still a Churchman, and the very interesting autobiographic details he gives us show how little he is of a Philistine. There is so much of freshness in Mr. Gilbert's details, that it is surprising their literary interest did not compel more extended notice. As to the facts, they are familiar to us from of old. Mr. Gilbert's merit is that he states them in a new way, showing, that whilst things have so much improved in other respects, secret simony is still possible ; that if a Troutbeck

appropriation could scarcely be carried through now-a-days—i.e., the application of a charitable bequest to pay the debts of a vicious prince—devices that lead to no very different result are still sometimes had recourse to. We confess it is very depressing, when one thinks of the slow and subtle effect such things must have in sapping and undermining the belief among the lower orders in anything spiritual and Christian, to learn the relations of the Church to property of certain kinds—public-houses, and whole districts of houses of a yet worse order. There seems, however, to be no reason to doubt the genuineness of Mr. Gilbert's figures. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster and the Bishop of Winchester seem to have been specially remiss. Mr. Gilbert had himself particularly dealt with the Troutbeck case in his book 'Contrasts ;' his ostensible reason for recalling it here is because the perversion was carried out with the bench of bishops looking on. Mr. Gilbert firmly avows his conclusion that, 'taking into account the advance of morality and civilisation, there are as great vices at present existing in the Establishment as there were in the days of the Hertfords, the Lowthers, the Seftons, and others of the same stamp.' And to show that Mr. Gilbert is no wild bigot, but a reasonable, right-respecting Churchman, this may be quoted :— 'I consider that, either retaining the endowments or relinquishing them, the Church would be the gainer by disestablishment, and with that view alone would I advocate it. At the same time I am perfectly ready to admit that if any plan could be adopted, allowing the Church to retain her endowments, it would not only be an immense source of satisfaction to me, but to many thousand others. One point alone I would insist on—and that I trust would be considered equitable by the reader, of whatever denomination he may be—that existing life-interests ought strictly to be respected.'

So wholly sincere and straightforward are Mr. Gilbert's confessions of the way in which he was led to his present attitude, that we cannot refrain from making a short quotation. 'I assert, and truthfully,' he says, 'that I am actuated by no sectarian, political, or democratic motives, but solely by the belief that by releasing the Church from State patronage and control its pure doctrines would not only have greater scope to develop themselves, but that Christianity in general, and Protestant Christianity in particular, would be benefited by the change. This view of the subject, I should further state, has rather been forced upon me than sought for. In spite of my desire to close my eyes to the manifold abuses existing in the Establishment, they continued so pertinaciously to thrust themselves under my notice, that at length I was obliged to admit their existence, notwithstanding my ardent desire to remain in ignorance, or, at the best, to remain under the influence of that peculiar feeling which induces us to avoid, in all possible manners, the investigation of a subject where the results are

likely to be painful to us. . . . At length these abuses appeared so glaring that an irrepressible desire came over me personally to exert myself in aid of those wishing to obtain its separation. But then, again, a terrible difficulty arose before me. Notwithstanding all my efforts, I could not obliterate from my mind the impression that I was deserting a cause to which I had hitherto been faithful, and I feared lest by so doing I might commit an unworthy action. Again, I feared that I might offend many of my clerical friends, whom I hold in the highest estimation.'

There is something deeply pathetic in the struggle here indicated with which every man must sympathise: a dutiful, honest, straightforwardness, which is but too seldom manifest in controversy. All can appreciate this; and those who wish to see the various facts and figures which, slowly accumulating before Mr. Gilbert's eyes, forced him to break with old opinions and feelings, must betake themselves to this book, which is as accurate and methodic as it is high-minded and regardful of other men's sentiments and reverences.

MR. LEO GRINDON's thoughtful and yet popular book on *Life, its Nature, Varieties, and Phenomena* (F. Pitman), in which the observation of the naturalist is combined with the thoughtfulness of philosophy, the sentiment of poetry, and the devoutness of religion, in a natural and interesting way, has reached its fourth edition.

POETRY, FICTION, AND BELLES-LETTRES.

The Inn Album. By ROBERT BROWNING. Smith, Elder, and Co.

The necessity which seems to be laid on Mr. Browning to use his characters as mere mediums for his own reflections, appears to us to limit, in certain directions, his rights as to choice of subject. It is almost susceptible of demonstration that even where his characters are most superficially discriminated from what we may assume to be the author's personal traits, they are yet mere transparencies through which his light shines with a certain sub-consciousness on his part that the very contact and contrast of suddenly-shifting colours may produce a peculiar grotesquerie of effect. Even in the case of Pompilia, in 'The Ring and the Book,' do we not feel that the innocence which in her is so mingled with occasional quaint depth of suggestion, is in no sense Italian, but is rather English, and, indeed, in one sense provincial, and provincial in an order that might be said to belong to Mr. Browning alone of all our great poetic writers. It is not insignificant, but far otherwise, that in 'The Inn Album' Mr. Browning does not feel it necessary even to discriminate his characters to the cursory intelligence of the reader by so much as distinctly naming them. Mr. Browning's artis-

tic determinations are certainly seen here in very forcible manner. Throughout all, the interest to those who read in the true mood is Robert Browning; precisely as, to follow up a former figure, we do not care for the figures on the dull canvas when the light is removed from behind it. Now, of course, it is evident that a great temptation rests with a grotesque, whimsical, self-quizzing genius such as this to choose mediums which shall allow it to triumph to the greatest extent by the direct show of contrast between the characteristics of writer and dramatic medium. The sense of delight in a new effect may justify to him what can hardly be so justified in the sense of the ordinary reader. He is, in fact, bent on experiment of a special kind, and should reserve his appearance till he has completed it, and can show it in relation to practical and healthy laws of use and emotion. Our greatest dramatic writers, Marlowe, Ben Jonson, Shakespeare, had, no doubt, all passed through *something* of the process which has been carried to such an extent by Mr. Browning, but they soon found correctors from two sides. First, the need of balance in the range of character itself in order to attain dramatic unity; and, secondly, the necessity of meeting the immediate demands of a mixed audience for *moral* impression; and these two demands have been the more directly felt the greater the dramatic genius—Shakespeare first, then Jonson, and then Marlowe, *sed longo intervallo*! Wherever man can be at all interested in situation and incident as founded, however remotely, on the relation and development of human character, there, too, you find a hunger for moral proportion. It is thus that the mixture of unnaturalness and high morality in the lower-class drama is to be accounted for. In this necessity, too, lies a certain safety to society from stage-pieces not otherwise to be recommended. Now, Mr. Browning has submitted to neither of these laws; he has, in fact, directly defied them both; and, though it may seem ungrateful to say it, it is true that our safety from him, as well as from the low class stagewright, lies, if not in precisely the same direction, yet in the operation of the same law, working reversely. 'The Inn Album' will not be read save by those who have the corrective within themselves, who are, so to say, intellectually *curious*, and can take delight in artistic experiment as such. Mr. Browning's course has been a gradual departure, work by work, from simplicity of *motif*, so far as it bears, or can bear, on faithful development of character in dramatic relation; so that, as we shall show, it is in no sense correct to say, as the 'Athenæum' has so short-sightedly said, that in 'The Inn Album' he has returned to his first manner. In his earliest stage Mr. Browning mainly contented himself with what were on the face of them separate studies—portraits, self-painted we may say, and in these there was little attempt at exhibiting the character in action and in relation to others. If there was hint of this it was accidental and sugges-

tive, merely taking on the tint of the self-narrator's mind, and conveying subtly at the same moment Mr. Browning's commentary on the action and its effect on the subject. In 'The Ring and the Book,' where the attempt was made to unite this peculiar method of self-revelment with something of variety and action, the moral unity was so far maintained by Pompilia, whose presence, in spite of special criticisms upon it such as we have suggested, remains the great justification for that work; with its repulsive yet patient analysis of the workings of the human mind in one of its morbid phases. In 'The Inn Album' Mr. Browning has given us a work of the same order, but *without the Pompilia*, and to us it seems that even his great genius, his curious mode of lighting up and relieving, without sense of disharmony, the dark corners of the human mind, and his almost unique power of sympathetic self-drawal from the obscurer moods of the character portrayed, has failed, *absolutely* failed, in justifying itself effectually in this work. He has, we admit, managed to make plain to the reader the leading incidents as he goes along, but he has not made the motives of his characters clear, consistent, and comprehensible to us in their actions; while, at the same time, by choosing types which belong so emphatically to the present day, he tempts us at every point to appeal to our daily experience. 'The Inn Album' is thus in no sense a return to his first manner, in which the great point—a justification of motive and action to the narrator's own mind—was prominent. We, therefore, regard it as retrograde and perverted; and can only honestly say that those in influential positions who fail to perceive and appreciate the points we have dwelt on, will by-and-by, if they should persevere in their practice, become as great puzzles to us as Mr. Browning when he tried, with no superficial change of style, to make a poem—a lyric-dramatic poem—out of the wholly exceptional and untoward materials of an old hardened rake, who had seduced a certain woman; a younger rake, who had loved her; the woman who had been seduced, but comfortably married; an unexpected meeting of the three in an inn parlour; an insult suddenly tendered to the woman; a murder in defence of her; and a suicide by poisoning, without one single relieving, not to say moralising element. For this is simply what 'The Inn Album' is—this and nothing less nor more than this—and it will remain to future times as a monument at once to the subtlety and the short-sighted perversity of our great dramatic genius of the nineteenth century. It would not be grateful work to epitomise the story of the poem; for, put it as you will, it could not come out otherwise than as an imitation of a very bad and sensational paragraph in the 'Police News.' But this is the less to be regretted as the newspapers have already made most readers acquainted with the poem thus far. It will suit our purpose better to do justice to Mr. Browning by saying that, personally, we have found much in separate passages of the poem

to admire and ponder over. Our main criticism lies deeper, has reference to initial conception and dramatic law. In fairness we may refer to one or two passages which we have read with no little pleasure. The description of the inn parlour, for example, is full of power—not a touch but has its effect; and the dingy shabbiness of the whole interior is deepened by a fine stroke of landscape painting, which is instinct with Mr. Browning's genius, though two lines strangely recall a touch in one other poem, of which Mr. Browning might well have been thinking:—

'The younger personage
Draws sharp the shrieking curtain, sends aloft
The sash, spreads wide and fastens back to wall
Shutter and shutter, shows you England's best.
He leans into a living glory-bath
Of air and light where seems to float and move
The wooded watered country, hill and dale,
And steel-bright thread of stream, a-smoke with
mist,
A-sparkle with May morning, diamond drift
O' the sun-touched dew. Except the red-roofed
patch
Of half-a-dozen dwellings that, crept close
For hill-side shelter, make the village clump,
This inn is perched above to dominate—
Except such sign of human neighbourhood,
And this surmised rather than sensible,
There's nothing to disturb absolute peace,
The reign of English nature—which means art
And civilised existence. Wildness' self
Is just the cultured triumph. Presently
Deep solitude, be sure, reveals a Place
That knows the right way to defend itself:
Silence hems round a burning spot of life.'

As specimens of the manner in which Mr. Browning can delicately clothe exceptional traits in familiar surprises of words, and of the incisive, acid-biting way in which he can communicate the man by a sort of aside, we give two little sniffs. The older aristocratic rake, who has been initiating his millionaire snob-companion into the 'ways of life,' thus disclaims merit in his teachings:—

'The fact is—you do compliment too much
Your humble master, as I own I am;
You owe me no such thanks as you protest.
The polisher needs precious stone no less
Than precious stone needs polisher: believe
I struck no tint from out you but I found
Snug lying first 'neath surface hair-breadth
deep!
Beside, I liked the exercise: with skill
Goes love to show skill for skill's sake. You see
I'm old and understand things: too absurd
It were you pitched and tossed away your life,
As diamond were Scotch pebble! all the more,
That I myself misused a stone of price.
Born and bred clever—people used to say
Clever as most men, if not something more—
Yet here I stand a failure, cut avry
Or left opaque,—no brilliant named and known.
Whate'er my inner stuff, my outside's blank.'

The lady's answer to her former lover, after he has addressed her in a vein of the most forcible but improbable rhetoric—wholly untrue to the man into whose mouth it is put—the lady, in the course of her reply, urges:—

'Your entry broke
 Illusion, bade me back to bounds at once.
 I honestly submit my soul; which sprang
 At love, and losing love lies real and sealed
 "Failure." No love more? Then no beauty
 more

Which tends to breed love! Purify my powers,
 Effortless till some other world procure
 Some other chance of prize! or, if none be,—
 Nor second world nor chance,—undecorate,
 Die then this aftergrowth of heart, surmised
 Where May's precipitation left June blank!
 Better have failed in the high aim, as I,
 Than vulgarly in the low aim succeed
 As, God be thanked, I do not! Ugliness
 Had I called beauty, falsehood—truth, and you
 My lover! No—this earth's unchanged for me,
 By his enchantment whom God made the Prince
 Of the Power of the Air, into a Heaven: there is
 Heaven, since there is Heaven's simulation—
 earth:

I sit possessed in patience; prison roof
 Shall break one day, and Heaven beam over-
 head!

Such is 'The Inn Album,' such our impression of it. It is full of rare and penetrating power, which flows out here and there into passages instinct with genius of the highest order. But separate passages do not make a dramatic poem. It is vicious in conception, and exaggerates to excess many of the author's former errors; it is now rugged and now so unnecessarily coarse, and even vulgar, that to all save students of literature, whose duty it is to read and to study morbid developments and their relations to literature, we say, pass 'The Inn Album' by, and devote yourself to what is purer, or, at any rate, broader and healthier in its mode of dealing with the vice and folly of real life and their issues.

Guido and Lita: a Tale of the Riviera. By the Right Hon. the Marquis of LORNE. Macmillan.

The Marquis of Lorne shows so much of taste and true poetic fervour that we are very reluctant to say that his poem fails to reach the point which but a *little* patience and reserve on his part might have secured it. Yet such must be said. He has found a good subject, sufficiently remote to admit of romantic incident, and yet sufficiently stirring to give opening for the dash and movement which we most readily associate with the heroic couplet. And when he is describing action pure and simple, or looking at nature, he does well: it is when he pauses, turns round, reflects, and wishes to say fine things after the modern manner, that he fails. Then he becomes artificial, involved, burdened by phrases and words with which the measure will scarcely consort. The Christians of the Riviera are harassed by the Moors, but there has been a pause in the conflict, and Guido, the son of Count William of Orles (Arles), falls so far a victim to the 'piping times of peace' as to become a 'fop,' to the grief of his brave old father, who, as they are on the way to a tournament, tries to stir the man in him. As they return, they are caught in a storm, and

seek shelter in a fisherman's hut, where Guido sees and falls in love with Lita, the fisherman's daughter. He sees her again, and then she tries to avoid him, and finally extracts from him a promise not to meet her again for a year and a day. War meanwhile breaks out, and Lita is carried prisoner, and as this fact is one reason why Guido goes so readily in pursuit of the Moors, it is to be inferred that the poet means to show how true love can cast out the fop and make the brave man. Lita escapes, comes back, and acts the part of a Maid of Saragossa, attending to old Count William's wounds when he falls in a sortie. At this point Guido returns, to hear her commended by his father, and the poem closes amid a peal of marriage bells. From this bare outline of the fable, it is seen at once that there was great scope for spirited treatment, and certainly Lord Lorne has written some exquisite passages: the pity is that he was not more self-severe. Not to speak of several instances of inexcusable cockney rhymes, unallowable inversions, transposed accent, and quadruple rhymes, he is guilty of whole passages which will not scan truly—in one instance, at least, dropping a whole foot from one line, to tack it on to the next. Then to employ such phrases as 'subtly wrought for death,' as applied to flame, is quite beyond the limit in such verse. Yet so many are the finished, musical, and quotable bits, that we half feel we have done wrong to write as we have done. This, for instance, is good:—

'Sail, set all sail, we'll gain upon them fast,
 The canvas curtsies to the creaking mast:
 A mightier power than human will may yield
 Compels her onward o'er the sapphire field.'

And this:—

'The wind increases; the flotilla, strown
 Far o'er the sea, is tossed apart, and thrown
 From swelling ridges, whence the world is seen,
 To lonely hollows walled with waters green.'

That description, too, of Lita asleep in the castle of the Moor, Moslem-el-Sirad, is, on the whole, musical and good; but poetic work of the highest order should be equally perfect in all its parts, and this is decidedly what the most favourable criticism cannot say of Lord Lorne's poem, though we add that a little more of conscientious labour of the file might even yet make this a very powerful poem.

Jonas Fisher. A Poem, in Brown and White. Trübner and Co.

The somewhat enigmatical character of the title of this poem becomes plain enough in the reading. Jonas Fisher is a man who has escaped from the devouring jaws of vicious and sinful habit, and has become not only a believer, but an earnest worker—a volunteer home missionary. In vigorous verse he explores the slums, and describes the sights he has seen, and also the friends his work has brought him into contact with. The chief of these are Mr. Sullivan, a Christian Irishman, and Mr. Augustus Grace. The latter is a

man of thorough benevolence, always ready to aid; his purse, in fact, being at Jonas's disposal. But he is apt to criticise dogmas very freely, and now and then he lapses into utterly rationalistic positions, tempered always, however, by charity of the broadest, and by high aspirations. He is, in a word, a fearless seeker of truth; though he has little reverence for symbols as such, he sees their value as insignia under which to march and round which to rally. While he is very frank in conversing with Jonas on religious, social, and political topics, he shows himself every inch a humorist, and a satirist of no mean order. On such questions as cremation, marriage with a deceased wife's sister, cliquish criticism, prurient art, and a hundred others, he is not only clear, but original, and supremely suggestive. It can easily be conceived, from what we have said, that many will find here not a little from which to dissent; but we hazard the assertion that, having begun to read the book, they will read on; for incident of the most striking, touching, and realistic character is occasionally combined with the discussions of which we have spoken. The spirit of the book is thoroughly Protestant—Romanism and Ritualism being both dealt with in the cleverest and most dashing manner; so decisively, indeed, is much in the former declared to be simply Pagan—'the Babylonian lurking below' the Christian—that we should not by any means be surprised to hear that the book has been honoured by entry in the *Index*. However severe and satiric the author may be, he always shows a very tender regard for the poor and suffering, and very gladly should we have quoted, had we had space, the striking passage in which he pleads for covered spaces and plenteous supply of seats in London parks, &c., in a style which, for mingled seriousness and rattling humour, would have delighted the late Sir Arthur Helps. There is so much in the book that appeals to the temper of the present day, that we have no doubt it will be widely talked of; and if its stern realism and pathetic force should lead to access of interest in the disregarded poor, one object of the writer will no doubt be realised. And let it be said that, though in the form of poetry, many valuable hints may be found here as to the best modes of dealing with that class; for if, as the author says, one incident repeats itself among them, the great lessons to be gathered are everywhere the same. Every page, with its powerful pictures, its smart characterisations, its satiric point, and finished phrasing, would offer valuable morsels for quotation.

'In dangerous paths, a blind belief
Goes safer than a blinking doubt.'

'Who makes men slaves to make them good,
Casts devils out by Beelzebub.'

"'Life's ship of fools,"
Tho' captainless, is manned by skippers.'

But we feel we have failed to give any idea of the large scope, the power, the insight,

and the minglement of stern and almost coarse realism, with a controlling mysticism, which we find here. It bears the mark of decisive power, and though it stirs many hard questions and may excite prejudices, we feel sure that it will do good by stimulating independent judgment on the greatest subjects.

Nero. By W. W. STORY. Blackwood and Sons.

How far is the whitewashing of historical characters to be carried? That is not an inapt question to-day, when so many of the old notions as to certain landmarks of judgment are being overturned. We remember well Mr. Lewes's defence of Nero, which was very ingenious indeed; but we carried our own antidote with us in that case, and could argue back on Mr. Lewes's own ground. But when a man of genius can find sympathetic approaches such as to justify him in elevating a 'proscribed character' like Nero to dramatic proportions, and treating him at length and in a kind of isolated elevation—able, in a word, to interest us in him; that is, to find some ground of real humanity, after all escaping round and beyond the accepted picture, and so redeeming it from the unrelieved blackness of purely historical portraiture—we cannot help being possessed by a certain unrest, as if the old firm ground of fact were tottering under us. Now, notwithstanding that Mr. Story, thus far possessed by the influence of Robert Browning, has succeeded in gaining a certain psychologic unity by a very arbitrary selection of scenes and pictures, he has failed, both in reconciling dramatic proportion with the ineffaceable lines of history, and in recalling the Rome of Nero's day. His characters are, after all, little more than names for men and women of our time, as far from Roman as well could be. His labelling is half his art. He has skilfully found a relief by tracing out the gradual inrush of evil into Nero through his yielding to it, until, finally, the brain, corrupted and weakened under vicious indulgence, loses balance, and insanity becomes the only apology for actions such as all humanity abhors, and only abhors. And thus, unfortunately, Mr. Story disturbs the totality of impression by raising in our minds the very question which has recently come to the front by the decisions of certain judges in respect of responsibility for actions performed under insanity directly induced by vicious tendency and practice. It is difficult to draw the line; but in the view of art, it is almost clear that Nero's proclivities were from the first so unrelieved that, to gain the necessary sympathy to start with for high dramatic purposes, you must give us, 'not Nero, but another.' Why, this fine passage over Poppæa dead—fine, truly fine, artistically, as a relieving element—does it not make us smile somehow when we realise that it is from the mouth of Nero?—

Nero. 'Yes, she is beautiful! How still she lies!

How perfect in her calm! No more distress,
No agitations more; no joy—no pain.
I'll keep her as she is. Fire shall not burn

*That lovely shape ; but it shall sleep embalmed—
Thus—thus for ever in the Julian tomb.
And she shall be enrolled among the gods.
A splendid temple shall be raised to her,
A public funeral be hers, and I
The funeral eulogy myself will speak :—
And this is all. She never will come back—
Never will smile—never will sing again.
Pity—oh, what a pity—Xenophon !
See to it that she be embalmed, I say,
And all her beauty kept just as it is.
There, my Poppæa, sleep—*

Look, Xenophon,

I thought she smiled and moved ! You're sure
she's dead ?

How consistent it is that Shakespeare—and here we enter into no discussion on points recently raised—should be so careful dramatically to emphasise at the outset the good and noble points in Macbeth, he who was to lapse into the traitor, the regicide, the common murderer and hirer of assassins, and, worse than all, the 'lily-livered coward,' in the running from Macduff after that first pass of arms at the close. Now, Mr. Story has tried to follow, but ineffectually; history is too assured. But when we say this, we do not fail to admire the evident artistic conception, the faculty of fixing the imagination on the assumed essential characteristic, and maintaining it throughout, especially as seen in Poppæa. That, too, is a fine touch in the love of Sporus for his master.

Moses ; a Drama in Five Acts. By E. CARPENTER, M.A., Author of 'Narcissus' and other poems. E. Moxon and Sons.

Mr. Carpenter's drama opens with the arrival of the people at Sinai. The disaffection of Aaron, Miriam, and Korah runs through it, until Korah meets his doom. Mr. Carpenter, however, has taken unwarrantable liberties with the narrative of the fate of Korah, who is represented as simply falling by the sword in civil strife, the opening earth being only the graves dug for them. So also with the narrative of the death of Aaron. Moses is represented as being told of it, and as directing his burial on Mount Hor. Both narratives are too explicit for such a rendering. The poem contains some passages of genuine poetry, and also lines that it would be very difficult to scan, e.g., in the idolatrous song of the people:—

'But lead us forth by meadow and rivulet.'

We do not say that Mr. Carpenter should not sing : his note is too distinct to be thus banned ; but Carlyle's axiom will come to our thought, not to sing what can be better said. We have, however, read Mr. Carpenter's drama through : we cannot, perhaps, give a better assurance that it does contain some good poetry.

Tennyson's Works. Author's Edition. Vols. III., IV., V. Henry S. King and Co.

These volumes complete Messrs. King's new library edition of Tennyson. They contain
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B—8

'The Idylls of the King,' 'The Princess and Maud,' 'Enoch Arden,' and 'In Memoriam.' We must accept them as containing, we trust, the final arrangements and revisions of the author. We say we trust, because there is a point when artistic finish passes into fastidiousness, and the congruous forms of creative impulse are superseded by bits put on, which are not always improvements. A poet who turns out his work so deliberately cast and delicately finished as Tennyson does, may well let it remain, and not only resist, but suspect the disturbing impulse which urges the *labor limæ* in hope of a nearer approach to his ideal. We do not say that the minute touches which this last edition contains are not improvements. For the most part they are. But we think they are hardly improvements so great as to compensate for their disturbance of accepted forms.

The arrangement is different, especially in the Idylls. It is fitting, and for the advantage of both the work and the reader, that the poet should dispose the productions of different periods, some of them separated by a generation, in their symmetrical and sequential order. The edition is an elegant one, not so sumptuous as Mr. Strahan's six-volume library edition, but as legible and pleasant to read, and of course superior to that in its revision. It is a satisfactory proof of culture and taste that so many editions of a poet so pure and refined should be in demand.

St. George and St. Michael. By GEORGE MACDONALD, Author of 'Malcolm,' 'David Elginbrod,' &c. In Three Vols. Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. George MacDonald has in this novel more than regained the ground he seemed to us to have lost in some of his recent efforts. 'Malcolm' was not only somewhat doubtful in construction, but its plot rested on relations that imparted a secret dissatisfaction, which the reader could ill get rid of even when, towards the close, they were fully revealed ; and certainly the 'Vicar's Daughter' was in many points weak and mawkish. Here he is throughout simple, pure, and strong, and, as always when he is at his best, his work is suffused with high lesson, here very properly and very powerfully kept in tone with the colour and progress of the story. 'St. George and St. Michael' seems at first sight rather a far-fetched title, but nothing could be more faithful and expressive of the period of the characters here depicted—St. George, for the gaiety and dash of the Cavaliers ; St. Michael, for the belief and devotion of the Roundheads—the Cromwell men ; and this is the England to which Mr. MacDonald vividly transports us. Here his fine instinct for gathering up personal or class traits, or even larger tendencies, from minor touches and passing references in literature, as a magnet passing through steel filings, stands him in right good stead ; and all the culture, the sincerity, the fire, the varying motives that drew enemies closer together, or divided for life those who had been bosom

friends, are presented to us with the hand of a master. A bit of song most naturally interjected, or a seemingly unimportant quotation aptly set, gives us a faithful glimpse into the days of the Revolution; and the quaint odour of some of the old phrases—for the form of speech in those days is faithfully but not slavishly imitated—is such as not only to delight the artistic sense, but to impart to Mr. MacDonald's book a high historical and philological value. This last is of course but a secondary matter, and most readers will find interest here, and never think of these things. What a fragrance of truth and sweetness there is about the heroine, Mistress Dorothy Vaughan, who cannot part with her Royalist sentiments and sympathies, even to gratify her love for Richard Heywood, the playmate of her childhood, who is, of course, a Puritan and a soldier. They are therefore driven apart by the stress of the times; and yet, through it all, they deeply influence each other.

The actual outburst of war, like a stormy wind driving the leaves before it, sunders them, and Dorothy seeks shelter in the castle of Royalist friends, the Herberts. Well read and old-fashioned, she furnishes a subject of anxious but rewardful interest to that impulsive Irishwoman, second wife to the Marquis of Worcester, whose son's name is inseparably connected with the steam-engine; and though Mr. MacDonald secures her presence by a slight anachronism, it is more than justified by the element of interest which her appearance imparts to the story. Some of the talk between Lord Herbert and his wife is extremely true, ingenious, graceful, and never drifts very far from the real line of the story. To find out by what gracious means Mr. MacDonald contrives the *dénouement*, carrying the reader's sympathies with him, as he reveals the very heart of that stirring portion of our history, our readers must go to the book itself, the least of whose merits is that it is written with a poetic grace and beauty to which Scott himself did not attain, whatever his merits in other directions. We trust this is but the beginning of much successful work of this kind from the same honoured hand.

My Love she's but a Lassie. By the Author of 'Queenie.' Three Vols. Hurst and Blackett.

The author of 'Queenie' has, in her new novel, made a great advance in maturity, dramatic presentation, and movement. Her obvious carefulness and faculty of growth are good augury for a series of novels that will give her a high place among her somewhat numerous sisterhood. Walter Huntly, the hero, has nothing about him that is very distinctive. He is a type of the staid, strong, somewhat mature military man, of which lady novel writers are very fond. It seems to be an accepted maxim, of which Lytton was one of the first apostles, that the ideal of love-making is to be found in a disparity of years ranging from ten to thirty. We are not precisely told how old Huntly is,

but he is a captain in one of her Majesty's regiments, who has been a long time in India, and Mabel is only sixteen. We confess that we like a more equal pairing of young things, and feel a kind of relief when committed to an engagement in which the difference is not more than three or four years. Mabel is a very distinct and clever creation. Her development under the special conditions—a senile father who has become the victim and husband of an intriguing and wicked French governess, and a sedate lover like Huntly, together with the plot against her property, and ultimately against her life—is natural and powerful. The secondary loves of her half-sister Maud and Colonel Cust are also well wrought into the story, and their respective characters are well individualised and conceived. Our complaint of 'Queenie,' that it somewhat lacked movement, does not apply to the novel before us; but the action occasionally verges on the melodramatic, as, for example, in the imprisonment and escape at Brussels, and the meeting on board the *Star of Columbia*. Both, however, are portrayed with great accuracy of description and considerable dramatic power. There would, however, be greater strength in the evolution of the plot through more likely and ordinary processes. Shipwrecks, murders, and sudden deaths are the fair properties of the novelist, but the use of them should be dominated by the probabilities of ordinary life; and there is defect where half-a-dozen extraordinary events must concur to work out the desired issue. We give to this novel, however, a very strong word of commendation. It is vigorously written and well wrought out; it is inlaid with thoughtful observation; and, what is by no means a common thing, is written in excellent English.

John Holdsworth, Chief Mate. A Story. Three Vols. Sampson Low, Marston, and Co.

John Holdsworth is a story of the Enoch Arden type. The hero is chief mate of the good ship *Meteor*, and next voyage is to be captain. He has been but three months married when he sails for America. The ship is lost, and he and eight others are ten days exposed in a boat, every conceivable horror and hardship being experienced. One by one seven of the miserable little company perish, and on the tenth day the boat is seen by an Australian-bound clipper. Holdsworth is found unconscious, and his sole remaining companion dead. The narrative of the shipwreck and of the sufferings of the boat's crew is drawn out to great length, and is almost horrible in its detail of endurance. The chief effect upon Holdsworth is that his memory becomes a blank. He cannot remember his own name or anything whatever of his past life. A kind-hearted Sydney merchant on board nurses him and takes him into his own office. After five years he comes to England, his memory still a blank, save as things that he sees restore it. Of course he

finds his way by a series of accidents to South-bourne where he had left his wife, who after two or three years of supposed widowhood had in sheer physical necessity married a dentist who turns out a drunkard. Holdsworth is so changed by suffering that he cannot be recognised. He takes lodging in the street where his wife lives, gets acquainted with his own little girl, but heroically keeps his secret until the drunken dentist gets drowned. The story is well told. The nautical descriptions are minute, and we suppose faithful. There is a good deal of pathos in the story of the shipwreck and the sorrow of Holdsworth, only the prolongation of it urges the pathos into the horribly painful. A little more invention, somewhat modifying the often-depicted situations, would have redeemed the story from traditional commonplace.

With Harp and Crown. A Novel. By the Authors of 'Ready Money Mortiboy.' Tinsley Brothers.

Readers of 'Ready Money Mortiboy' will expect from its authors a clever realistic novel, combining somewhat of the typical description of low and fast life which abounds in Dickens, with somewhat of the caustic and yet good-humoured moralising of Thackeray, together with the genial sympathy with the Bohemian weaknesses and miseries which they describe. The strength of the novel unquestionably lies in its typical oddities of Bohemian life. Chauncy Chocomb, his cousin Dr. Joe, Mr. Rhyl Owen the schoolmaster, Dick Carew the *littérateur*, Hermann the picture-dealer, Mrs. Spenser and Rickety Jem, Fred Revel, Mrs. Chocomb, the Hermit, all are Bohemians of various types, and the chief interest and strength of the writers have been lavished upon them. They are all drawn with great cleverness, and with the sympathetic eye that intuitively sees the soul of good in things that are evil. The redeeming qualities of Joe Chocomb, Dick Carew, and Fred Revel are as true to life as their recognition is human and benevolent. The writers tell us that their moral is the beneficial effect upon human virtue of prosperity, and their chief type of it is Joe Chocomb. It fails however in Gerald, whose transient love is hardly perhaps so true to human nature, considering the early delineation of him, and is terribly cruel to Marion, the very noble heroine of the story. The power of pathos of the writers is brought out in the death of Rickety Jem and the end of Mrs. Spenser, in which again we are forcibly reminded of Dickens. The story is an able and a wholesome one, and is written with a good deal of artistic skill.

This Indenture Witnesseth. By Mrs. ALFRED W. HUNT, Author of 'Under Seal of Confession,' &c. In Three Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

This is a readable and satisfactory novel. The somewhat fanciful title refers to a curious love-making scene introduced early in the first volume, when Brian Templemore and Audrey Wentworth, who are desperately in

love with each other—but from prudential reasons abstain from telling each other the fact—divide into two a piece of parchment, which contains, we suppose, the words, 'This indenture witnesseth,' written twice over. Upon these precious morsels they write their respective names, and give mutual promises each to forward the fragment to the other within three weeks or a month of a projected marriage. This scene occurs at the Cape, on the evening of Audrey's departure with her brother for England, and Brian Templemore's joining his regiment in the Kaffir wars. The latter had become interesting to Audrey at a ball given to the officers of the *Britomart* just before the terrible and glorious catastrophe with which that vessel is identified. He was, moreover, one of the very few men saved from the wreck. When Audrey and her brother reach England, they find that a large fortune and estate, on which they had been led to count, had utterly disappeared in the failure of a bank, and that they were penniless. Dudley Wentworth, however, has the good fortune to discover a wealthy relative in the cathedral town adjoining his now bankrupt estate, a gentleman tradesman, who offers him a place in his business, and consents to buy the estate, reserving to Dudley the power of redeeming it at a future time. But the altered condition of the poverty-stricken Wentworths eats into the selfish and grasping nature of Dudley, and has a depressing social effect upon both brother and sister. There is much clever satire on the laws of English *casté*; while the harshness, meanness, and absurdity of them are admirably portrayed. Among other consequences, when Brian Templemore returns home to the very neighbourhood where the Wentworths are residing, his love for Audrey cools. Weak and impressionable, he does enough to keep the flame of love burning in the heart of poor Audrey, though he has not the manliness to do more. He complicates matters by renewing a shameful flirtation with a servant-girl, and even gives to her the locket containing his portion of 'the indenture.' Other lovers approach Audrey and try to win her heart, and her brother basely deceives her as to some change in the feelings of Templemore. Here the story becomes far too intricate to be described, and rushes on from incident to incident with amazing rapidity, and even brilliance. Foreign travel, terrible surprises, changes of fortune, elopements and death scenes; Corsican *piagnoni*, and most cleverly-contrived events, which, wonderful enough in all conscience, yet never verge on the perfectly improbable, rivet the attention, and ring out the grand but too faultless character of the ultimately successful lover of Audrey as well as the delicately blended elements of good and evil in the manhood of Brian Templemore. The remarkable spinsters who appear as *dear ex-machina* do their part well, and the character-painting all round is above the average. The novel deserves high praise for its spotless purity, its sound sense, and the vigour and originality of many of its conceptions.

The Evil Eye, and other Stories. By KATHERINE S. MACQUOID, Author of 'Patty,' &c. Chatto and Windus.

Mrs. Macquoid in her 'Through Normandy' seriously committed herself to the idea that a Normandy market-place is the most delightful of resorts, knowing neither loud tongues nor bad odours. She was never tired of celebrating the taste of the market-women and their mode of arranging their stocks, and now she gives her fancy full flight, and weaves romances round the Normandy market-places; and, sooth to say, she does it in a very sprightly way. 'Marie Famette' is really well told, and is full of close study of character. The manner in which Marie's love of admiration leads her to encourage the attentions of Nicholas Marias, while she really loves Léon Roussell, is described with no little effect. When Léon seems cold she is miserable, and more miserable still when gossip carries to her the news that he is to wed Elise Lesage. She falls ill, and does not appear at market, and when, on attempting her ordinary work, she finds it needful to take a 'lift home,' it is providential that she overhears Léon deny the truth of the rumour. Explanations soon follow, and all winds up happily. The worst of it is, that all the stories deal with Normandy life, and are all so very much alike, that having read a couple of them, you feel that the others are little more than variations. 'The Evil Eye,' which gives the title to the volume, is not nearly so good, in point of literary execution, as some of the others. The close of 'Berthe's Wedding Day,' which is one of the best, is, indeed, deeply pathetic; and it is a pity that a little more of the feeling was not thrown into some of the other stories. We should not omit to say that one or two of the woodcuts in illustration are executed with real skill, and do—what woodcuts nowadays so often fail to do—really illustrate and aid Mrs. Macquoid's ideas. We close by repeating that there is always something sparkling about Mrs. Macquoid's style, and that were it not for the 'passion of production' which has got hold of her, we might well look for work of a very high class from her hand; but it seems that she has far too much yielded herself to the necessity of working out her every view, of which this present volume is a notable example.

Sherborne; or, the House at the Four Ways.

By EDWARD HENEAGE DERING. Three Vols. Smith, Elder, and Co.

'Sherborne' is about as turgid and repulsive a book as we have recently come across. It is a novel in form, but it is a polemic in purpose. The interests of the Pope are more vividly present to the writer than those of his characters. The plot turns upon the existence of a mysterious will and a missing heir. There is a profusion of interlocutors, and a good deal of sensational incidents, with sundry marriages as the resolution of the whole; but the conversations are slangy and vicious, although not without smartness and

strength. The book, however, is most difficult reading, one feels as if one's ears were being perpetually boxed.

Mr. Dering's zeal for the Pope is surely that of a pervert, and is utterly destitute of both wisdom and reason. Everything pertaining to Popery is æsthetically beautiful, metaphysically true, and morally and religiously good; while the opposite qualities characterise every form of Protestant life. Even its girls are neither beautiful nor pure. Mr. Dering's dogmatism is fanaticism, pure and simple, his judgments are wilfully blind, and his vituperations would have stood a good chance against O'Connell himself. He mistakes if he thinks any cause can be served by such unscrupulous violence as this. If he would learn how to write novels that, without polemics, may really make the worse appear the better reason, let him study those of Mrs. Augusta Craven. If he wishes to help Protestantism against its old foe, by all means let him multiply books like this.

Dear Lady Disdain. By JUSTIN MCCARTHY. Grant and Co.

We have only good to speak of Mr. McCarthy's new novel. We have scarcely met in it with a sentence or an incident to jar upon the pure artistic pleasure which its perusal has given us. There is a refined chasteness in style, delineation in character, and good taste in dialogue, which it is really refreshing to meet with in the multitude of slip-slop and extravagant novels which have to be looked through. We have not often met with more skilful characterisation than the contrast in the development of passion in Christmas and Marie; the mixed elements in Sir John Challoner and Ronald Vidal; or the delicacy with which Marie's disillusion about her father are managed. Dione Lyle, too, is an exceedingly refined and well-drawn character. A very keen perception, as well as very generous sympathies, is also evinced in the portraits of Natty Cramp, the enthusiastic and aspiring hairdresser; and in Isabel Jansen, the women's rights lecturer. Mrs. Seagraves, the patroness of the friends of humanity, with her semi-Mrs.-Malaprop blunders and revocations, is, perhaps, the most distinctive and successful character in the book. All the characters, however, are most admirably drawn. The Legitimist captain is almost as good as his sister. Every character is distinct and fresh, and is congruous to the end, and the scenes, both English and American, are delineated with great knowledge and skill. There are of course the usual improbabilities—not so much of incidents as of their fortuitous concurrence—without which characters could not be brought together in novels get written; and one gets a little impatient with the dulness of Christmas in the last great scene in the library, although the frank and even bold modesty of Marie is admirably in keeping, and is true to the character of a true earnest woman such as she was. Perhaps, too, some things do not get done so fast as they should. But, altho

gether, we very earnestly commend Mr. McCarthy's story as one of the most artistic in its quiet, bright way, and one of the most wholesome of the novels of the year.

Throstlethwaite. By SUSAN MORLEY, Author of 'Aileen Ferrers.' Henry S. King and Co.

'Throstlethwaite' is very pleasant to read. It is written in a style that is simple, pure, and level. The author makes no attempt to be smart or sensational; she tells her story in good equable English; and the story itself is like the style. It is a well-constructed tale of ordinary life, exhibiting certain contrasts of character, as working out the ordinary destinies of higher middle-class life, and as affected by its circumstances. Leonard, the 'idle apprentice,' is not so much wicked as weak. He is good enough and attractive enough to inspire Ruth's love, although they have been playmates from childhood; but he cannot conceal from her the fatal taint of moral baseness which trials, not very severe, bring out. The authoress has shown her chief skill in working out the disentanglement of circumstance and of conflicting feeling in Ruth's very noble, womanly character. The 'good apprentice,' Stephen Powys, is as noble as Leonard is base, and, as a matter of course, he wins at last, although the odds are greatly against him. Ruth's simple and high-toned character is again contrasted very cleverly with the worldly good-nature and *finesse* of her sister, Mrs. Kennedy. The husband of the latter, Colonel Kennedy, is a fine character, and much material for moralising is suggested by his relations to his wife, which are very subtly brought out, and probably represent a not unfrequent experience of life. Mrs. L'Estrange is also a fine, well-drawn character. The story is a useful one, and is well told.

The Banns of Marriage. By DUTTON COOK, Author of 'Young Mr. Nightingale,' 'Hobson's Choice,' &c. Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

These two vigorously-written volumes contain five tales on the natural history of oddly-assorted marriages. They are, as might be expected, somewhat unequal in style, plot, and execution. We have two or three stories which turn on the agonising, but ultimately defeated, intention of a confirmed bachelor to submit to the banns in question. In one case Smugweath marries a buxom barmaid, to find terrible incongruity of temper; and the effect is described of the deadly power for evil which the dissolubility of the marriage-tie would put into the hands of either party. The husband finds the dreadful secret out that his marriage is invalid; and the deteriorating influence of this discovery, accidentally made, reveals some high moral lessons and some of the pitfalls which the present condition of the law of marriage has dug beneath the feet of unsuspecting victims. Another of the stories shows very humorously how easy it would be for a conspiracy to be hatched, by a little personation and clever fraud, to prove that an easy-going bachelor

had married his housekeeper, when all the time he had been lying in his bed in the agonies of gout. The writer seems especially set upon the cynical task of exposing the folly of an old man marrying a young girl, and the Quixotic absurdity of seeking a wife either above or below one's own level in education or social refinement. Some of the imbroglis are very amusing. There is great realism in these stories with the exception of the last. Here improbability becomes farce, and can only be interpreted by lunacy. The *dramatis personæ* of these stories are somewhat akin to those of the 'Pickwick Papers,' and the vigour with which many scenes are drawn promise considerable success, if Mr. Dutton Cook were to take a larger canvas for his pictures, and resolve to work out his conceptions into greater detail.

Onwards! But Whither? A Life Study. By A. E. N. BEWICKE, Author of 'Lovely Carlotta.' Smith, Elder, and Co.

The improbabilities of this story are extreme, and the style in many portions of it is stilted and inaccurate; and as the 'Study of a Life,' or of an oddly-assorted group of lives, it is obscure and indefinite. Two young ladies, Cecile and Lettice Methven, living an unnoticed life in an English country town, are smitten with the desire for higher education. Cecile resolves to do one great thing,—produce a great work of art; and Lettice, who has a more wholesome ideal, and who resolves to be something, determines to read the seven Great Epics in their own languages. Neither of them can be said to realise her ideal; but they set about it by undertaking a journey to Rome, with their younger brother as their chaperon. On the way they fall in with a Papal Zouave, a German officer, and a Russian Prince. The amount of love-making that goes on all round is too absurd. Cecile, the artist, fascinates the German, the Zouave, and the Russian Prince, and throws herself into violent pique with the latter for fancied slight. He dotingly follows her to Cannes, where, for a few days, they blissfully understand one another. But the Prince is here surrounded by diabolical toils, skilfully devised by a black-hearted mother, with the view of deliberately breaking the heart of Cecile, and severing her son from such a *mesalliance*. The flight of the Methvens leads to the utter ruin of the Prince, morally and physically, and he is subsequently found a victim of creeping paralysis. Meanwhile, the other lover of Cecile, the German, wins the heart of Lettice, and the brother dies; and the unfortunate Cecile becomes the conquest of the eager proselytism of the Ultramontane Zouave. However, an accidental meeting of the invalid Russian with Lettice brings Cecile to his side, and he dies in her arms. Almost at the same time, the half-brother of Cecile, a homely, matter-of-fact Scotchman, is allowed to marry the beautiful sister of the Russian Prince. The only 'study' we can see is the attempt to show how unwise it is for a person to act impul-

sively, and go thoroughly in for any pursuit, pleasure, ideal, or affection. The 'Whither?' in this case terminates in the severest order of conventional life. There is a great show of quotation from Renan, Emerson, Carlyle, &c., and an assumption at times of a silly profundity. The most natural character is that of poor young Reggie, who dies, supposing that 'death is about the stiffest exam. any fellow can go in for, only it is a blessing that it is not competitive.' The story appears to us made up of incongruous materials, and they are not put together with artistic skill.

Eight Cousins. By LOUISA W. ALCOTT
Author of 'Little Men,' 'Little Women,'
&c. Sampson Low and Co.

Miss Alcott always writes with great truth and naturalness; and notwithstanding occasional Yankeeisms, is so refined, and brings out her lessons with such studied regard to consistency, that we do not hesitate to say that there are few of our own writers for children who will be more warmly welcomed, or more reluctantly parted with. The party of aunts and great-aunts here are very vividly contrasted with each other, as are the seven boys of the various families, and Rosa, who forms the eighth cousin. Her care for Mack, the book-worm, in the midst of his threatened blindness; her patience and her powerful influence are very well pictured to us; as well as her kindness to that little servant-girl, erewhile workhouse child, Phoebe. There is just enough of innocent humour in the book to carry youngsters pleasantly forward, and, indeed, the old folks will gladly go with them, if we do not greatly mistake.

The Prose Works of William Wordsworth. For the first time collected, with additions from unpublished manuscripts. Edited, with Preface, Notes, and Illustrations, by the Rev. ALEXANDER B. GROSART, St. George's, Blackburn, Lancashire. Three Vols. Edward Moxon and Son.

Considering that Wordsworth, unlike some poets, looked on himself as a successful writer of prose, and was prone to political discussion, it is very remarkable that no effort has till now been made to give a collected edition of his prose writings to the public. The more gratitude do we owe to Mr. Grosart, who has well prepared himself for the task by previous studies, and has unweariedly ransacked every corner where anything additional or helpful might have been expected to be found. That Wordsworth fully anticipated such a publication, is proved by his own writing, and is a circumstance which adds decided value to the work before us; for nothing is more reprehensible than the habit which has recently come into vogue of publishing writings of distinguished men which bear on the face of them that they were never intended for the eye of the public. Whatever Wordsworth wished to be published we may be sure has some value; and if it should not at once appear to us, we had better hold dogmatic condemnation for a time in reserve.

Now the only portions of the first volume of whose appearance here we are not quite sure are some of those fragments of conversation which are reported, and which must fall under another category. However, these occupy after all but a very small proportion of a volume, and one instalment certainly has a significance of its own. Professor Dowden has said in the course of an essay on Wordsworth, that poets have always been good prose writers, never abandoning themselves to the license of fine writing, prose-poetry, and that sort of thing—a statement which ought hardly to have gone so unqualified. Burns was surely a poet, and yet in his letters he sometimes ran into prose-poetry; Mr. Swinburne certainly comes near it now and then; and Professor Wilson, he of 'The Isle of Palms,' is sometimes loose and high-flown enough. But Wordsworth's style points the other way. Certainly he never mounts the stilts, or endeavours to make prose carry a greater burden than it can well bear. He is simple, nervous, direct, full of purpose. A calm reserve, and a judicial manner of setting forward facts and drawing inferences from them in a quiet, self-detached kind of a way, are often so evident, that the presence of a methodic persistency, which at first sight seems almost alien from the poet's temperament, forces itself on the reader's mind. This however is far more consistent with the poetic side of Wordsworth's mind than might at first appear. He is in his poetry, as well as in his prose, self-withdrawn and self-dependent, taking service from the impulses and passions which control and modify the outward result, and never yielding to them. His passion is like a flame burning through a clear, but subduing medium, which cools and tempers and keeps it to one tone. His will is ever near to the passive sense and intellect, ready to upbear them, and this is as patent in his prose as in his verse. Those earlier political writings, with which the first volume opens, bear this out. The fact or the contemporary interest is soon lifted into the light of principle, and the imagination forecasts, fixes results in a word, foretells. The 'Apology for the French Revolution' derives value from the fact that it is a clear representation of the inevitable development of certain forces of human nature in certain conditions; and had it not been for the infusion of some measure of this quality also into his addresses to the electors of Westmoreland, they would certainly have been unworthy of republication. Whatever changes Wordsworth's political ideal underwent in the course of years, this power remained to him—a consolation and a refuge. The paper on 'The poor, the working classes, and the clergy,' is suggestive; but it is a most surprising thing that a mind like Wordsworth's could ever have brought itself into such *rapprochement* with things as they are, as to find an advantage for the nation in the existence of patronage and the poverty of curates.

The second volume contains that very characteristic letter on Burns and poetic biogra-

phy, in which it is surprising to find a man of Wordsworth's type laying down a law which would starve out that instinct of curiosity to know those who have benefited us, which is so radical in human nature, and in its own degree beneficial. The truth is, that in spite of the elevation and purity of his character and life, which might have made him tempt the utmost scrutiny, he only in this followed up his own great principle, absorbing the man in his song, as in his poetry he ever absorbed the thing in the image, breathing round it an atmosphere which rarified and isolated, but so far put it out of all actual and immediate relations. The Essay on Epitaphs is thoroughly Wordsworthian, full of fine reflection and suggestiveness; and his 'Guide to the Lakes' is so perfect that it well deserves a place here.

The third volume, which has been in several respects the most interesting to us, contains the 'Notes and Illustrations of the Poems,' 'Letters and Extracts from Letters,' and 'Conversations and Personal Reminiscences.' Here is a rare enjoyment for students of Wordsworth, especially for those who, by loving and long continued association, have raised themselves to the bracing meditative atmosphere of his solitary yet humanising thought, in which all things take on something of a new and spiritual aspect. Here they may trace his progress, and follow his own mind reviewing itself, and yielding the most attractive of commentaries. They will appreciate the more, the deeper they have penetrated his poetic purposes, the manner in which he pierced beyond accidentals, and caught the human and universal aspect of the passing circumstance, imparting to every question and topic he touched something of his own elevation and purity; and relating his poems, even those which seem of the most remote and abstract nature, with matters of the most practical present moment. Full of mystic and dreamful instinct for nature as he was, he was never divorced from man; and if his notes and these reports of conversation have a specific value, it is because they show us how he himself reconciled, and most often successfully reconciled, the two apparently opposing sides of his activity. But we cannot find space to exhibit in detail all which this last sentence suggests: we must content ourselves with a reference to Mr. Aubrey de Vere's *Reminiscences*, which strike us as being of signal value in the aspect to which we have just referred. It is not only that they evidently embody faithful recollection, but that they are penetrated by that 'annexing' sympathy which enabled him to divine Wordsworth's secret, and simply to set it forth.

We are not sure but Mr. Grosart's editorial prerogative should have been extended in some instances. For example, he gives two conversations from different persons respecting Sir Walter Scott's misquotation of Wordsworth's fine lines,—

'The swan on still St. Mary's lake
Floats double, swan and shadow,'—

and it strikes us that he should have made the misquotation in the two cases uniformly, as in the case of one of them the omission of the peccant plural is clearly to be attributed to a lapse of memory; for Wordsworth's whole spirit and method lay expressed fully in the very points that were missed by Scott.

'The swans on sweet St. Mary's lake
Float double, swans and shadow,'

Wordsworth, as he himself urges, never could have written. Why? For the reasons we have already given. No material object, or creation even, existed for Wordsworth in and for itself, but only in its capacity to reflect ideal or eternal truth. And he himself gives us this explanation:—'The scene when I saw it, with its still and dim lake, under the dusky hills, was one of utter loneliness. There was one swan, and one only, stemming the water, and the pathetic loneliness of the region gave importance to the one companion of that swan, its own white image in the water. It was for that reason that I recorded 'The Swan and the Shadow.' Had there been many swans and many shadows, they would have implied nothing as regards the character of the scene, and I should have said nothing about them.'

Mr. Grosart in this work has generally shown careful research, tact, and the instinct which proceeds from full sympathy. Any biographic work pursued without this is sure to come out a *caput mortuum*, however correct and laboured; and if Mr. Grosart's writing may sometimes seem a trifle high-set, his enthusiasm, which is of the most genuine kind, is enough amply to justify it.

A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne. By ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD, M.A. Two Vols. Macmillan and Co.

A history of English dramatic literature almost necessarily becomes a history of the Elizabethan drama and dramatists. All that went before them is only preparation for what was to follow, and all that comes after tells of deterioration and decline. There is thus a regular growth and development, which, of course, reached its culminating point in Shakespeare; and after him there is a story of decay, ending in the death of the drama in the artificiality and inanity of the time of the last of the Stuarts. This peculiar completeness of the English drama, as if it were an organic product of general forces long in operation, which first worked gradually up to the manifestation of their utmost fulness, then gradually waned, and finally became exhausted, makes our dramatic literature a specially attractive subject to the competent and sympathetic student. Of course, genius gives laws to itself, and its spontaneity and exuberance impress these on the materials with which it compasses its ends; and equally, of course, these qualities were never so unquestionably present and powerful as in the case of Shakespeare. Nevertheless, Shakespeare connects himself more directly than any other writer with the stream of the national life, of

which he was at once the product and the most brilliant and perfect illustrator. His own individuality is even absorbed in his national mission; and it is the highest object of criticism to exhibit the indissoluble connection between the Shakespearian drama and the age and nation to which it belongs. Nor is this view incompatible with the universality which is rightly claimed for Shakespeare. His universality is nothing abstract or merely philosophical, but is based upon and grows out of the historical past, which it sums up and interprets. He is universal because he was national at a period in the world's history when the national development of England was most powerfully influenced by the forces, that were transforming society and making possible the conditions under which modern civilisation has been developed. It is no light praise to say that Professor Ward has performed his critical and historical task under a full consciousness of the influences and aims, both of a national and a universal character, that moulded the English drama. If the reader finds the early portions of the first volume dry, and it seems to him like an oft-told tale, he will find himself rewarded by the light which the materials throw upon the after-course of the story. Mr. Ward may not be brilliant, but he has mastered his materials, he applies a high standard of criticism, his culture is varied, and he has produced a History of the Drama which is destined, as it deserves, to hold a high place in our literature. Of course, where there is so wide a range and so great a multiplicity of subjects, it is simply impossible that there should not be differences of view between the critic and his readers. Criticisms of individual plays and estimates of individual dramatists will be regarded as defective or erroneous according to the idiosyncrasy of the student, or even to the influence of accidental causes on the formation of his judgments. But the criticisms of Professor Ward will always be found careful and well-supported; and in his critical observations and literary generalisations he is often exceedingly felicitous. His criticism of Shakespeare is free from the extravagances of the purely deductive school, of which Ulrici is a type, while, at the same time, it is far from being a collection of haphazard remarks. His work deserves a fuller notice than the space at our disposal allows us to give it. We can only therefore thank the author for his admirable volumes, which are full of instruction, and are the result of a wide culture, close and careful study, not inconsiderable critical capacity, and real insight into the course of events and the growth of national character.

Final Reliques of Father Prout (the Rev. Francis Mahony). Collected and Edited by BLANCHARD JERROLD. Chatto and Windus.

This volume consists mainly of Mr. Mahony's correspondence from Rome, sent to the 'Daily News.' Mr. Dickens was fortunate enough, when the paper was first started,

to secure his services in that capacity, which he did when he accidentally met him on the Milvian Bridge in Rome. It was the period of the latter days of Gregory XVI. and the earlier days of Pius IX., which he respectively described as 'The Fag End of a Long Reign' and 'The Bright Dawn of Better Days.' Pius IX. has since shown that his are the fatal virtues that destroy a cause. No epoch could be more fruitful to such an observer and satirist as Mahony was, and no correspondence could be more brilliant, informed as it was by high classical scholarship and inspired by the peculiar sympathies of a literary and quasi-liberal Roman Catholic priest—more strictly, perhaps, half-priest. He was the Erasmus of the epoch, and expounded it with almost equal learning, wisdom, and satire. Part of this correspondence was separately published under the title of 'Facts and Figures from Italy,' by Don Jeremy Savonarola. Mahony also became Paris correspondent to the 'Globe' shortly after the Revolution of 1848. Passages from the letters sent to that paper are included in this volume. A biographical sketch is prefixed, to which one of his pupils in the Irish College of the Jesuits has contributed some very interesting 'Familiar Memorabilia,' which resolves some of the anomalies of his character and opinions, and lets light in upon some of his remarkable attainments, especially in out-of-the-way knowledge.

The book is not so well put together as it might be. It has not in it the permanent literary elements of the famous 'Reliques.' It relates chiefly to passing phases of history, to which the distinctive genius of Mahony was necessarily subordinate; but it sparkles all over, and is full of interest. Mahony, like Sydney Smith, could write on no subject without being brilliant and witty.

Victorian Poets. By EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN. Chatto and Windus.

Mr. Stedman is one of the most promising of the new order of American critics. He always writes neatly, with constant reference to principles with discernment, and with true catholic taste. Indeed, sometimes we feel that his taste is wider than his knowledge is exact, else it is hardly possible that he could have rested content with some of his classifications, which bracket together persons who would almost rather sacrifice the loved name of poet than be sent down to posterity in one another's arms, even metaphorically. But it is too bad to blame Mr. Stedman for lack of knowledge of our cabalistic strifes—'Fleshly School,' and others—though let it be known that he does sometimes disturb his critical balance, by the introduction of incongruous personal details. On the whole, in spite of this, however, he judges the better, in that, from the safe verge of distance, he can afford to disregard petty distinctions that figure perhaps only too large with us. He writes appreciatively yet discriminatingly of Landor; declares Mrs. Browning the greatest of all poetesses; gets enthusiastic over

Tennyson's perfection of rhythm; desiderates the lack of balance and form in Browning, though he awards him the palm for thought and subtlety; is generously appreciative of Robert Buchanan; is something more than fairly open to the merits of Morris and Rossetti; and is inclined a little to lavish praise on Mr. Swinburne. He does well to include Mr. Austin Dobson, for we believe that for airy delicacy and daintiness, often unexpectedly enshrining depth and true passion, Mr. Dobson stands almost alone. But he does not do so well to look askance at Mr. Mortimer Collins; and when he says that 'the books of Mr. Roden Noel may pass without comment,' he shows himself to be overborne by mere form; for Mr. Roden Noel, though his eccentric rhymes may sometimes grate on the ear, has individuality, which so many lack, and has wholly distinctive and masterly power in nature-painting, sometimes fixing an unusual aspect of nature in the finest of epithets, full of colour and significance. Mr. Stedman has spent a good deal of space on people for whom the future will perhaps have less to say. Then certainly it does seem odd to find a man who knows so much about English poets so ignorant respecting Mr. R. H. Horne, who certainly has not sinned by writing too little, whatever other sins may lie upon him. Mr. Stedman's theory about the decadence of the Alexandrian or Idyllic period we have not space to examine; suffice it, that in our idea it does not traverse the whole reach of the facts, and helplessly misses many of them. But Mr. Stedman's volume will be found readable. It is the result of great industry, loving study, and a desire always to perceive and to celebrate the best, and that on grounds of pure critical reason—an element which is too often lost sight of with us as well as with his own countrymen.

The Religion of our Literature: Essays upon Thomas Carlyle, Robert Browning, Alfred Tennyson, &c.; including Criticisms upon the Theology of George Eliot, George MacDonald, and Robertson of Brighton. By GEORGE MCCRIE. Hodder and Stoughton.

We cannot attempt to test Mr. McCrie's estimates of the theology of the writers criticised in his volume. The task would demand large space and detailed criticism. We should probably differ on many points from the author. We agree with him, however, so substantially, that our dissent would be in degree rather than in principle. We admit very fully that the Christianity propounded by the principal writers of whom he treats differs in many important respects from that of the New Testament, and that there is need for correcting the false theological teaching of poets as well as of preachers. No one, we apprehend, has ever suspected Thomas Carlyle or George Eliot of being an exponent of Evangelical Christianity. In most criticisms on their works their grave defects, theologically and religiously, have been pointed out. The fundamental defect of George Eliot, the absence of all

spiritual faith and hope, was strongly and ably pointed out in these pages in a criticism on 'Middlemarch.'

It does not follow, however, that the standpoint of every critic of error is the true one, and, at the risk of being charged with furtive sympathies with what Mr. McCrie condemns, we must avow ourselves unable to endorse the assumptions and principles of his condemnation. That all religious teaching must be brought to the test of the New Testament, as containing an authoritative record of the facts and teachings of the religion of Jesus Christ, we earnestly maintain, but that it is the same thing to bring it to the test of Scotch Calvinistic theology, as embodied in the standards of the Presbyterian Churches, we are not so convinced of. Yet this is what Mr. McCrie has done. Not contented with asserting the perfect righteousness of God against the maudlin teaching of weak, unprincipled good-nature, dignified by the name of Love, he assumes that that righteousness necessitates, for example, the perdition of all the Heathen. He condemns Carlyle for his doctrine of earnestness *per se*, as if the only virtue of earnestness were its being rightly informed. No doubt Carlyle does exaggerate his commendation of earnestness to the disparagement of truth—wrong is largely right with him if it be but earnest enough; but it is the exaggeration that Mr. McCrie should have dealt with. But surely there is virtue in sincerity. The Apostle Paul did not send all men to perdition whose religious notions were erroneous. He taught that, 'not having God's revealed law, they were a law unto themselves;' and Peter says that God 'has in every nation them that fear him and work righteousness.' The only conceivable equity is to judge heathen nations, not by the teachings of Jesus Christ, but by the light that they have. Mr. Carlyle is surely right in his commendations of thoughts 'that dwell honestly as true in men's hearts,' including, of course, the honesty of the process whereby the thought is attained. In his jagged exaggerating way he seems only to repeat so far the great principle that Paul propounded. So far as he thinks it of no importance what a man thinks true, he is, of course, absurdly and paradoxically and mischievously wrong. This is only a specimen of what we think Mr. McCrie's mistaken method. Instead of dealing with exaggerations and perversions, he meets his opponents with flat contradictions. Surely, again, he does not mean to charge even Carlyle with maintaining that, *per se*, idolatry is a good thing, but only that relatively it is better than Atheism, or no religious sense at all. Does Mr. McCrie again really know the history and work of Mohammed when he pronounces upon him an absolute and unqualified reprobation, and condemns Mr. Carlyle for having 'anything to say in defence of Mahomet'?

Nothing damages truth more than bad and unfair arguments. We are sure that Mr. McCrie will not benefit the divine religion of Jesus Christ, as he does not follow His exam-

ple, by wholesale denunciations of other systems. Some elements of good there have been in even the worst, or it would never have taken or retained its hold of human hearts.

We think that most of the writers Mr. McCrie criticises are seriously defective in their religious conceptions, but we do not think Mr. McCrie's method of indiscriminate running a muck at them is likely to convince them that they are so.

Round my House: Notes of Rural Life in France in Peace and War. By PHILIP GILBERT HAMERTON. Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

Mr. Hamerton describes, first, at great length his searches after a house in France which should be something less than a *chateau* and something more than a *maison de campagne*. The interesting description and information he contrives to throw into his quest hinders it from being tedious. Through a friend he at length finds what he wants somewhere in Burgundy, apparently near Autun, within a day's reach of everywhere. His life here is made the centre of a series of delightful chapters on French manners and customs; country society, nobility, money matters, households, political parties, peasant life, the clergy, courtship and marriage, &c. The literary purity and artistic charm of Mr. Hamerton's writing, together with the opportunities of observation which lengthened residence gave him, make these chapters very fascinating to read. Inasmuch as they are purely descriptive, they can neither be summarised nor quoted,—but except Miss Mulock's 'French Home Life,' we have had no recent contribution to our knowledge of French people so full and interesting.

Mr. Hamerton's house was in the track of the war, and two chapters of exciting war experiences give an element of adventure to a quiet and very charming book.

Gravenhurst; or, Thoughts on Good and Evil. Second Edition.

Knowing and Telling: a Contribution to Psychology. By WILLIAM SMITH. With a Memoir of the Author. William Blackwood and Sons.

The memoir prefixed to this edition of a work which, with its companion volume, 'Thorndale,' has long been placed upon the selectest shelf of thoughtful readers, reveals a very beautiful life, gently meditative and vigorously thoughtful, as every one would expect who knew Mr. Smith's works; but also tender and refined in delicate affections and sympathies to a degree not often met with, and which only a wife could reveal as it is here revealed. Something is clearly due to the glorification of a deep and admiring love; but beneath the mere colouring there are the outlines and proportions and movements of a life of rare temper and beauty. How often such lives are revealed to us only after they have passed away! It must, indeed, be so of necessity. Mr. Smith was a quiet think-

er, and not a very prolific writer. He is an instance of how greatly a man may leave the thought of his age by a single work. He will be more to his admirers than he has been before through this beautiful and touching memoir, written by one capable of appreciating his genius and worthy of his love. We regret that so much of Mr. Smith's power was dissipated in articles for Reviews, some of them such as could produce no permanent results; a list of a hundred and twenty-six contributed to 'Blackwood' alone is here given. He also wrote for this journal and for the 'Contemporary Review.' It was probably a pecuniary necessity; but Mr. Smith might have laid future generations under obligation for works of vigorous, original, and refined thought. Three of his articles contributed to the 'Contemporary Review,' and one from an unpublished manuscript, are contained in this volume. Some further selections of his more important articles is surely desirable.

Lectures delivered in America. By the late CHARLES KINGSLEY, Canon of Westminster. Longmans and Co.

The marks of a failing mind, we regret to say, make their appearance in these lectures. For the most part they are mere reminiscences of other writers, with here and there a gleam of the old enthusiasm and keen individual charm which we associate with Charles Kingsley. Never very exact, or predisposed to careful verification, we found in him from the first more of the prophet than of the historian proper, more of the guesser at great laws than the patient student, willing to wait a wide survey of facts before coming to final opinions. Generally he was concerned with illustrating a foregone idea; and latterly, at all events, he was inclined in some respect to shy a fact that seemed to make the other way. But his instincts were keen, and not seldom he reached great truths without labouring slowly along logical processes. What seems to us of most value in the present volume is the endeavour to exhibit in the lecture on Westminster Abbey the close ties by which Englishmen and Americans are bound to a common past, and the lessons so skilfully deduced from it. The lecture on the Greek Theatre is good, but unsatisfactory; we think involuntarily of a paper of the late Bishop Thirlwall's on a kindred subject, and cannot help contrasting Canon Kingsley's style rather to his disadvantage in this instance. As was fitting, the volume is dedicated to Canon Kingsley's American friends, of whom he had many; but we think that, had he lived, he would not have published these lectures without extensive modification, revision, and additions. In a certain critical sense, they are the more valuable as we have them; but that is not likely, we fear, to render the volume better for the purpose of publication. The lectures are neither learned enough, nor popular enough; and, like what is indefinite, may miss their mark.

Shakespeare's Plutarch. Being a Selection from the Lives in North's 'Plutarch' which

illustrate Shakespeare's Plays. Edited with a Preface, Notes, Index of Names, and Glossarial Index, by the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT, M.A. Macmillan and Co.

Mr. Skeat has supplied—and, of course, in a highly scholarly way—an interesting addition to our Shakespearian library. It is well known that, with the careless freedom of genius, Shakespeare availed himself of plots and suggestions for dialogue wherever he could find them; and a very large element of Shakespearian literature and criticism consists in the examination of Italian and other sources upon which he drew.

He was very largely indebted to Plutarch; how largely, Mr. Skeat shows us in this volume. Sir Thomas North, second son of Edward, Lord North of Kirtling, published his translation of 'Plutarch,' in a folio volume, in 1579. A second edition appeared in 1595, and five subsequent editions before 1676; after which it was probably superseded by a new translation, for which Dryden wrote a preface in 1683. North made his translations not from the Greek, but from the French version of Jacques Aymott, who is said to have translated from a Latin version. Necessarily, therefore, it was inaccurate, although Aymott's translation was well executed. It is interesting to note Shakespeare's adoption of North's blunders, as also his frequent paraphrase of his vigorous and racy English—the English of our Authorised Version of the Bible. Seven of the 'Lives' are here reprinted, and Shakespeare's indebtedness to them—in some instances curious in their minuteness, in others in their extent—will be at once seen by readers of the Roman plays of 'Julius Cæsar,' 'Coriolanus,' and 'Antony and Cleopatra.' Mr. Skeat justly refers his readers to the remarks on Shakespeare and Plutarch in Archbishop Trench's 'Four Lectures on Plutarch,' recently commended to our readers.

Mademoiselle Josephine's Fridays, and other Stories. By M. BETHAM-EDWARDS. (Henry S. King and Co.) We are sorry to have overlooked so long these fresh and piquant stories of Miss Betham-Edwards. They concern art and artist life, and in a good and pure sense, chiefly on the sunny side of it. The descriptions of Mademoiselle Josephine's Friday receptions and of the motley assemblies found there, with the interweaving of love, conspiracy, and tragedy, and of the Grand Duke's little Court at Weimar, and of Cagliostro's erratic genius, are very clever. The authoress is, however, equally at home 'At the World's End,' on the quiet shores of the Mediterranean, her descriptions of which are very enticing, and in the solitudes of Cumberland. Her stories are carefully finished, although they do not expand beyond the magnitude of sketches. They are light and very pleasant reading.—*Her Title of Honour.* By HOLME LEE. (Henry S. King and Co.) A cheaper edition of one of Miss Parr's most graceful and effective stories. In outline it is the story of Henry Martyn, the Persian

Missionary, and of his love, filled in with the tender and sympathetic imaginations of a writer in warm sympathy with both his religious heroism and his strong human love.—'The Works of Miss Thackeray.' Vol. I., *Old Kensington.* (Smith, Elder, and Co.) The publishers will lay lovers of good literature under a great obligation by the elegant and compendious edition of Miss Thackeray's works, of which this is the first volume. She contributes to our literature a type as distinct as that of her father; and in the refined thought, the keen observations, the quick but rich imagination, the tender human sympathy and the dainty literary touch of it, it has a charm of its own as great in its way as that of Charles Lamb's. Miss Thackeray's works, like all true works of genius, grow upon us in their reperusal. Than 'Old Kensington' a more charming sketch has not been given to this generation of readers.—*Culmshire Folk.* By IGNOTUS. (Henry S. King and Co.) We can only mention this cheap edition of a novel which has won very unusual commendations from all its literary critics. Its author has been more than once compared with George Eliot, and deemed superior to Anthony Trollope. Our own high judgment was expressed in no measured terms when the first edition appeared. Lady Culmshire may fairly claim to be an original contribution to the picture-gallery of fiction.—*Pilgrimage to Saint Mary of Walsingham and Saint Thomas of Canterbury; with the Colloquy on Rash Vows, and the Characters of Archbishop Warham and Dean Colet.* By DESIDERIUS ERASMUS. Newly Translated, with an Introduction and Illustrative Notes, by JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A. Second Edition. Revised and Corrected. (John Murray.) Mr. Nichols proves the first visit of Erasmus to the shrine of Walsingham by the details of his description. He thinks, however, that the second was possibly only an imaginary one, devised for setting forth the perplexities which his votive Greek inscription had caused the ignorant monks. He identifies Dean Colet as his companion in his visit to Canterbury. Mr. Nichols purposed merely to present a translation of these little-known colloquies, of which none more modern than that of Bailey, the lexicographer, exists. But the revival of pilgrimages has given additional importance to Erasmus's keen satire. It is humbling to think that it should again have pertinence. Mr. Nichols was revising his translation for this new edition just before he died. Lovers of learned, witty, merciless satire will rejoice in it. The notes and illustrations by Mr. Nichols are a valuable addition.—*A Winter Story.* By the Author of 'The Rose Garden.' (Smith, Elder, and Co.) A story from the wise and graceful pen of this writer is always welcome. Few who have read 'The Rose Garden' will forget its spell. The present story is not equal to it, but it is written with a good deal of thoughtful wisdom and delicate discrimination. It is a kind of psychological study, tracing the influences, chiefly of two children, which gradually

chased away a morbid feeling caused by an accidental mistake in giving a draught which proved fatal. There is but the slenderest thread of story, but the interest in the moral process never fails.

CHRISTMAS BOOKS.

The Orphan of Pimlico; and other Sketches, Fragments, and Drawings. By WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY. With some Notes, by ANNE ELIZABETH THACKERAY. Smith, Elder, and Co.

The sweepings of Thackeray's study are gold-dust. One sighs to be told of unpreserved scraps and sketches, which seem to have flowed as from a perennial fountain, and were therefore permitted to perish in the nursery. Miss Thackeray has here been incited to produce some sketches which have been preserved, of greater maturity and completeness than the pleasant volume recently compiled from school-book covers and book-margins, under the title of 'Thackerayana.' We would not spare either. No admirer of Thackeray can regret the publication of that volume; and yet we can understand both the filial and the artistic feeling that has been provoked into the publication of this. All kinds of imaginary scenes, grotesque figures, and wild fancies are here reproduced, most of them accompanied with *facsimile* annotations or suggestions of scenes,—from the fully-outlined 'Orphan of Pimlico' to the miscellaneous contents of a scribbling-sheet. The famous gold pen seems rarely to have been at rest, and all kinds of pictorial and literary fancies flowed from it—Shakespeare at the feet of Elizabeth, for instance: "My name, 'tis William; but how shall I call you?" He stooped down; she kissed him on his monumental forehead. "Call me Betsie," she said. Some of the drawings are finished pictures, and of an order of excellence that justifies the author's application to furnish illustrations to one of Dickens's works, and that produces upon us the impression that we have as yet very inadequately estimated Thackeray's artistic powers. Had Thackeray not been a great author, he would have taken no mean rank as an artist. The book has an additional interest from the fact that all Thackeray's own annotations are in *facsimile*. Miss Thackeray's notes are brief, but sufficient for information. The book is elegantly got up as a drawing-room table-book, and, of course, is a good deal more than an artistic amusement. We cannot attempt any indication of its miscellaneous and affluent humour. All kinds of sketches and fancies are to be found in it—English, American, and French,—and they bear a good deal of looking at.

Leaves from a Sketch-Book: Pencillings of Travel at Home and Abroad. By SAMUEL READ. Sampson Low and Co.

Mr. Read does not aim at being exhaustive,

and perhaps he therein shows more wisdom than most people who have power both with pen and pencil. He leisurely notes this or that as he passes along, whether in France, Spain, Italy, the Low Countries, or in Scotland. He makes a careful, loving study of it, and sometimes by the merest outline he is more suggestive than others would be in an ambitious rendering of the whole details and surroundings. And he is right in putting forward in the preface a modest claim for a certain unity in his 'casual pencillings.' 'In many old cities, old castles, abbeys, and churches of this and foreign lands, which the writer has examined, the architecture and the situation bear tokens of past social and national history,' and the very unpretending yet valuable letterpress certainly does match well with his pencillings in this respect, and will be found of a kind to set the inquiring reader off into many fresh tracks of thought and observation; and all this without in the least sacrificing the element of 'delight,' which should be the first thing in a gift-book, as this is meant to be. We turn over the pages, admire the delicacy of the outline of that bit of shadow, and end with a sigh, wishing we could but re-travel many of the old towns it calls to mind. This will doubtless be the feeling of not a few in looking through this handsome volume, and therefore we cordially commend it to the attention of purchasers of such books at this season. It is at once tasteful, instructive, and beautiful in exterior,—and what more can be said?

The Land of the Pharaohs: Egypt and Sinai. Illustrated by Pen and Pencil. By the Rev. SAMUEL MANNING, LL.D., Author of 'Those Holy Fields,' 'Italian Pictures,' 'Spanish Pictures,' &c. Religious Tract Society.

Dr. Manning has written freshly of scenes and places which are much 'done' by tourists; and now and then, when he is a little more beyond the ordinary track, he is really powerful. He has served a good apprenticeship to work of this kind, and it may be said of him that, while he never sacrifices dignity in retailing the trifling gossip of the journey, he does occasionally cast a very interesting glance into the social conditions of those amongst whom he moves; and sometimes he throws a gleam of humour around the strange, or squalid, or repellent things that he meets. The anecdote of the Arab, the opera-glass, and the two wives at the Great Pyramid is very good indeed. Dr. Manning has been privileged to have to deal with such exquisite specimens of wood engraving as we have here, and his letterpress is a worthy companion. This adds another to a very delightful series of volumes which do not pretend to original discovery or research, but which are so picturesque and vivacious, and full of wise and hearty remark, that, in some aspects at least, they may be pronounced better than if they never were so learned. Dr. Manning, in a word, cannot help sympathetically touching the reader to a more kindly interest in the ignorant, prejudiced, and often superstitious

peoples amongst whom he has travelled—the highest influence any book of travel can have.

Homes and Haunts of Luther. By JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D. Religious Tract Society.

Dr. Stoughton is perfectly at home in the antiquarian commission with which he seems to have charged himself, and of which this very pleasant volume is the result. Through a series of years he visited the numerous and wide-spread haunts of the great Reformer, making descriptive sketches and picking up bits of information, testing and shaping the latter by the best historical authorities, from Melancthon, Mathesius, and Seckendorf, to Michelet, D'Aubigné, and Dr. Waddington. Of course there is nothing new to be said about Luther, but often as every detail of his marvellous history has been retold, we have no book exactly like this—a series of sketches, with profuse pictorial illustrations, and skilfully interwoven anecdotes of the various places associated with his name. Dr. Stoughton writes pictorially and gracefully. A more interesting gift-book will hardly be forthcoming for the season.

Beauty and the Beast: an Old Tale New Told. With Pictures. By E. V. B. Sampson Low and Co.

Mrs. Bligh scarcely succeeds in attaining to the style of simple archaism which the old story demands. Every now and then a modern idiom dispels the illusion that is gathering over us, and we feel that it is a modern telling of an olden story. Nevertheless, it works its spell, and we read it with almost as much interest as we did in the nursery. The illustrations are very effective; they have not the exquisite delicacy of the illustrations to 'The Story without an End.' The colouring sometimes verges on the sensational, nor is the drawing faultless—e.g., *Beauty* on p. 50 has a very long arm—but they are bold and clear, and well designed. Altogether, it is a very beautiful gift-book for young folks, which those who are older will not disdain to look through.

The Sylvan Year: Leaves from the Note-Book of Raoul Dubois. By PHILIP GILBERT HAMERTON. With Twenty Etchings by the Author and other Artists. Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

Raoul Dubois is a naturalist created by Mr. Hamerton as the narrator of his slender story, and as the describer of the exquisite pictures of woodland and other natural scenery which it is the object of the volume to present and illustrate. Mr. Hamerton rightly thinks that, while to the man of science nature may be a subject for purely scientific analysis, to the artist nature cannot be adequately estimated apart from human life and its experiences. Dubois is created, therefore, as a kind of healthy Obermann; not like his prototype, the victim of *ennui*, enduring hopeless suffering, but cheered and strengthened in suffering by the inspirations of external nature, although Mr. Hamerton is conscious enough that it needs a more po-

tent inspiration than that of nature to minister adequate consolation in human sufferings, and to make them minister to what in man is noblest and highest. The literary charm of the book is its descriptive passages, which are artistically inspired, and written in a nervous, beautiful way. The twelve months of the year are made to exhibit their characteristic phenomena. It claims to be one of the drawing-room books of the year in virtue of its very effective etchings, of which Mr. Hamerton himself contributes eight, A. Lançon, A. Greux, E. Hédouin, G. Greux, and L. Mossard, the rest. These can hardly be criticised in detail save with the book before the reader; they can only be characterised, those of Mr. Hamerton especially, as of a very high order. The group of ancient chestnuts, which is put as a frontispiece, is exquisite in its articulation and tone. In the 'Rivulet in the Forest' the light is not quite so successfully managed. 'A Poacher Cleaning his Gun,' by A. Greux, after A. Roehn, has almost the softness of a steel engraving, and these scarcely merit distinctive mention. To admirers of the etching-needle the volume will be a welcome study.

Tropical Nature: an Account of the most Remarkable Phenomena of Life in the Western Tropics. Compiled from the Narratives of Distinguished Travellers and Observers. With numerous Illustrations. Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

As the title-page intimates, this is a compilation. The productions and phenomena of pampas, mountains, rivers, and lakes; climate, storms, &c.; vegetation, Indian quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, and insects; volcanoes, earthquakes, &c., are classified in chapters, and popular information about them is given in an intelligent and entertaining way. The volume is profusely illustrated in good style, and is a very elegant and instructive Christmas volume.

Historical and Legendary Ballads and Songs. By WALTER THORNBURY. Illustrated by J. WHISTLER, F. WALKER, JOHN TENNIEL, J. D. WATSON, &c. Chatto and Windus.

Mr. Thornbury has here collected the productions of a quarter of a century, which are illustrated by a very admirable series of designs, some of which have also done duty before in 'Once a Week'; the latter, by some of our best book illustrators, are worthy even of the high praise bestowed upon them by Mr. Thornbury. They are among the best book illustrations of the year. We are better able, with this volume before us, to form a judgment of Mr. Thornbury's merits as a ballad-writer. He cannot take place in the first rank. With all his 'go,' he somewhat misses the true ballad fire, and some of his verses are limp, and their lines weak and diffuse. Nor does he always manage his rhythm well; while the reflection of Macaulay, Tennyson, and Browning is sometimes a little too obtrusive. Nevertheless, he sings well, and although he will not greatly fire

the heart or quicken the pulse of his readers, he never fails to interest them. We have not space to justify our criticism by examples, but these might be found on almost every page. Mr. Thornbury will not, perhaps, be pleased to regard his text as subordinate to its illustrations. At any rate, we may say that, taken together, the book is elegant and attractive.

The National Portrait Gallery. Cassell, Peter, and Galpin.

Twenty portraits of notable men, very admirable both as likenesses and as works of popular art. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Bright head the series, and Mr. W. H. Smith, the Rev. M. Punshon, and the Duke of Argyll end it. The biographies also are good; they are, as befits descriptive sketches, genial without flattery, and are both discriminating and terse. The best informed will find the biographical information useful; while those who are dependent upon others for their opinions of public men, will not greatly miss the truth if they accept those of the volume. It is a better book for both the drawing-room and the library than the generality of such productions.

The Poets and Poetry of Scotland, from the Earliest to the Present Time. Comprising characteristic Selections from the Works of the more Noteworthy Scottish Poets; with Biographical and Critical Notices. By JAMES GRANT WILSON. Illustrated with Portraits engraved on Steel. Blackie and Son.

This is a very admirably-edited work. It is to consist of two volumes, of which this is the first, comprising the period from Richard the Rhymer, born A.D. 1219, to Richard Gale, born A.D. 1776. Scotland can boast many minstrels, and two or three great poets. Mr. Wilson is perhaps in danger of exaggerating the claims of some of the former; but both his biographical sketches and his critical judgments are, on the whole, sober and just. He thinks that his country can boast 'a body of poetry and song, than which there is none superior in the literature of any land, ancient or modern.' It is a big claim, and perhaps no one but a Scotchman would have ventured to prefer it; but it may be freely conceded that Scotland can boast poetry enough to make the present work a very interesting cyclopedia, which will make busy literary men, as well as the general public, acquainted with many obscure names, and some literary gems worth knowing. The concise biographies will be valuable as a contribution to literary history, and the illustrative selections are not only made with judgment, but they very often consist of entire works, which is a great advantage to both author and reader.

It is said that Scotland has 'given birth to two hundred thousand poets.' Mr. Wilson has mercifully restricted himself to two hundred and twenty. We thank him very sincerely and very heartily for his labours.

The Mysterious Island. *Dropped from the*

Clouds. *Abandoned.* *The Secret of the Island.* By JULES VERNE. Translated from the French by W. H. G. KINGSTON. Sampson Low and Co.

The Survivors of the 'Chancellor.' *Diary of J. R. Kazallon, Passenger.* By JULES VERNE. Translated from the French by ELLEN TREWER. Sampson Low and Co.

Hans Brinker; or, the Silver Skates. *A Story of Life in Holland.* By Mrs. MARY MAPES DODGE. New Edition. Sampson Low and Co.

We have exhausted our commendatory epithets of Jules Verne's wonder books; surely never were sober good sense, encyclopædic science, and exciting romance so blended for the wonder and instruction of young folks and the absorption of their gravest elders. We should like to see the man, but only once as a curiosity, who thought these three volumes of adventure on the Mysterious Island in the Pacific a line too long. We are almost vexed with ourselves for the hours of which they have beguiled us; and yet, hardened and hoary as we are in reviewing all kinds of literature, we should like nothing better than to read them over again. The realism of 'Robinson Crusoe' is marvellously blended with the oriental romance of 'Monte Christo.' It is a 'Robinson Crusoe' history over again, only all the resources of the British Association are added to it. Five men—a scientific engineer, a young naturalist, a practical seaman, who can turn his hand to anything, a clever newspaper reporter, and a faithful negro, accompanied, let us not forget to note, by a sagacious dog—escape from Richmond, during the siege, in a balloon, and come to grief on the Mysterious Island; upon which they live for nearly five years and have every conceivable kind of adventure and experience, many of which, owing to the discoveries of modern science, De Foe could never have conceived of, even had he possessed the opulent imagination of the superb Frenchman. The *dénouement*, the reappearance of the 'Nautilus' of the famous 'Twenty Thousand Leagues,' the almost ubiquitous and omnipotent providence of Captain Nemo, and the destruction of the island, are as extravagant as a Christmas pantomime, as pyrotechnic as a dozen melodramatic finales, and as superb as tragedy. Prospero is a child to Captain Nemo. We can only say to those who buy Christmas presents, buy these volumes for every boy you wish to bless you for years to come. They are as instructive as they are romantic; only, alas! the science will, for one or two perusals at least, be utterly overpowered by the romance.

'The Survivors of the *Chancellor*' is a painful record of sufferings on a raft, in which all conceivable incidents of extremity at sea are included, the author's graphic and imaginative power only making it more harrowing. 'Morten Paz,' one of Jules Verne's earliest stories, also a tale of horror, is appended. The volume is not a very attractive one; the horrors are too

great. The imaginations of the writer are too successful.

'Hans Brinker' is an American story of Dutch life, which has gained a good deal of popularity for its admirable descriptions of Dutch localities and customs. It is here revised and reproduced uniformly with the publisher's admirable series of Jules Verne's books.

Hymns for Infant Minds. By ANN and JANE TAYLOR. Selected, Revised, and Illustrated by JOSIAH GILBERT. Hodder and Stoughton.

It needed not Mr. Gilbert's filial reverence to commend these popular hymns of his mother and his aunt. Next to Dr. Watts' 'Divine and Moral Songs,' they have probably found greater favour than any production of their class. They are in almost every nursery. This is the fiftieth edition. The editor has omitted ten hymns not in the original edition, and which he deems inferior, and has added twenty-one taken from other publications of the authors. The charm of this edition, in addition to fine toned paper and clear type, is twenty-eight exquisite illustrations, with one or two exceptions, original. Mr. Gilbert's professional reputation as an artist is very high—but neither in conceptive drawings nor execution has he, we think, ever surpassed these delicate and picturesque drawings. They are slight sketches, but for light grace and beauty, two or three of them are perfect little gems—e.g., Christ giving His disciples their commission to preach, Children saying their evening prayers, Christ healing the sick, Christ with Martha and Mary. It is a little gem of a book, which should have a place in every selection of new year's presents.

Mammalia; their Various Forms and Habits. Popularly Illustrated by Typical Species. Adapted from the Text of LOUIS FIGUIER, by PERCIVAL WRIGHT, M.D., F.L.S., Professor of Botany in the University of Dublin. With upwards of 260 Engravings. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

We always know what to expect from Mr. Figuiet's picturesqueness, dash, and admirable grouping of matter, but with the drawback of sacrificing exactness for effect. Here the Frenchman's vividness is combined with the Englishman's accuracy. Dr. Wright has tested and corrected the scientific statements, and the result is a very admirable book of history and anecdotes about mammalia, profusely adorned with very spirited illustrations.

The History of Bluebeard's Six Wives. A Veracious Account of how Each of these Predecessors to Fatima met her Tragical End. Collected from Mendacious Chronicles, by SABILLA NOVELLO, who affectionately Dedicated it to her Nieces, POZIA and VELERIA, in Memory of bygone 'Tell-us-a-Story' days. Illustrated by George Cruikshank, jun. Grant and Co.

This sumptuous quarto is dedicated to young ladies, and is not encumbered with any

dryasdust information concerning the origin of this wild and sanguineous chronicle. Sabilla Novello does not condescend to adjudicate between the Sclavonic or Aryan cradle of the myth, nor to present any of the hideous stories out of which Pervault fabricated the children's Bluebeard; but she has given a slight element of the comic to her exposition of the damning crime of 'curiosity' by incongruous nineteenth century allusions and modern slang. Why the poetical justice of Fatima's revenge and triumph should not have been introduced we know not. The vermilion and ultramarine employed in the broad farcical illustrations of the story do not give us any very high idea of the taste or skill of Mr. George Cruikshank, jun. The drawing, colour, and pose of the figures are, it is true, in harmony with the rough and brutal hyperbole of the whole legend. The grim expression of the tyrant when prepared to remove the head of the wife who first inflicted on him, by her spell, the curse of his blue beard, is amusing enough, and there is some grim humour in the countenances of the dwarf, the decapitated giant, and the timid maiden who flew to the arms of the monster in a transport of gratitude. The title-page is very cleverly done. Many little eyes will open wide as saucers at the expression of truculent selfishness; and the sound of *fee-foh-fum* mutters and murmurs over these cream-laid pages.

The Land of the Lion; or, Adventures among the Wild Animals of Africa. With Thirty-two Illustrations. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) This is an admirable book for exciting the interest, and at the same time informing the minds, of young folks. Nine chapters are devoted to almost as many wild animals of Africa—the lion, the hippopotamus, the elephant, the buffalo, and the crocodile. Their habits are described and methods of hunting them, interspersed with characteristic anecdotes and exciting adventures.—*Half Hours with the Animals: Narratives exhibiting Thought, Sympathy, and Affection in the Brute Creation.* With Thirty-two Illustrations. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) A companion volume to the above, sufficiently described by its title. The House, The Stable, The Farm-yard, The Field, The Wood, Abroad, are the topics of its half-dozen chapters. The illustrations, from Landseer, Herring, Hills, and others, are very good. These are the very best kind of children's books.—*The Book of Praise for Children.* H. K. LEWIS. We can only commend this as the wisest, and, we think, in every respect the best selection of its kind that has come into our hands. Almost all the good children's hymns in the language are included, some of those of recent writers will be new to most. Twaddle, under pretence of simplicity, is avoided; and children are credited with an appreciation which superficial observers have no notion of. The book ought to be in every family where children are.—*Hymns and Poems for Little Folks.* With over One Hundred and Fifty Full-page Illus-

trations. (Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.) A capital selection of nearly two hundred children's pieces, from all available sources—a few of them religious. The full-page illustrations, on every other page, will be a great attraction to the juveniles of the nursery, while the intrinsic merits of many of the pieces will interest the older children. It is a very effective popular book.—*Men of Mark in British Church History.* By WILLIAM MARSHALL, D.D., Coupar-Angus. (Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Co.) Dr. Marshall has sought to sketch Church history through short biographies of Church leaders. The men selected are Thomas à Becket, Wycliff, the English Lollards, the Scottish Lollards, Wolsey, George Buchanan, and Cranmer. Dr. Marshall's sympathies are broad; he can recognise noble qualities in men from whom he differs most. He has written, therefore, with solicitous fairness, and while his own views and preferences are not concealed, he does as full justice to à Becket as he does to Wycliff. It is a very admirable little book, well written and well informed.—*Rambles and Adventures of our School Field Club.* By G. CHRISTOPHER DAVIES. With Four Illustrations by H. Sandercock. (Henry S. King and Co.) The title-page suggests the character of the book. Mr. Davies intimates that it is in part a record of his own school life. The scene is Oswestry, of the grammar-school of which the author was a pupil. Every variety of a school-boy's experience in the woods and fields, from bird's-neating to wild-fowl shooting and other hunting, is described in a very attractive way. Mr. Davies has the feeling of a naturalist, and writes as well as he sees. His father, to whose scientific learning our own pages have been indebted, writes two excellent chapters on the geology of the district.—*Will Foster of the Ferry.* By AGNES GIBERNE, Author of 'The Curate's Home,' &c. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) This well-written narrative, charged with religious thought, which is not uttered superfluously, is a powerful recommendation of thrift, patience, order, and contentment, as well as of 'the cleanliness which is next to godliness.'—*Sunnyland Stories.* By the Author of 'Aunt Mary's Bran Pie,' &c. Illustrated. (Henry S. King and Co.) A charming group of pretty stories, told in Sunnyland by Goldilocks to a little visitor, who would have been sorely disconcerted with the less sunny region of her own lowlier home after enjoying these strange visions of previously unimagined beauty, if she had not learnt from the said stories the art of seeing beauty everywhere. In fact, these stories are veritable fairy spectacles, which will permit the humblest wearer of them to see diamonds in every dew-drop, and costly 'paint' in frosted window-panes, and every kind of heaven-made wonder in the primrose and the snowdrop: to see the lovely and the precious in all God's ways—in lowly things and daily duty. The illustrations are very sweetly and tenderly drawn.—*Self-Formation; or, Aids and Helps to Mind-Life.* By the Rev. PAXTON HOOD.

New Edition, Revised. (James Clarke and Co.) A new edition of one of Mr. Hood's earliest and best books. Upon a string of purpose Mr. Hood threads an amusing medley of observations, anecdotes, and parables, which make the perusal of the book like a walk down the path of an orchard, plucking fruit from every tree. It is a capital book for young folks, if it do not teach them to substitute desultory observations for reasoning.—*The Wild Horseman of the Pampas.* By DAVID KER. With Four Illustrations. (Henry S. King and Co.) Mr. Ker has written, out of the knowledge of his own travelling experience, a very spirited book for boys, founded upon the fights between American Indians and European settlers, English and Spanish. The Wild Horseman is an Indian chief of great skill and daring, who, however, turns out to be a stolen child of English parents—the lost brother, indeed, of the hero of the story. Mr. Ker's descriptions are very exciting. Harry Frankland's ascent of the Sugar-Loaf Mountain will make many a boy's heart throb. The story is full of wild adventures.—*The Young Surveyor.* By J. T. TROWBRIDGE. (Sampson Low and Co.) This is a Yankee story of somewhat exciting, not to say extravagant adventures, which minister a little too exclusively to the sensational.—*An Island Pearl.* By B. L. FARJEON. Christmas number of 'Tinsley's Magazine.'

Mr. Farjeon's stories are always worth reading. He is the ablest representative of the Dickens school of fiction, both in descriptive power, in graceful fancy, and in sympathy with suffering. He is, however, in danger of being led, as in his present story, into undue dependence upon sensational and improbable incident. It is a defect in art to make an entire story turn upon a misconception which in real life would at once be removed. The story itself is very beautiful.—*Micheline.* A Tale. By Madame EUGENE BERSIER. Translated by Mrs. CAREY BROCK. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) A very admirable story of the French Revolution. The heroine is an orphan, shipwrecked on Mont St. Michel,—whence her name. The scenes of the story are the Manche coast and Jersey, both of which are picturesquely described, while the residence of the heroine with the gaoler of the fortress and her love passages with his son are told with much beauty and pathos, and are cleverly set in a framework of historical surroundings.—*A History and Handbook of Photography.* Translated from the French of Gaston Tissandier. Edited by J. Momsen, F.R.G.S. With upwards of 70 Illustrations. (Sampson Low and Co.) This useful and interesting little book may well have a place in the Christmas parcel in virtue both of its popular account of a very interesting science and of its capital illustrations. It is a history of photography, simple enough to interest young people and solid enough for their elders. A touching story is told of a young man who applied to a French optician about the price of a camera, showing to him a view of Paris printed on paper, also in-

dicating the chemicals by which the result had been obtained. This he left with M. Chevalier, the price of the camera being too much for his means, and his own lens being broken. He went away and did not again appear. But he was the real discoverer of the Talbotype process.—*Oliver Westwood; or, Overcoming the World.* By EMMA JANE WORBOISE. (James Clarke and Co.) Miss Worboise's pen is indefatigable, and her shrewd, common-sense, practical, wholesome stories always commend themselves to the judgment and moral sense, while they rarely fail to interest. 'Oliver Westwood' is, we think, as good as anything that she has written. It is skilfully constructed, well sustained, and the dialogue is vivacious and full of good sense. Oliver is a kind of respectable Oliver Twist. He is of base birth, left to the care of an aunt, and the story consists of his struggles as a boy and a man to overcome his disadvantageous circumstances. Miss Worboise's stories have this great commendation—no one can read them without having good feelings and purposes strengthened.

—*Stories from China.* By the Author of 'The Story of a Summer Day.' With 75 Illustrations. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) We always feel the dialogue form of conveying information to be a little stiff and artificial. It may, however, be effective for young folk. Here is a little book of conversations between a mother and her daughters, full of interesting information about the people of the Flowery Land, and by one who apparently knows them well.—*Life on the Deep: Memorials of Charles Murch, Commander, R.N.* By his NEPHEW. (Religious Tract Society.) There is no indication on the title-page that this is a second edition. We spoke in warm commendation of the book when it first appeared, a couple of years ago. It is the memoir of a pious, warm-hearted, noble sailor.—*Seven Autumn Leaves from Fairy-Land.* Illustrated with Nine Etchings. (Henry S. King and Co.) Why these stories should be called 'Autumn Leaves' we do not see. They are intended only for 'little curly heads,' and are told with a good deal of spirit and freedom. They will not fail in taking hold of the fancy of little folk.—*Stories from the Lips of the Teacher.* Retold by a DISCIPLE. (Sampson Low and Co.) The American author of this little book thinks that our Lord's parables have been long waiting to be retold, inasmuch as 'long intimacy has impaired their vividness, rubbed off the bloom of their poetic beauty, and even rendered the mind insensible to the delicacy of their truth.' We can only say that we prefer the originals to this somewhat wordy and preachy paraphrase of them, and that we prefer the paraphrase to the reasons adduced to justify it.—*Sunday Echoes in Week-Day Hours: a Tale illustrative of the Parables.* By Mrs. CAREY BROCK. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) Mrs Brock's tales have attained a well-merited popularity. They are, as she intends them to be, somewhat Churchy, but in a legitimate way: we nevertheless enjoy and commend them. This story

is skilfully constructed so as to have a unity throughout. Nursery and home doings are made use of to illustrate the lessons of the parables,—e.g., the building and fall of a tower of nursery bricks to illustrate the 'Two Foundations.' Scenes and incidents from real life are interwoven in a natural and effective way. The young folks grow up into life, and the story is brought to an end in a satisfactory way. It is a capital Sunday book.

MESSRS. CASSELL'S SERIAL PUBLICATIONS.

Messrs Cassell, like Nelson, deserve a gazette to themselves. Their serials are produced with unfailing regularity and undiminished profuseness. Like the Messrs. Chambers, they have defined for themselves a character of popular literature, which, while written as a rule by thoroughly competent scholars, is yet conceived in a style and inlaid with illustrative materials that make even somewhat recondite subjects attractive general reading.

First, we have to report the completion of the third and last volume of Mr. James Grant's *British Battles on Land and Sea*. The very theme is instinct with exciting materials. Mr. Grant, in his 'Romance of War,' showed how well he could combine scientific exposition with popular description in his account of military operations. Here all the chief battles of Britain, by land and by sea, from the Norman Conquest to the capture of Coomassie, are graphically described, with just so much of historical setting as is necessary for the appreciation of the issues.

We cannot say very much of the illustrations, which are so profusely given. Those of battles especially can be only fancy groups of small sections of the conflict, and generally consist of somebody in a melodramatic attitude and a queer mixture of smoke and smudge. One peril of the book is that it will fascinate young minds, and imbue them with the feeling that young Norval describes. A great deal of history is here taught in very romantic form.

They also complete Vol. III. of *Old and New London: a Narrative of its History, its People, and its Places*. The first two volumes, by Mr. Walter Thornbury, treated of London proper, or what is here called the Eastern Hemisphere of London. This third volume, by Mr. Edward Walford, is devoted to Westminster and the western suburbs—that part of London that is west of Temple Bar, including the Strand, Soho, Kensington, Chelsea, Marylebone, Lambeth, Bayswater, and Hampstead, as well as Westminster. It is impossible to subject to anything like criticism a popular chronicle and medley such as this, and we have no disposition to hunt down any slips of date or circumstance for the sake of showing how learned we are. We have no vocation to disparage writing so effective in its appeal to ordinary readers. In this work, too, the theme is at once full of interesting material and free from any possible excitement of bellicose passions. Anecdotes and biographical sketches are skilfully introduced. Few

readers, whether old or young, will tire of the book. Strange things are told, which seem very ancient and yet are so modern. We can scarcely, for instance, credit some of the customs and abominations that extended even into Victoria's reign. The illustrations here serve a valuable purpose in preserving to us the appearance of many interesting old buildings which have been taken down. Our own young people have welcomed none of Messrs. Cassell's publications more eagerly, and we ourselves must confess to having been seduced into a perusal of more of it than compares with the ordinary credit given to reviewers.

Mr. Edmund Ollier has completed the first volume of *A History of the United States*, bringing it down to the deaths of Wolfe and Montcalm, in 1759. The style is direct and business-like, and Mr. Ollier seems to have his information well in hand. He would perhaps have told us more of the aborigines had Mr. Bancroft's very learned and exhaustive volumes been published a few months earlier. Old maps and engravings furnish interesting illustrations. Adventures of individual explorers, such as Raleigh and Captain Smith (the hero of the romance of Pocahontas) are skilfully interwoven. The sympathies of the writer are liberal, and do justice to the Puritan settlers of New-England. The history promises to be as successful as the other works of its class.

In *The History of Protestantism*, Vol. I. of which is completed, the Rev. J. A. WYLIE, LL.D., has undertaken a more arduous task than any of his associates in these popular histories. When one thinks of the varied historical and political knowledge and of the philosophical grasp and acumen necessary for even just conceptions and generalisations, and of the many profound problems, and complicated, not to say inexplicable, events that are involved, one feels that even the author of the 'History of Civilisation' would be scarcely adequate to such an undertaking. It is one thing to trace various rills to their mountain sources; it is another thing to understand their causes and contributive value.

Dr. Wylie has, however, produced *mémoires pour servir* sketches full of interest, and of things most important in their bearings. His work, as men now understand the philosophy of history, can hardly be accepted as a conclusive history of Protestantism, but it is a valuable popular narrative of the events that have contributed to that history. Dr. Wylie lacks, too, somewhat of the careful exactitude and the well-adjusted conciseness that we could desire in such a work; but great historians are few, and the work before us is a really valuable contribution to popular knowledge on a great and germinal theme. Protestantism, in its principle, as distinguished from its accidental designation, and Priestism, are the two antagonistic forces into which the whole of Christendom resolves itself.

The Races of Mankind: being a Popular Description of the Characteristics, Manners, and Customs of the Principal Varieties of

the Human Family. By ROBERT BROWN, M.A. Vol. III. With upwards of one hundred and thirty illustrations. The third volume of Mr. Brown's really useful and able work treats of African tribes, of Persians, Kurds, and the various tribes of the Indian stock. Not only are the characteristics of these various peoples set forth with physiological and ethnological knowledge, and in a popular way illustrated by well selected historic references, anecdotes, descriptions, &c., from the writings of travellers, but very admirable engravings—superior, we think, to those of the other works we have mentioned—are profusely scattered over the pages. We may instance as remarkably good the full-page portrait of the Shah of Persia. The pill of knowledge is very skilfully covered with the jam of amusing reading.

SERIAL VOLUMES.

What can be said about the *Leisure Hour* and the *Sunday at Home* (Religious Tract Society), save that they are in no degree diminished, either in affluent variety or in literary quality? They are still repertoires of wholesome literature for families, accessible to the poorest and acceptable to the richest. Almost every department of useful knowledge and of interesting literature is here represented. Biographical sketches of contemporary personages, music, caricature, fiction, fables, travels, natural history, poetry, ethnology, all find a place. The fictions in the *Leisure Hour* are 'Cross Currents,' by Henriette Bowra; 'The Tall Man,' by Gustav Nicritz; 'The Siege of Stralsund,' by J. de Liefde; with innumerable lesser stories and sketches. In the *Sunday at Home* we find the same variety, only with a character suited for Sunday reading. A series of sketches for children, a series of short sermons for family use, sketches of Jewish life in Palestine, Sabbath thoughts, &c., are among its distinctive features.

The *Quiver* (Cassell, Petter, and Galpin) is so closely allied in character to the *Leisure Hour* that distinctive characterisation is impossible. Perhaps its papers are a little longer and of a somewhat higher literary character. The principal stories that run through the volume are, 'Lost in the Winning'; 'Mayflower,' by the Author of 'Little Buttercups'; 'Edward Turner,' by the Author of 'Martha's Vineyard'; 'Fanny Forrest'; 'The Bridge Between'; 'Still and Deep,' by F. M. F. Skene; 'Aunt Jessie'; 'Surlly Bob,' with the usual miscellany of papers, some of them very admirable.

Cassell's Magazine (Cassell, Petter, and Galpin). The two serial stories of *Cassell's* this year have been, 'The Manchester Man,' by Mrs. G. Linnæus Banks; and 'Pretty Miss Bellow,' by Theo. Gift, neither of them equal to Mr. Gibbon's fine novel of last year, but both clever and interesting. The miscellanies of *Cassell's* are always somewhat brighter, not to say lighter, than those of its contemporaries. They aim more at amusing; even its more instructive papers are thrown into very lively forms.

Little Folks (Cassell, Petter, and Galpin) maintains its undisputed pre-eminence as the prince of magazines for the nursery. It, too, has a serial story, written with effective simplicity, and its usual repertory of puzzles and short stories, music and poetry. No nursery can be dull with a volume of *Little Folks* in it.

Messrs. Dalby and Isbister sustain in unflinching strength—the loss of Dr. MacLeod and Dr. Guthrie notwithstanding—*Good Words* and the *Sunday Magazine*. For the former Mrs. Oliphant writes 'Whiteladies,' and Jean Ingelow, 'Fated to be Free;' for the latter, the Author of the 'Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family' writes a 'Story of Rome in the days of Jerome,' and an anonymous author, 'Janet Mosen's Troubles.' The miscellanies of both seem to hit a mean between the severely edifying and the merely amusing. They are always solid and instructive, and almost always interesting. The names of old contributors—Dean Stanley, Dr. Blackie, Principal Tulloch, Professor Shairp, Dr. Alexander, H. A. Page, and others—are retained.

Messrs. Strahan and Co. put forth two new magazine candidates for public favour: *Evening Hours*, a family magazine after the type of *Good Words*, in which they have secured an admirable list of contributors; among them C. C. Fraser-Tytler, author of 'Mistress Judith,' who writes 'Jonathan,' a serial story. Katherine Saunders, Mrs. Carey Brock, the Author of 'Episodes of an Obscure Life,' Canon Barry, Julian Hawthorne, and others contribute papers. *The Peep-Show* is a picture magazine for little readers, and caters for them excellently. *The Day of Rest* has, as its serial story, 'The White Cross and Dove of Pearls,' by O. H. Bassett. Each part contains some forty articles. Among the contributors are Dr. C. J. Vaughan, George MacDonald, C. C. Fraser-Tytler, Rev. John Hunt, and C. L. Trench. The magazine is equal to any of its contemporaries.

Happy Hours (James Clarke and Co.) is, as usual, a good, homely, practical miscellany of stories and papers for family reading, in which young folks are well catered for. *The Christian World Magazine*, in addition to the usual stories by the Editor and Marianne Farningham (both of which this year, 'Oliver Westwood' and 'Through Night to Light,' are good), contains Mrs. Beecher Stowe's story, 'We and our Neighbours,' reprinted from the *Christian Union*; a story by Mary Baskin, 'Conquered at Last;' a translation of Manzoni's 'Betrothed Lovers,' and the usual miscellany of papers.

The Picture Gallery, 1875. Vol. IV. (Sampson Low and Co.) Each number of the present volume of 'The Picture Gallery' is devoted to a British painter, of whom a short biographical sketch is given, together with four illustrations from his works, reproduced by the Woodbury process. These are not equally successful, but some are very clear and fine in tone.

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND PHILOLOGY.

Life in Christ: a Study of the Scripture Doctrines on the Nature of Man, the Object of the Divine Incarnation, and the Conditions of Human Immortality. By EDWARD WHITE. Elliot Stock.

When a writer of such eminence as Mr. White, a Biblical theologian of such culture and breadth, a man who has for thirty years been regarded as the chief and most able exponent of the doctrine of 'conditional immortality,' does, in the maturity of his powers, and with accumulated stores of reading and meditation, endeavour to show the bearing of his main doctrine upon all related dogmas of the Christian faith, it is due to him that we should attempt to understand his position. It ought then to be understood that Mr. White offers us in this closely printed volume of nearly 600 pages an entire scheme of Biblical psychology and a system of Christian theology. The argument becomes an exposition of the whole doctrine of Scripture on the Nature of Man and the objects of the Divine Incarnation, as well as the conditions of Human Immortality. Let not our readers be repelled by this representation of the drift of the volume. The style and treatment are often vivacious and even fascinating. The numberless topics are marshalled with consummate ease and arranged with artistic skill. The various links in the chain of argument are forged and riveted each in its right place, and though some of them burn with intensity and coruscate as they lie, they are often carved, and even decorated, with a masterly hand. Whether the author is right or wrong, and his ideas true or false, his logic is not only on fire, but it blazes and leaps with prophetic fervour, and is clearly the work of a great moral nature consciously to itself in harmony with the truth of things.

Mr. White does not formally justify his appeal to Scripture as to the revelation of the thought of God, nor vindicate the supernatural origin of its disclosures against modern scepticism or the higher criticism. He conceives that a true exhibition of the whole doctrine of the Bible on these profound themes will do more than anything else to establish its Divine origin.

Now we will not dispute this general principle; and we gladly admit that in many parts of this exposition we find ourselves in strong sympathy with the author's enthusiasm for Evangelical verity, and his fervent and enlightened vindication of the doctrines of grace. Let the sublime fact of the Incarnation and the stupendous significance of the death of the God-man be adequately stated, and it becomes its own evidence. The Word of Life is legible by the light it gives. Mr. White, however, appears to us to adopt a method at the outset which is open to serious criticism. He draws a picture of human mortality, 'under the light of science only,' the effect of which is to extinguish every gleam of affirmation which nature has been supposed to bear to life after death. The voice of 'science' utters the terrible dictum that 'when the

organism dissolves, the life dissolves with it; sentiment must vanish before fact; it is wholly impossible from a scientific point of view to contemplate the human species apart from the immense life-system of the globe to which it belongs.' 'The prevailing speculations on the animal origin of man do not qualify the blackness of the outlook.' 'The intelligence of animals is as genuine a manifestation of mind as that of man, and animals die and return to their dust.' Mr. White introduces a powerful caveat to the doctrine of Evolution, and puts exceedingly well other considerations which demonstrate the difference between man and animals; but he concedes to the anti-Christian position 'that by the unassisted light of science and history we are able to reach no coherent or satisfactory conclusion as to the origin of mankind, its relation to the animal races, or its future destiny.' This solemn assertion is emphasised by an impressive chapter, in which he strives to make his reader feel the awful multitude of human beings who have crossed the threshold of time. Having piled up this agony of computation he proceeds to descant on the 'orthodox' answer to the questions 'whence?' 'whither?' for this interminable and baffling procession of living, dying men. The answers of confessions of faith, of great theologians, of martyr-missionaries, of popular preachers, are brought together into one volcanic and fulgurous chapter, which is enough to make the calmest tremble. The doctrine held by many Christians undoubtedly has been and is that these countless millions have passed onwards, downwards, into an eternity of conscious, irretrievable torment. It is hardly necessary for him to suggest, as he does with a touch of his irrepressible humour, whether Christendom can have erred in this estimate of the case. Mr. White finds the *πῶτον ψεύδος* of this petrifying conception in the doctrine of the 'immortality of the soul,' and proceeds somewhat hastily to throw aside the various natural arguments and some of the Christian philosophy in favour of this position. Abstract ontological relations with the Infinite are rejected. Nothing but moral relations can affect human destiny. 'To be cast off by God may be to perish.' 'The indestructibility of substance' is discarded as an argument for immortality, and the moral instinct and widespread intuition of the 'survival of the soul' cannot be construed into any probability of 'eternal survival.' 'The light of nature cannot give any assurance of everlasting duration.' By adducing the views of Whately, Perowne and others, he shows how vain it is to look in any of the arguments for survival for a proof of 'the abstract dogma of the immortality of the soul.' He then proceeds, in a second book, to discuss the Biblical doctrine of Life and Death, asserting that in no portion of the Holy Scriptures is there any reference to the 'immortality of the soul' as such.

First of all, Adam is declared *not* to be inherently immortal, because his immortality is represented as having been always conditioned by continued access to the Tree of Life.

'The living soul' of Adam is asserted to be identical with 'the soul of every living thing,' and the spirit of man to be in essence as the spirit (*ruach*) of the beast. 'Death' is, according to our author, the disintegration of compounded elements; the separated parts are not the man. In a sentence in p. 107 he seems to us, however, to do much towards dissolving his own theory. 'The death of the grain is its disintegration—the breaking up of the organisation, a process in which one element survives, to gather around itself fresh materials in a veritable resurrection. The humanity [of Christ] was broken up, destroyed, and poured out its life unto death; but a divine and a spiritual element remained, around which God built up again the dissolved humanity.' This theory seems to show how firmly Mr. White, on philosophical grounds, is holding the survival of the soul of man—consequently the survival of that dim, ghostly, boundless procession of souls of which he has given such a graphic and terrible picture.

'The death threatened to Adam' is declared to be death, and nothing more; 'ceasing to be,' not immortality of suffering. If delayed in execution, if the Tree of Life was no longer accessible, the impending doom was thenceforth written on humanity. Here Mr. White indulges in powerful declamation, to the effect that the threatened curse of eternal punishment could not be contained silently in Adam's 'curse of death.' We cannot refrain from the criticism that there was an equally inexplicable reticence on the part of the Almighty, on Mr. White's own subsequent interpretation, of the doom of the first man. Why, we may ask, was he not warned that, after a long earthly probation of impending death, he *would*, indeed, physically die, and then, for untold millenniums, his soul would await in terrible suspense the judgment-day, then to be reunited to the reanimated body, and once more to encounter the fiercest terrors of destruction—to be 'killed with death,' after the manner in which our author imagines all these waiters for their hideous doom finally do meet it? Surely on Mr. White's interpretation also there was infinitely more in the 'curse,' 'Thou shalt surely die,' than Adam could have guessed.

Mr. White does not sympathise with those who see no hint or hope of 'future life' in the Old Testament. He finds these hints throughout the Books, tracing them from Daniel back to Moses. Though 'the death penalty' of the Theocracy meant, according to our author, death, and not 'eternity of suffering,' he does find therein both the future punishment of the wicked and the idea of resurrection. But he takes every passage which has been supposed to suggest *eternal* torment, and powerfully argues that in their obvious meaning they convey no such idea. Our author is, however, compelled to allow that the Pharisees at the time of Christ included under their *oral* tradition the doctrine of the 'immortality of the soul,' and he claims to throw light on the relation between them and the Sadducees, and on the way in

which our Lord answered their queries and meditated between them. He seems to us to fail in the right interpretation of this difficult question. He has not taken sufficient notice of the opposing tendencies of thought on this subject apart from tradition, as seen in the 'Wisdom of Solomon' and of the Son of Sirach; nor does he refer sufficiently to the extent to which, in Philo and the Book of Enoch, the clear belief in the spirituality and continuity of the soul of man is evinced. From whatever source derived, whether from heathen philosophies or personal intuitions, our Lord appears to us to vindicate the doctrine of the *resurrection* by appealing to a more fundamental conception, viz., that of the survival of the soul, denied by the Sadducees, but without which it is almost impossible to think it. To prove that the dead *rise*, our Lord drew from the language of God to Moses an indication of the continued 'life' of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. As though He had said, You, Sadducees, ought not to repudiate the 'anastasis,' if from the sacred volume to which you appeal there is enough to sweep away your main materialistic objection to the idea of such 'anastasis.'

Having reached this point in his argument, Mr. White proceeds with great elaboration to maintain his principal thesis, that the object of the Incarnation is to *immortalise mankind*, not to confer happiness or completeness of being on a race already immortal. Immortality has, according to him, no basis in biology, metaphysics, or Scripture, but it has in the work of Christ. Whenever 'life eternal' is spoken of, Mr. White contends that we are rigidly bound to understand 'endless existence.' It was this which Christ came to confer, and to make the appanage of His own disciples, and for the *first time*. Apart from Him and this Divine work of the Incarnate God, the human race would have perished eternally in death. There would be neither the survival of his soul nor the resurrection of his complete manhood. The union of the Divine with the human nature, the taking of the manhood into God, has alone saved the race from extinction. He then proceeds to discuss the method of this salvation. We have seldom read a nobler vindication of the Evangelical doctrine of justification than that which is contained in chap. xviii., and we commend it to any who are spellbound by that popular notion of atonement and justification which reduces the work of Christ to a mere assertion of Divine compassion and an example of a perfect surrender to the will of God. He maintains that if 'justification unto life eternal' had not been obscured by belief in the natural immortality of man, it would never have been corrupted and rejected with the contumely from which it now suffers; that if properly apprehended as the gift of life, it would be seen to be '*exclusively the gracious act of God, and not the work of mortal man.*'

His special view enables him to lay the greatest emphasis on the Catholic doctrine of the twofold nature of the Personality of Christ. The union of an Eternal Spirit with the life

of man gave all its efficacy to His sacrifice. The curse which the Lord Jesus bore was *the curse of sin*, viz., according to Mr. White, LITERAL DEATH,—not more, nor less. This was enough, but it was imperatively necessary, and the resurrection which followed was solely in virtue of His Divine nature. The argument by which our author expounds the objective value of this work of Christ is one of the most powerful exhibitions of the truth about it that we have seen, though we cannot accept the enormous strain he puts upon it in regarding it the efficient cause not only of all that makes life a blessing, but of existence itself. He repudiates the charge of the anti-supernaturalist, that in the dominion of a Holy God, the innocent creature cannot be made legally to suffer for the guilty, by the reply that Christ is *not* a creature. '*God Himself must suffer* in one exceptional sacrifice if sinners are to be saved.' With equal force Mr. White maintains the Biblical doctrine of regeneration as the beginning of the eternal life effected by the Holy Spirit, not in sacramental methods, but by the 'word of God.' He believes that this regeneration has taken place in pre-Messianic times among the heathens and ignorant people of small advantages. Of course he does not accept the idea of the dormant spirit (*pneuma*) in unregenerate man, but in the conferring, by the indwelling Spirit, of a 'new man' in Christ Jesus. Still he resists, somewhat inconsistently, the idea of a physical change in regeneration, making moral conformity with God the nexus of union with God and the condition of immortality. The important chapter on HADES cannot be fitly represented in a few sentences. It is carefully and reverently discussed, and the conclusion is that intuition, if not science and the Scriptures, both Old and New, proclaim the 'survival of the soul'; that 'the curse of death is executed in such a manner as to allow of its reversal by the resurrection of the same man to life'; that Paradise and Gehenna are provinces of this immense domain. 'Some souls may sleep, some may be wholly unconscious; some may be thinking, learning, improving; some may be in sorrow, some may be even in torment; some may be wandering on earth as *daimonia*, some may be shut up in the abyss; some may have been *evangelised in Hades* by the Spirit of Christ, and some translated to heaven since Christ ascended there.' The souls in Christ do undoubtedly survive in and with Him. The subjects referred to in the italicised words form the subject of a distinct chapter, where a large hope is entertained for many who, as infants or heathen, had no chance of receiving or understanding the eternal life on earth.

Then follows the discussion of the resurrection. Dr. Bush's theory of the resurrection, that it consists merely of the survival of the soul, is discussed and dismissed, mainly on the ground that then there is no meaning in our Lord's resurrection taking place on the *third day*. This argument seems to us singularly weak, and it is followed by the exposition of a premillennial advent, and the rapid

drawing on of 'the first resurrection.' It is obvious that we cannot here discuss this great theme. The author then proceeds to the New Testament doctrine of the 'second death,' and though in the early chapters of the work Mr. White has stigmatised, by choice quotation, the terrible views of Jonathan Edwards and others, we think that his conception of the final doom of the impenitent after the almost boundless looking for of judgment, is almost more crushing and bewildering to conscience. He even reverts, with terrible earnestness, to the doctrine of physical burning—the newly-constituted body being made capable of prolonged agony unto ultimate extinction in these electric flames. However, having reached this point, he enters very largely into the proof of the terminable nature of these burnings, and the ultimate annihilation of sin and death in this judgment of Almighty God.

This discussion is very powerful, but it would very largely apply to the annihilation of sinners in *Hades* and at death. Some of the great texts, like Matthew xxv. 46, are debated at much length, and very plausibly explained in harmony with the general theory. The author tries to show that the whole doctrine of endless suffering arose in the third century, when Christianity was inoculated by Alexandrine metaphysics; and the priesthood, in lawless and persecuting times, found it of immense service in overawing the impenitent and rebellious.

Our author then girds himself to a powerful assault on the doctrine of Universalism; declares it utterly faulty in both ethics and theology; and, notwithstanding certain great and encouraging promises of larger hope, quite incompatible with the terrific catena of assurance that God will crush, exterminate, and *destroy* those who have not laid hold on eternal life. Apart from 'the vain and heathenish philosophy' of an 'immortal soul,' Universalism would not, could not, stand for a moment. It is merely on the basis of that 'delusion,' a reaction of generous and amiable sentiment against the hideous and unscriptural hypothesis of eternal torment. Having demolished the latter, Mr. White gives the *coup de grace* to Universalism. The one great point on which he insists from the first page to the last, is that 'immortality' is the supernatural gift of Christ; and since the Lord does not give it to those on whom He turns in wrath and flaming fire, *they* perish everlastingly, they disappear and cease forever.

We are disposed to ask whether this is a relief from the popular and current doctrine? One idea forced upon us by all this discussion is, that notwithstanding careful exegesis and philosophic speculation, we *know* exceedingly little about these deep mysteries. God alone knows and fills the future, and neither in the New Testament nor the Old is there much *definite* revelation on the subject. The doom of the impenitent, the nature of future life, the judgment of Christ, are referred to as matters mutually understood, rather than as there and then formally expounded. We may put these hints together and construct theories and guess at the nature of death and judg-

ment and eternity, but we *know* nothing. Moreover we are compelled continually to succumb to the logic of facts. Prophets prophesy, but events which fulfil their prophecies are so profoundly different from what even prophetic and inspired souls anticipated, that modern teachers ought to be modest in asserting what *must* be. How blind even the Apostles of Christ were with reference to the nature of His *first* coming and the mode or time of His *second* coming. Ought modern eschatologists to be certain that they have accurately made out the programme of the future? What new readings may be found in the great unwritten book which eternity will bring to light!

There is more relief in the deep persuasions of the universal conscience, in the hints of Scripture, in the possibilities of eternity. Mr. White would not allow any man to cherish the belief that he has an immortal soul by the creation of God, but rather a perishing and doomed soul, a soul hurrying on to a second death. But some halt should be called here. Even Mr. White insists on the *survival* of the conscious soul and on the widely-spread belief in this survival and retribution. He accounts for the belief by the fact, and for the fact by the Incarnation of God and Redemption that is in Christ. But he is at the same time severe on the influence it has had upon Christian theology. In our minds it is one of those fundamental *placita* of conscience, like belief in God, or a consciousness of the moral imperative, which is deeper than revelation, and without which revelation itself would have been incredible. To *us* it is most perilous to crush this *instinctive sense of the infinite in life and in moral distinctions*. Christ, undoubtedly, came to give life, but life in the sense of blessedness, not existence.

Mr. White thinks that he has cut away the idea of an eternal hell; but what an imputation he has brought on the gospel that he has expounded so lovingly! For what has his theory done for the vast procession of mortal men who have been crossing the sands of time in ignorance and sin? If they had been left to perish, how infinitely preferable to what he conjectures. If admitted to eternity, with its possible teachings and revelations, and its probations, there is at least a dim hope concerning them. They are the offspring of Eternal God, for whom Christ died. But on the hypothesis of Mr. White, it seems to us that the only effect of the Incarnation on them has been to prolong their existence during millenniums of agony in awaiting the final blow. The doctrine of 'immortality,' not in the dogmatic sense of endless existence, but in that of existence after death, of a life of the destruction of which we have no experience, and on which Christ confers all the blessedness of His own life, frees the gospel from the tremendous imputation. There is a verse in John of unspeakable signification,—'In my Father's house are many mansions.' It is worth folios of disquisition.

We cannot but thank Mr. White for his volume, and believe that he will compel

many competent scholars to investigate afresh the conditions of immortality and the meaning of the term.

A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities. Being a Continuation of the 'Dictionary of the Bible.' Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, D.C.L., LL.D.; and SAMUEL CHEETHAM, M.A. Vol. I. John Murray.

This volume embraces the period from the close of the canon of Scripture to the age of Charlemagne—i.e., the close of the eighth century. Its importance as a Cyclopædia of ecclesiastical usage and theological doctrine during these great formative ages of Christendom can hardly be overestimated. For the first time students and scholars have a book of reference on these subjects both comprehensive and minute. We can scarcely imagine one item of information that, under one head or another, these volumes will not supply. Both as a source of information gathered and sifted by the most competent scholars, and tested by the latest results of antiquarian research, and as a compendious book of reference, it is simply invaluable. We have had books of Christian antiquities, theological dictionaries, &c., from Leland and Bingham to Dr. Eadie and Mr. Blunt, which have done most admirable service—some of these, works to which all subsequent investigators must be indebted: but we have here no less than seventy-seven scholars—presumably the highest authorities in their respective subjects—contributing to one Cyclopædia. It would be a very difficult thing to criticise their work in detail, although it would be easy enough to nibble at it. For instance, Mr. Gregory Smith tells us that '*in Europe* there are several monasteries, [of Caloyers] among which that of St. Sabas, in the wilderness near Bethlehem, is famous;' but such criticisms in speaking of a work like this are almost an impertinence; and, as Dryden says, 'they mistake the function of criticism who think that it is to find fault.' The first instinct of a true critic is appreciation. He who has not a large capacity for honest admiration is thereby disqualified. No candid examiner of this volume can fail to be struck with the minuteness, carefulness, and recon-dite character of its researches. Apparently each writer has felt put upon his mettle, and has ransacked every source of information. Some of the articles are important treatises—monographs extending over from twelve to twenty pages. Among these we may instance, as coming first in alphabetical order, 'Adultery,' by the Rev. William Jackson, the Bampton Lecturer for 1875; 'Altar,' by Mr. Alexander Nesbitt; 'Antiphon,' by the Rev. H. J. Hotham; 'Apostolic Canons and Constitutions,' by Mr. Benjamin Shaw; 'Baptism,' by the late Rev. Wharton B. Marriott; 'Bishop,' an article of thirty pages, by the late Rev. Arthur West Haddan; 'Catacombs,' by the Rev. Edmund Venables; 'Christmas,' by the Rev. Robert Sinker; 'Church,' by Mr. Alexander Nesbitt; several important articles by Prebendary Plumptre, &c.

We must also testify to the severe historical

fidelity with which, as a whole, the work is done. Theological or ecclesiastical bias is scarcely perceptible. In the article 'Bishop,' for instance, while we might not find quite so much in the New Testament of the germ of after-developments as the writer does, yet he quotes as authorities such a man as Professor Lightfoot, in his important excursus on the Christian ministry, and, on the whole, shapes his statements with scrupulous fairness.

We have only one demur to make to the work, and we hope we shall not be suspected of suobishness in making it. True scholarship is of no sect—it works in a pure white light. But when we remember that the editor was until recently tutor of a Nonconformist College, that he has been all his life associated with Nonconformist scholars, we can hardly forbear asking, Is it possible that among his old tutorial colleagues, among his co-revisers of the English Bible, among the men who have edited and contributed to works analogous to this, Dr. William Smith could find no more than one solitary English Nonconformist and two Scotch professors whose names are worthy of a place among the seventy-seven contributors to this volume? Has Nonconformist scholarship, which in days gone by has contributed to theological and Biblical science so largely, sunk so low in our own day that, in the judgment of an editor so long associated with Nonconformists as Dr. William Smith, none were competent to redeem by their contributions the very sectarian aspect of this list of names? We repeat, the work is admirably done, probably, no other names could have improved either its scholarship or its impartiality. We accept and rejoice in it, simply as work, without qualification; and if we thought that it would have suffered by a more catholic admixture of scholars, we would not have adventured this remonstrance. The editor would, we think, be the first to admit the equal competence of many of his quondam Nonconformist associates. We cannot therefore but think that he has done an injustice both to them and to the work—an injustice which, from an editor of other ecclesiastical antecedents, might have been accounted for (although in justice we must say that works edited by Episcopalians generally show a solicitous feeling of a far higher kind), but which from him is difficult to explain, and which gives the work an aspect of sectarian exclusiveness which it does not deserve.

St. John, the Author of the Fourth Gospel.

By CHRISTOPH ERNST LUTHARDT, Professor of Theology at Leipzig. Revised, Translated, and the Literature much Enlarged by CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY, Leipzig. T. and T. Clark.

Dr. Luthardt's Commentary on John's Gospel has for twenty years occupied a very high place in the estimate of Biblical scholars, although we are not aware that it has ever been translated into English. The author has, in the present volume, expanded his original 'introduction' to the Gospel into a full discussion of the great and grave ques-

tion of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, with special reference to the modern assaults upon its historical character. The merit of the work is, not that the author has any fresh evidence to adduce, or any very novel way of marshalling the well-known testimonies, or of replying to opponents, but that he has thoroughly mastered the voluminous literature on the subject, patiently weighed the adverse and often perverse criticism to which the sacred document has been submitted, met the objectors on their own ground, and, without any hypothetical reconstruction of the Book itself, has shown, we think, to demonstration, that the often-cited difficulties are purely subjective, and that there is no sufficient reason for doubting that John, the son of Zebedee, is the author both of the Gospel and the Apocalypse: further, that John's Gospel presents his conception of the same great Personage, unfolding a revelation identical with that which furnished the theme of the Synoptists; that the difference of standpoint is quite sufficient to account for the difference of outline and colour; that the supposed irreconcilable contrasts vanish on closer inspection, and that the artistic, theological, and ecclesiastical motives which are presumed by some critics to have ruled the composition are built upon exaggerated statements of matters of fact. The treatment of the several points is brief, but telling; and the literary notes or references are reserved to the close of the chapters; a plan, by the way, which does not facilitate easy reading or the habit of accurate research. The special difficulties raised by Keim receive a large amount of attention, and while full credit is given to the ingenuity of Holtzmann and Volckmar, Weizsäcker and Hilgenfeld, the help offered by Godet and Schürer, and many others, is amply recognised. The author does not enter into the 'external testimony' with the elaborate first-class scholarship evinced in Dr. Lightfoot's recent papers in the 'Contemporary Review'; but the whole ground is traversed, and the quotations, hints, suggestions, and indications of a knowledge of the Fourth Gospel on the part of the Gnostic sects, the Apostolic Fathers, and the Christian Apologists, are exhibited in an exhaustive and convincing manner. A most instructive discussion of the traditional residence of John at Ephesus is introduced, and the tradition is set free from the sceptical difficulties urged by Keim, Scholten, and Ziegler. Once more, without any attempt to reconcile the date of the Paschal Supper, as stated by the Synoptists, with the various references in John to the death of our Lord as taking place on the fourteenth of Nisan, Dr. Luthardt shows that the Quarto-deciman controversy did not turn on the date of our Lord's death, but on the wisdom, or otherwise, of commemorating the institution of the Lord's Supper, as the Passover of Salvation, on the fourteenth day of Nisan, at the same time with the Jews, or on the day of our Lord's resurrection. The Asia Minor Christians are said to have done the former, and to have appealed to the example of John to confirm their practice. Dr. Lut-

hardt shows that this tradition is not in the least inconsistent with the *supposed* statements of the Fourth Gospel that Christ suffered on the fourteenth of Nisan, and endorses a view of Ebrard's, to the effect that the language of Apollinarius, in denouncing the conduct of the Quarto-decimans, distinctly reveals the existence of the Fourth Gospel. 'While the representatives of tradition in Asia Minor appealed to the Synoptists to prove that the Lord likewise had held the Passover on the fourteenth, Apollinarius appeals to John's Gospel to prove the contrary. Therefore, as early as about A.D. 170, the exegesis of this Gospel was drawn into the strife, and so this book passed then as an authentic monument of the Johannine tradition.'

With considerable force our author contrasts the whole tone of John's Gospel with the literature and growths of the second century. He shows how impossible it was to suppose it produced between the time of Justin and Irenæus. Moreover, it has nothing in common with the fantasies of the Gnostics or the meagre unproductiveness of the Apostolic Fathers. The standing objections on the score of the differences from the Synoptic Christ, the unprogressive character of the Christ of the Fourth Gospel, the variations in form, phraseology, eschatology, and Christology, are all briefly handled, but with a master's hand. A powerful argument is derived from the Christology of the Apocalypse as against those who, with the Baurian school, admit the Johannine authorship of this Book, but doubt whether a disciple of Jesus could have spoken of a master whom he had handled and seen as 'the Word made flesh,' or the Judge of the living and the dead, or as being one with the Father. Dr. Luthardt shows that an equally lofty series of representations of the rank of the Christ in the universe unquestionably pervade the Apocalypse. Notwithstanding the prolonged, varied, and vigorous assault upon the genuineness and value of this priceless treasure, we believe that the victory is won for it. The objections are all capable of refutation. The external evidence is simply irresistible, and we are brought anew into the inner circle of the Lord's own friendship, and are admitted into the secret, and method, and life of the Saviour of the world.

The translator of this volume has appended a laborious and valuable *catalogus raisonnés* of the literature on this subject. Though it includes more than five hundred distinct discussions of some aspects of the theme, the list is not complete: e.g., neither Canon Liddon's nor Canon Westcott's important chapters on the subject are referred to.

Expositions of the Book of Revelation. By WILLIAM ROBINSON, of Cambridge. Hodder and Stoughton.

This is a posthumous publication of Lectures delivered to Mr. Robinson's congregation on Sunday evenings. Mr. Robinson was a man of singularly acute mind, but also of very reverent heart. We can scarcely conceive of stronger temptations to a fanciful ingenuity

than the Apocalypse would present to a man of his temperament. It says much for his spirit of reverence that these have been effectually resisted. We differ from some of his interpretations, but, with one exception, we have not met in the volume with any that could be called fanciful: throughout it is intelligent, spiritual, and religiously practical. Mr. Robinson accepts the testimony of Justin Martyr that John the Apostle was the author of the Book. He accepts also the testimony of Irenæus, that he heard from Polycarp, the disciple of John, that it was written towards the end of the reign of Domitian, 81 to 96 A.D.; that is, he accepts with Alford and others, the later date of its composition, which is nearly contemporaneous with the date of the Gospel. This involves him in the crucial question of discrepancy of style. Mr. Robinson fairly cuts the knot, and this is the instance of fancifulness to which we just now referred—by supposing that John actually wrote down what he saw while his trance or ecstasy continued; and that the uncouth Galilean style of his early life came back upon him.

Mr. Robinson adopts the historical principle of interpretation, and thinks that the prophecy extends from the days of John to the final consummation of all things. We feel the great difficulties of this principle; and while not excluding historic fulfilments—not one only, but many, reiterated—we incline to give greater emphasis to the symbolism of principles simply as such. The volume is popular and interesting, and is an acceptable addition to the literature of the Apocalypse.

The New Testament. Translated from the Critical Text of Von Tischendorf; with an Introduction on the Criticism, Translation, and Interpretation of the Book. By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D., of Halle, and LL.D. Henry S. King and Co.

The present translation possesses numerous claims to respectful attention and grateful acknowledgment. It is founded on 'King James's Version, the deviations being caused by another Greek text and the desire of greater accuracy.' Several recent translations have been made from a text existing in the authors' own consciousness, or from one which has no other sanction than the translators' own judgment. As numerous changes in the text demand no alteration in the English Version of the Original, a translation which professes to represent a new but unwritten text cannot reveal all the principles, however sound, on which that text has been framed. There are great advantages in having a literal representation of a new and famous text, which, notwithstanding criticism, promises to become the *textus receptus ab omnibus*. The intimate relations between Von Tischendorf and Dr. Davidson, and the circumstance that this translation was undertaken with the approval and high satisfaction of the former, give an affecting interest to the work before us. 'It is some satisfaction to the writer that he has tried to fulfil the purpose of

his departed friend, and he indulges the hope that *Von Tischendorf* may be pleased even now with the thought that the Greek text, over which he spent many toilsome years, circulates in the English tongue, bearing the sacred words current in the Church of the third century into the dwellings of the humble, putting the plain reader on the same platform with the scholar, and inspiring him with confidence in records whence he draws the sustenance of the soul. May many be strengthened by the words and Spirit of Jesus in their aspirations after the blessed life !'

Dr. Davidson is, without question, one of our greatest Biblical scholars, and his lifelong preparation for this work confers upon all his deviations from the Authorised Version great significance. The fastidiousness of his taste, and the severity of the criticism passed by him on those who have preceded him in similar tasks; the keenness, not to say pleasure, with which he pounces on the 'blunder' or the carelessness of a previous translator, lead us reasonably to expect extreme excellence in his own handiwork, and much valuable and trustworthy emendation of the time-hallowed words.

He appears to us, while admitting the services of Dean Alford, yet in his comments on a work of such magnitude as that which the versatile and large-hearted Dean effected, to have been rather on the look-out for faults. Some valuable criticism and a fair estimate of the American Bible Union's Testament and of Dr. Noye's version are introduced into the preface, and a few remarks are made with reference to the most conspicuous and assured results of biblical criticism, such, *e.g.*, as the exclusion from the text of 1 John v. 7; of John vii. 53, viii. 11; of Acts viii. 87, and the alteration in 1 Tim. iii. 16, and Acts xx. 28. It is curious, but highly satisfactory to Dr. Davidson, that Tischendorf should have in this latter case, as in John i. 18, have allowed subjective considerations to override the testimony of the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS.

Dr. Davidson calls attention in his preface to the principle he has adopted with reference to the use of the article and the tenses. We cannot but wish he had given himself greater latitude than he has done. Often, in most unidiomatic English, he presents the exact counterpart of the Greek tense, to the great disturbance of association and without any compensatory advantage. See, *e.g.*, the dialogue in the fourth chapter of St. John's Gospel. We are told in the preface that the main purpose of a translation of the Bible is, not 'that it may be read with pleasure, but rather that it may clearly express the true sense.' This principle has been at work in the removal of some of the grand old phrases that have come down to us from Tyndale's Version, like 'the Captain of Salvation.' The substitution of 'robbers' for 'thieves,' in the parable of the good Samaritan, creates an unnecessary modification. The literal translation of ποιεῖν by 'do,' in the multifarious usage of it in the New Testament, occasionally gives a colourless tone to well-known pas-

sages, as in John viii. 34, 'Every one that does sin is a servant of the sin.' Extra conscientiousness surely spoils the Song of Simeon, when we read, 'Master, now thou releasest thy servant in peace.'

We have tried the value of the new translation by detailed examination of texts, by reading whole books at a time, and by approaching it in various moods and for different purposes; and we are greatly impressed with its scholarship, its independence, and its literal accuracy, but not by any means with unexpected lights thrown upon difficult passages. Dr. Davidson has eschewed epexegetical or paraphrastic clauses, and often represents in English the precise *order* of the Greek words, rather, as it seems to us, to the clouding of the sense. As, for instance, Acts xiii. 38, 'Through this man is announced unto you remission of sins: from all things from which you could not be justified in the law of Moses, every one that believes in him is justified.' Dr. Davidson surprises us at times with a kind of conservatism. Thus, Acts xvii. 21, 'Men of Athens, I behold that in all things ye are rather superstitious.' He is not always determined on retaining the same expression for the same Greek one. Thus 'a Syrophenician by nation' is preserved in Mark vii. 26, and 'born at Alexandria' is the rendering of a precisely similar use of *ἐκ γένεος* in Acts xviii. 24. We greatly admire the translation of the Epistle to the Romans, and are glad to have Dr. Davidson's authority for many most important renderings, such as 'Whom God set forth as a propitiatory offering through faith in his blood.' Great light is thrown on Romans v. 20, where the necessary omission of the 'not' is made to throw fresh interest round the whole clause, 'He considered his own body become dead,' &c.; 'and with respect to the promise of God, he doubted not in unbelief.'

It would be impossible, in a short notice, to comment upon the details of this most valuable work. It will contribute to the more accurate knowledge of the New Testament and familiarise English readers with the text which will, in all probability, before long supersede that in general use. We congratulate the editor on the completion of such a difficult task, one effected with taste, conscientiousness, and consistency.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Psalms. With a New Translation. By J. G. MURPHY, LL.D., T.C.D. T. and T. Clark.

Dr. Murphy has, in the book before us, followed the same plan and purpose as in his Commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus; and the same devout and earnest spirit animates the whole of his works. The present volume is characterised by the same excellences as the previous ones, and, in our opinion, marred by the same defects. The author aims throughout at giving results rather than processes, and hopes to meet at once the wants of the hurried reader, who has only time enough to dip into a commentary, and of the public teacher, who is satisfied with catching the bare meaning, to be developed

and applied in his own way. Although this is the avowed object of the work, it abounds in theological reflections which, though forcibly and tersely expressed, will not be of much service to those for whom they are intended. The public teacher who cannot dispense with such reflections must, after all, be a mere 'machine.'

The general introduction deals with the same topics and contains much the same information as one finds in kindred works, but the portion treating of the instrumental accompaniment to sacred song, which the writer divides into three classes, namely, stringed, percussive, and wind instruments, is most lucidly arranged, contains much sound information, and is worthy of a careful perusal.

Dr. Murphy's treatment of the authorship of the Psalms is, in our opinion, much less satisfactory. Here he places implicit confidence in the veracity of the titles; and this confidence is extended even to the additional titles conferred by the Septuagint, which proves unmistakably the increasing character of the traditional element. A superficial attention to the contents of some of the titled Psalms is enough to dispel the delusion from an unbiassed mind. Passing by the endless repetitions in the Psalms ascribed to David—which are inconsistent with the supposed unity of authorship—and the allusions to the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile, as in Psalms li. lxi. ciii., let us take Psalms lxxiv. and lxxxi., which, as clearly as language can express it, complain of the desecration of the Temple and the desolation of the Holy City; and yet, according to the superscription, they are the productions of Asaph, a contemporary of David. If the titles are so manifestly wrong in these instances, they are unworthy of implicit reliance in others. It is absurd to refer the above description to the outrage committed by Absalom and his party. In obedience to the same authority, Dr. Murphy accepts the 90th Psalm as the composition of Moses, while much of the contents of the Psalm militates against this hypothesis, and its position in the collection is fatal to the value of the superscription; for if it had, from the earliest times, been ascribed to the great prophet of Israel, its proper place would have been at the head of the collection. It would not be difficult to show how it came to be labelled as such at a later period. In the same manner the 72nd and 127th Psalms are regarded as Solomonic, notwithstanding the remarkable words at the close of the 72nd Psalm,—'the prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended;' by which is meant, according to Dr. Murphy, that the objects for which David prayed had been secured, the prayers had gained their end. To such an unnatural, nay impossible, interpretation is the writer forced by the fact that all the Psalms in the preceding collection do not belong to David, while several in the later books of the Psalter are ascribed to him as their author.

As might be expected from the above, the author finds the Psalms pervaded by the Messianic element. Not only do the deepest

sufferings and serenest joys culminate in the Messiah, referring in all cases to Him as the archetype, but there are also in abundance literal, direct, as well as typical Messianic prophecies. As an instance of direct Messianic prophecy he adduces Psalm xvi. 15,—

'For thou wilt not leave my soul to Sheol,
Nor suffer thy Pious One to see corruption,'

which, if correctly translated, would not admit of such an hypothesis. (See Perowne, *ad loc.*) We are always sorry to find the advocates of a good cause making use of bad arguments.

The imprecatory Psalms are regarded as the utterance of a king in his public capacity, as God's vicegerent, and as believing in the law of retribution, which is justified by the times in which the authors lived and circumstances in which they were placed. Dr. Murphy brings the 109th Psalm under the same category, and he neither suggests nor feels the necessity of another solution of the difficulty. We have dwelt at length on the author's principle and standpoint, because they decide, in a great measure, the character of the interpretation itself. The Commentary contains a revision of the Authorised Version, which is intended to abbreviate the comment and to exhibit the inner connection of the text. The version and comment are preceded by a brief reference to the occasion, subject, and arrangement of the Psalms, and are followed by critical notes, which are very few, and generally unimportant.

The translation is often unsatisfactory, and the comments are little more than such reflections as one not unfrequently hears in pulpit expositions. We must content ourselves with a few specimens, selected at random. Psalm ii. 12 :—

'Kiss ye purely, lest he be angry, and ye lose the way ;

For his anger kindleth in a little.

Happy all who trust in him.'

We agree with this rendering of *bar* ; but why not translate 'pay,' 'pure,' 'homage' as Symmachus, Jerome, and others? *e.g.*, προσκυνήσατε καθαρῶς, *Adorate pure*. Why translate *tobedu derec* by the curious expression, 'lose the way,' especially since he translates the same word 'perish' in Psalm i. 6? It is both obscure and incorrect. When we came to the reading, 'in a little,' we were at a loss to know why he should have so rendered the Hebrew word, and what the exact meaning of it could be. Upon turning to the commentary we find that it means the space of time extending from the poet's time to the day of final judgment, or, perhaps, the space of human life. We give the note in full :— 'The longest life is but a span, a tale, a breath, and after that the judgment. Then the obdurate foe of God and godliness awaits the doom, Depart from me, ye cursed.' See also Psalm vii. 4 :—

'If I have requited my friend with evil,
And failed to deliver my foe,'

where he explains that to 'deliver with emptiness' is to fail to deliver. Add to the above Psalms viii. 5, xvi. 1-3, &c. We cannot con-

clude, however, without referring to the excellences of the work, which are very numerous and important. While we cannot recommend it to the critical student, we can honestly do so to the general reader, who wishes to find within a reasonable compass all that is necessary for an intelligent and useful study of the Psalms. He will scarcely ever be disappointed in his search into the meaning of a passage, and will always be gratified with the reverential spirit in which the author deals with Divine truth. It is infinitely superior to the majority of works having a similar aim and character.

Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Gospel of John. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D. Translated from the Fifth Edition of the German. The Translation Revised and Edited by FREDERICK CROMBIE, D.D., St. Andrew's. Vol. II. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark.

Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistles to the Philippians and Colossians. Translated from the Fourth Edition of the German by the Rev. JOHN C. MOORE, B.A. The Translation Revised and Edited by WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D.D., Glasgow. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark.

Messrs. Clark steadily, although necessarily at irregular intervals, continue their translations of Meyer's great work, which is simply of inestimable value to students of the original text unable to make use of Meyer's German. The Gospel of John is now completed; the translations up to chapter xi. are by Mr. Urwick and Dr. W. D. Simon, the subsequent chapters by the Rev. Edwin Johnson, the whole being carefully revised by Professor Crombie, whose references to Dr. Moulton's translation of Winer's 'Grammar of New Testament Greek,' and to Professor Thayer's translation of 'Buttman's Grammar,' add a very important element of value.

Dr. Meyer had just completed a careful revision of the second of the above volumes when he died. The first half of the manuscript had been sent to the printer's, the second half was found labelled 'ready for the press.' These emendations are contained in the fourth edition, from which this translation is made, although a translation of the third edition, by the late Mr. G. H. Venables, had been completed. To each of these volumes a very valuable bibliographical list of exegetical works is prefixed, including, of course, English expositors. For obvious reasons criticism of Professor Meyer's work would be preposterous here: we necessarily restrict ourselves to an intimation of the progress of these translations, and to a general commendation of the great and scholarly care with which they are made.

Chips from a German Workshop. By F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., Foreign Member of the French Institute, &c. Vol. IV. Essays chiefly on the Science of Language. Longmans and Co.

If any find this fourth volume of Professor Müller's 'Chips from a German Workshop' less varied or less interesting than its prede-

cessors, the explanation is not far to seek. The writer is no longer a stranger among us ; he has delivered his specific message in many forms and ways, and it has become familiar to his numerous students and readers. The writer, like the preacher, may bring forth out of his treasure-house things new and old ; but the time must come when he will have exhausted what is individual and distinctive ; and though there may be variations in manner in what he afterwards produces, there will be substantial identity of matter. This has been the case with all our great writers—with none more so than Mr. Carlyle, who has given us no new theory or doctrine since he wrote ' Sartor Resartus '—and we need not be surprised if it is the same with Mr. Müller. He has done a great work in England by the light he has thrown upon the leading principles of the Science of Language. He has indicated rich treasures as lying still concealed in Comparative Philology and Comparative Theology, and has thereby opened a new field of investigation, in which there is ample room for many inquirers. He has not given us a new philosophy, but he has shown in what direction we must work if we are to attain one that will prove satisfactory and adequate. Holding fast the great truth of man's spirituality, and therefore his essential difference from the merely animal creation, Mr. Müller has interposed strong barriers in the way of the materialism of the modern theorists of development. If, in this fourth volume, he does not go beyond what he has given us in previous works, he yet illustrates his positions in ever new and graceful fashions, and presents us with essays written in pure English, which it is a pleasure to read.

In this fourth volume we have the inaugural lecture delivered by Professor Müller in 1868, on the value of Comparative Philology as a branch of academic study. As we write, we regret to observe that he has intimated his resignation of the Chair he then inaugurated, and it will not be easy to supply his place ; for there are few scholars who unite with scholarly acquirements the comprehensive philosophical spirit and culture distinctive of Mr. Müller. The Rede Lecture, on the Stratification of Language, the essay on the Migration of Fables, the Lecture on the Results of Comparative Philology, delivered with so much patriotic exultation at Strasburg, and the address on the importance of Oriental Studies, are all on the lines with which readers of the author's former works are familiar. Of another order is the lecture on Missions, delivered two years ago in Westminster Abbey, which excited much controversy at the time of its delivery. In this volume it is illustrated by important additional notes, and along with it are printed a postscript ' On the Vitality of Brahmanism,' and Dean Stanley's Introductory Sermon on Christian Missions. We do not share all Mr. Müller's opinions regarding the scope and objects of Christian missions ; but where he errs, it is, as seems to us, chiefly by defect. We can accept nearly all that is positive in his teaching, though we think it requires to

be further supplemented. But Professor Müller is doing such good work by the stand he has made in the interest of truth—of the interpretation of the undeniable facts of human life—against Materialism in its evolutionary phase, that we have little relish for hostile criticism of anything he does. We cordially welcome him as an ally in the great fight against a blank Atheism and a degrading Materialism, which threaten to come in upon us like a flood, eliminating all intellectual nobility from man and darkening and debasing the human conscience. In the ' Reply to Mr. Darwin,' and in the concluding paper of the volume, entitled ' In Self-Defence,' the Evolutionists are attacked both from the ground of philosophy and science in a manner that leaves little to be desired. The calmness and earnestness of the searcher after truth rarely desert Mr. Müller, even when he is replying to assailants skilled in the use of poisoned weapons. His philosophical breadth of view is combined with a ripe scholarship of the most varied order ; and he is able to add the attractiveness of a skilled literary artist in his expositions and arguments. We very heartily commend the fourth volume of these ' Chips ' to the thoughtful reader, who will find in them an antidote to much that is misleading in the scientific spirit of the times.

The Dialogues of Plato, Translated into English, with Analysis and Introductions. By B. JOWETT, M.A., Master of Baliol College. Second Edition. Revised and Corrected throughout. Clarendon Press.

In a former review of this work we took occasion to notice in detail some instances of laxity, not to say of inaccuracy, in the rendering of the Greek, and the general tendency to paraphrase rather than to translate ; and we noticed that these faults seemed to prevail in some of the Dialogues more than in others. In the preface to the second edition the author, perhaps intending a reply to the objection of critics, has explained somewhat fully his ideas as to what a good English translation of Plato should really be. He holds that ' it should read as an original work, and should also be the most faithful transcript which can be made of the language from which the translation is taken, consistently with the first requirement of all, that it be English.' He then discusses at some length, and very soundly and sensibly, the reasons why a very literal translation from a Greek author can never satisfy these conditions. ' Some of the fundamental differences in Greek and English, he says, are intractable, and he proceeds to enumerate these. Now, in our opinion, the first requirement of all is accuracy, by which we do not mean a servile closeness of rendering, but a full and perfect representation of the precise meaning of the original. A good and fluent English style is not really incompatible with this. Plato is better than Plato-and-water, so to say, and, for our own part, we should never be perfectly satisfied without a judicious combination of the two

indispensable conditions,—accuracy of rendering and elegance of style.

The position of the Platonic philosophy in reference to modern thought is briefly but well brought out in the new preface. At the same time reasons are given why thinkers and students of philosophy at the present day can hardly do without a complete edition of Plato in a handy and somewhat popular form. Plato was the father of 'idealism,' that is, he first went beyond the limits of mere sensation, and showed that certain fixed principles of thought, conception, and inductive reasoning were the only safe guides to truth. He is 'a great philosophical genius struggling with the unequal conditions of light and knowledge under which he is living.' The interest which he has for our own times does not depend on any continuity of modern from ancient thought. Modern thought had its own beginning, Mr. Jowett says (p. xix.), stimulated however into life by the influence of the older philosophies. Yet, he remarks, in thought, as in other things, there is a kind of cycle, and old ideas are constantly being reproduced, often with little or no consciousness on our parts that the same ideas were held and the same doctrines inculcated two thousand years ago. Especially is this true of the revised Materialism and Pantheism, in some modern speculations, which go back so closely to the views of Democritus and Epicurus.

Both Mr. Grote and Professor Jowett have rendered immense service to the literature of our times, not merely as translators of Plato, but as exponents and critics of the Platonic doctrines. These two scholars are somewhat at variance. Mr. Grote labours to show that Plato was often wrong, both in his views and in his reasonings from them. Mr. Jowett takes Plato as we have him, not as a teacher of any perfect system, but as an early thinker groping his way from darkness into light. There can be no doubt that Plato carried idealism too far. He deals with metaphysical subjects, such as the immortality of the soul, as if they could be proved and established by logical reasoning alone. Aristotle's practical, but too subtle, mind revolted against the *idéas*, or doctrine of abstractions; and yet his analysis of mind and soul are equally wanting in a basis of physical observation. Zeller, to whom Mr. Jowett justly pays a tribute of high praise at the conclusion of his preface, draws an excellent sketch of the relative position of these two great philosophers, master and pupil. Idealism, he observes, after being set forth by Plato with extraordinary brilliancy, had been brought into harmony with the most careful results of experience by Aristotle. Both had their weak points, due either to want of experience of the world and the laws of man's actions, or to the 'enthroning of idealism as the knowledge of conceptions.' To the former cause he attributes mistakes in natural science, or arising from a limited view of history; to the latter, the too strongly-marked contrast between abstract and concrete, particular and general, form and matter, the seen and the unseen, knowledge and igno-

rance. In a word, both attached too much importance to mental criticism and logical deduction, and too little to the observation of facts and their reasons.

The utter fallaciousness, and even the positively falsifying effect, of mere sensuous perception, τὰ φαινόμενα was Plato's favourite doctrine, and most of his reasonings are based upon it. Aristotle, Zeller contends, met idealism by observation, but did not go far enough; his views of innate ideas and development from within did not sufficiently take into account that which has become a canon in modern science—the influence of external circumstances.

We before expressed our opinion that the most really valuable part of Professor Jowett's work was the admirable and lucid series of introductions prefixed to each Dialogue. In his new edition he tells us, 'These prefaces have been enlarged, and essays on subjects of modern philosophy, having an affinity to the Platonic Dialogues, have been introduced into several of them. The analyses have been corrected, and "innumerable" alterations have been made in the text.'

It will not be expected, in so brief a notice, that we should comment on the improvements thus avowedly made. We have, however, conscientiously examined many (upwards of twenty) chapters in various Dialogues, in close comparison with Professor Jowett's version. Our conclusion is, that context and meaning have been well considered, but grammatical niceties almost wholly disregarded, which we do not mention in disparagement, but as describing the generally free principle on which the translation has been constructed. One used to accuracy is sometimes a little surprised at an unnecessary degree of laxity, e.g., in Alcibiad. i. p. 121. B, ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ τοῦ τε γένους; ὅγκῳ ἐλαττώμεθα τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ τροφῇ, 'You should consider how inferior we are to them both in the derivation of our birth and in other particulars.' It was surely as easy to translate accurately, 'But mind that we are not worse off than these men, not only in our boasted birth but in our general bringing up.' So too in Sympos. p. 208, C, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰ ἐθέλεις εἰς τὴν φιλοτιμίαν βλέπειν, θαυμάζεις ἂν τῆς ἀλογίας περὶ, ἢ ἐν δ' εἰρηκᾷ εἰ μὴ ἐννοεῖς, ἐνθυμηθεὶς ὥς δεινῶς διακρίνεται ἔρωτι τοῦ ὀνομαστοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ κλέος εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον ὑβρίαντων κατελθεῖν, we find the feeble and curtailed rendering, 'Think only of the ambition of men, and you will wonder at the senselessness of their ways, unless you consider how they are stirred by the love of an immortality of fame.' The last clause should have run thus: 'Considering how strongly they are affected by the desire of becoming famous, and of storing up for themselves an undying reputation for all future time.' We do not wish to cavil, or recommend verbosity; still we do expect from the hands of a master that the beautiful and highly-polished language of Plato should receive rather more study and attention. It may be doubted, too, if a sensitive fear of tautology will justify the continual omission of clauses and sentences. With some imper-

fections, that future editions will tend to diminish, the work is, considering its difficulty and the vast extent of ground travelled over, well executed as a whole; and it has the great merit of being adapted to ordinary English readers by the avoiding of pedantry and mere scholastic technicalities, as far as these can be dispensed with. But it is rather as an exposition of Platonism than as a translation of Plato that it will claim a place in the library of the scholar.

The Emotions and the Will. By ALEXANDER BAIN, LL.D. Third Edition. Longmans and Co.

Mr. Bain and Mr. Spencer may now be regarded as the chief English apostles of the associationalist theory of Psychological Ethics. All ideas or acts of the soul are generated by association rather than produced by pure faculty. Thus even necessary and intuitive truths are supposed to have this origin. They are the product of the active ego, and not of the mere conscious ego: e.g., Mr. Bain supposes the sense of the supernatural, or, rather, the conception of spirit, to originate in dreams (page 529). Mr. Bain has very great skill in psychological analysis and in connecting psychological phenomena with the domain of physiology. He does not tell us what he deems to be the principle of psychical life. He admits the peculiarity of our capability of forming ideas, but he maintains that all psychical exercises and experiences are owing to associations alone. The will, he says, cannot, in the nature of things, be free, inasmuch as it is the result of all possible impulses to activity. The moral sentiment, conscience, is the result of education.

This edition of his great work is thoroughly revised. The chapters on the leading emotions have been almost wholly re-written. A separate chapter discusses the bearing of the Evolution hypothesis on the emotions. Mr. Sidgwick's argument for Free Will, deduced from consciousness, is again examined, and the chapter on Belief has been re-written, in which it is contended that religious belief springs wholly out of the feelings; although it is admitted that Aquinas, Calvin, and Butler had some intellectual convictions concerning things which form the subject-matter of religious belief. Mr. Bain's views are substantially the same as in the first edition of his work, published seventeen years ago; but as a careful thinker and a true scholar, he has subjected his positions to another careful re-examination and re-statement. He has not, however, convinced us that his philosophy is founded upon true principles.

A Comparative History of Religions. By JAMES C. MOFFAT, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary in Princeton. Two Vols. New York: Dodd and Mead, Broadway.

To write a comparative history of religions is a task peculiarly fitted for the present time. It could not have been done before, because it is only of late that the materials have been made available through the labours

of learned Orientalists. Even if the materials had been forthcoming, the principle of classification was wanting. That has now been found in the comparative method, which bids fair to yield greater results in the future than any yet attained by means of it. The application of that method to the various religions of the world, in order to discover the elements in them that are identical, and thus to afford a clue to what was the primitive religion of the world, promises to prove of the highest value. In this province, as in so many others, American writers are, if not taking the lead, yet proving themselves to be worthy coadjutors of inquirers in the Old World. In the volumes before us, Dr. Moffat, of the historical school of Princeton, has made a not unsuccessful essay to classify the elements in this department that have been furnished by previous writers. He does not profess to have found his own material; for that he is indebted to the various and protracted labours of others. The breadth of the subject, he says truly, is so great that it would be utterly impossible for one man to handle it by digging his materials for himself out of all the mines. Accordingly, he only claims to have performed the more modest part of classifying and comparing facts already ascertained. The result is a readable and highly-interesting work, which, if it be not distinguished by philosophical width and profundity, or by great wealth of erudition, presents in a simple and intelligible form the leading outlines of the ground plan of the science of religion. As the college from which he dates would lead us to expect, Dr. Moffat, while handling his materials with freedom, never ceases to manifest a spirit of reverence in presence of the series of revelations of the Divine given to us in history and which culminated in Christianity. While the unity of doctrines in the most ancient religious systems points back to the simplicity of the early faith of mankind, of which we are told in the Book of Genesis, there is a process of corruption to be observed continually going on as we descend the stream of time, and that is met only by the new revelations of Himself by which God introduced, as it were, new beginnings to be the fertile seeds of a new creation in the history of mankind. All the scattered lines and lights at last converge in the revelation of Him who has brought life and immortality to light through the gospel—a gospel which is the message of life and love, and not of insensibility and annihilation, like the message of Buddhism—the greatest of the world's religions next to Christianity. We have not space to go further into detail; but we cordially commend Dr. Moffat's volumes as a plain and simple handbook suitable for students making their first essays in the study of the science of religion.

The Sabbath of the Fields, being a Sequel to 'Bible Teachings in Nature.' By the Rev. HUGH MACMILLAN, LL.D., &c. Macmillan and Co.

Our Lord's Three Raisings from the Dead. By the Rev. HUGH MACMILLAN, LL.D. Glasgow: James Maclehose.

We are somewhat at a loss to designate the former of these two volumes; our first impression was that they were sermons—'The Sabbath of the Fields' being a religious discourse on the Hebrew institution of the Year of Rest; 'Feeding among the Lilies,' a very charming sermon on the presence and uses of the beautiful in life. 'The Power of Association,' 'The Temple of the Body,' 'The Harvest Miracle,' 'The True Design of Work,' and 'Lessons from the Lilies,' are also sermons. All the chapters have sermon texts prefixed to them, but then we come upon an essay on the Transfiguration, with the title *Heimweh-Fluh*, and a chapter entitled 'Cuckoo,' with the text, 'The voice said, Cry,' &c., surely too fantastic to be sermons. Other chapters are dissertations on ferns, pinecones, &c. Our conclusion is that sermons and papers on natural phenomena are mingled together, the sermons imbued with the pursuits of the naturalist, and the essays not without the religious improvements of the preacher. However this may be, the volume, like all Dr. Macmillan's productions, is very delightful reading, and of a special kind. Imagination, natural science, and religious instruction are blended together in a very charming way. The other volume consists of what are, avowedly sermons,—a series of Sunday afternoon discourses, on the three greatest of our Lord's miracles. They eschew deeper questions of science and exegesis, and simply point religious and parabolic teachings.

Classic Baptism: an Inquiry into the meaning of the word βαπτίζω, as determined by the Usage of Classical Greek Writers. By JAMES W. DALE, D.D., Pastor of the Media Presbyterian Church, Delaware. Fourth Edition. Philadelphia: Rutter and Co.

This is one of a series of controversial treatises on the mode and significance of baptism. With enormous resource and most laborious method, our author, in the volume before us, investigates the classic meanings of the two words *bapto* and *baptizo*. He then discusses their Latin equivalents 'tingo,' 'mergo,' and the like; and pursues the 'Baptist postulates' into all classic and current usage of the English words 'dip,' 'dye,' 'immerse,' and comes gradually, but with ever-gathering enthusiasm, to his great conclusion. In answer to the main question, What is CLASSIC BAPTISM? instead of the Baptist answers, 'Baptising is dipping and dipping is baptising'—'To dip, and nothing but dip, through all Greek literature,' he finally produces this answer:—'Whatever is capable of thoroughly changing the character, state, or condition of any object, is capable of baptising that object; and by such change of character, state, or condition does, in fact, baptise it.' To meet the master of thirty legions in brief notice, is not to be expected. If any of our readers wish an exhaustive treatment of the meaning of a word, apart, that is, entirely from ecclesiastical, theological, or exegetical associations, let him read the 354 and the xxii. pages of Dr. Dale.

The other treatises are entitled 'Judaic Baptism,' 'Christic Baptism,' 'Patristic Baptism.' They have received the imprimatur and high approval of the most distinguished Biblical scholars in America, and clearly occupy far more interesting fields of investigation than that of the volume before us.

The Primitive and Catholic Faith in Relation to the Church of England. By the Rev. BOURCHIER WREY SAVILE, M.A., Rector of Shillingford, Exeter. Longmans.

In the present excited controversy within the pale of the 'Church established by law' in England it is refreshing to come across a work in which every great point mooted between the combatants is discussed with patience, courtesy, learning, and conscientiousness. Mr. Savile holds that the Reformed Church of England, by her symbolic books, by her articles and liturgy, by her greatest and most representative theologians, is pledged to the primitive Catholic faith, in distinct and avowed opposition to the dogma and discipline of the Roman Communion. In sixteen or seventeen chapters, with more or less success, he endeavours to indicate the leading features of Scriptural doctrine, apostolic precedent, and ante-Nicene deliverances on the momentous questions at issue; then to show in what respects and to what extent the leading Anglo-Catholic writers have deviated from the primitive faith, and how imperceptible is the line of demarcation between them and the advocates of the Tridentine decrees. The volume is very instructive, and in many portions singularly rich in illustration. The arguments are cogently put, and the conclusions are inevitable that, within the bosom of the Anglican Church there is a powerful Ultramontane section passionately bent on conformity in sentiment and discipline with the Roman Catholic Communion; that there is no discoverable difference in 'the real objective presence' taught by Dr. Pusey, and the doctrine of transubstantiation; that in the eucharistic sacrifice, priestly absolution, prayers for the dead, &c., the modern Catholic party have departed as far as Rome has done from the primitive faith. Mr. Savile reviews patiently the theories by which 'vestments,' 'incense,' 'lights,' and 'the eastward position' have been steadily reintroduced into the Church of England in contradiction of her Parliamentary constitution, and in defiance of the interpretation given to the law by the highest legal authority. He has made frequent reference to the newspaper controversy between Dr. Liddon and Monsignor Capel, in which the latter gained a triumphant victory over the former, and demonstrated that 'the Ritualistic clergy are unintentionally, but none the less assuredly, disseminating our doctrines.' He has accumulated proofs that the gist of the whole Tractarian movement has been to show that the differences between the two Churches are 'infinitesimal—the priesthood the same, the liturgy virtually the same, and the doctrine the same.' He insists on the vast gulf that there is between the Evangelical and Ritualis-

tic systems, as evident in their respective view of the Reformers of the sixteenth century, whom Dr. Littledale regards as 'unredeemed villains,' and whom the Evangelicals place among 'the noble army of the martyrs of Jesus,' as evident in their respective doctrines of grace, in their different handling of the mystery of the Godhead, in the relative estimate they put upon the salvability and Christian character of dissentient men and communities, and in the method in which they respectively deal with the constituted authorities in Church and State. It is an unspeakable consolation to some of us that we are not personally or ecclesiastically compromised by the utterly hateful spirit of many of the Ritualistic agitators, nor forced by political or economical fetters into a hypocritical union with them. Such a volume as this is one of the certain signs of the approaching disruption and disintegration of the cluster of sects which, by Act of Parliament, still arrogates the title, dignity, and influence of the Church of the nation.

The Annotated Book of Common Prayer, forming a Concise Commentary on the Devotional System of the Church of England. By the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A. Compendious Edition. Rivingtons.

Mr. Blunt's great work, of which this is a cheap edition, is full of the results of great liturgical scholarship, and historical and antiquarian research. Mr. Blunt is a High Anglican, and the historical conscience in him is not so judicial as to be imperial in its sway. He sees very largely what he wishes to see, and the historian of the Book of Common Prayer can easily see anything he likes in its fluctuating history and irreconcilable compromises. Sacramentarian principles, both of dogma and worship, are sacred in Mr. Blunt's estimation. When, therefore, in the Prayer Book these find expression, they are, of course, magnified and exalted to supremacy, and when Low Church principles, these are extenuated and subordinated. That the Apostolic Church used a liturgy is, of course, assumed as almost unquestionable. The two expressions, Acts ii. 42, "'In the breaking of the bread," and, "in prayers," clearly indicate settled and definite ceremonial usages.' This is only a specimen of the kind of assumption which characterises the work from beginning to end. Mr. Blunt discreetly omits all reference to the Thirty-nine Articles. The value of the book is its great accumulation of liturgical information and reference.

History and Significance of the Sacred Tabernacle of the Hebrews. By EDWARD E. ATWATER. Dickinson and Higham.

The Tabernacle, Priesthood, and Offerings of Israel. By the Rev. FREDERICK WHITFIELD, M.A. Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

The Gospel of the Tabernacle. By ROBERT EDWARD SEARS. Elliot Stock and Co.

The interest excited in religious people by the typical provisions of the Jewish Tabernacle is unfailing. There is indeed a richness of suggestion in its multifarious appoint-

ments that gratifies a certain order of minds as parables do, far more than the affirmative dogmatic teachings of Christ and His apostles; and the reflex testimony to Christianity which Levitical institutions bear is simply irrefragable. These three volumes, all expounding the uses and teachings of the Tabernacle, are of different value. The first of them is by far the most complete and important. The writer tells us that it had been his speciality during thirty years of ministerial life, and that he retired from the ministry some years ago to 'give himself wholly to a subject which a pastor can study only at intervals.' It is an elaborate exposition of the structure and the history of the Tabernacle and of its symbolic significance, filling a volume of five hundred pages, and illustrated by some fifty carefully-executed engravings. Mr. Atwater has diligently studied authorities ancient and modern, Lund, Bähr, Newman, and others. He is confident that his 'studies have added to the knowledge of Hebrew symbolism,' and it is only just to say that his views are formed with great care and moderation, guarding himself against 'the wild lawless typologists of the coercion school.' He yet insists upon the legitimate typology of the remarkable symbolism of the Tabernacle. His book will probably be accepted as the best authority on the subject.

Mr. Whitfield's book follows in the same track, but with much less of scholastic research and firmness. Its chapters partake more of the character of sermons, and run largely into religious uses, and that with but little of critical discrimination. Men are slow to learn that an interpretation cannot be justified by its religious usefulness.

Mr. Sears follows Mr. Whitfield's example, and falls more helplessly into his mistakes. His chapters are preachings of a purely practical kind—useful religiously, but worthless critically and historically.

The Atonement. The Congregational Lecture for 1875. By R. W. DALE, M.A. Third Edition. Hodder and Stoughton.

The sale within some six or seven months of two large editions of Mr. Dale's able and eloquent lecture is equally gratifying as a testimony to the lecturer's ability and to popular interest in his high theme. In compliance with a generally expressed desire this cheap edition is published. In our next number we purpose, somewhat at length, to examine Mr. Dale's treatment of his theme.

The Expositor. Edited by the Rev. SAMUEL COX. Vol. II. Hodder and Stoughton.

The second volume of the 'Expositor' contains a valuable exegesis of the First Epistle to Timothy, read in the light of modern speculation, by Dr. Reynolds; discussions on the Prologue to John's Gospel, by F. Godet; a new translation, with comments, of the Book of Ruth, by the Editor; dissertations on the Epistles to the Seven Churches, by Professor Plumptre; together with miscellaneous papers, all thoroughly scholarly and valuable. The 'Expositor' is defining for itself an important niche, and is filling it admirably.

THE

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

FOR APRIL, 1870.



ART. I.—*Jonathan Swift.*

The Life of Jonathan Swift. By JOHN FORSTER. Vol. I. London: John Murray.

MR. FORSTER'S long looked for life of Swift has at last appeared, and the completeness of this, its first volume, is enough to console us for the delay. The life of Swift was at first written incompetently by Delany and Dean Swift, afterwards hurriedly by Johnson; and a whole mass of misconceptions, repeated from hand to hand, had to be cleared away before his character could be reconstructed as it required to be. Popular opinion readily accepted the rough and ready estimate of Swift as one utterly dark and repulsive in life and genius; and where it took the trouble to verify this second-hand estimate, it found the estimate confirmed by the untested and rash assertions of one after another of his biographers. Mr. Forster has not brought help before it was greatly needed, and the niche of English literary biography which his book will fill is not less palpably vacant than those which he has already so ably occupied. The volume before us is perhaps chiefly valuable for the mass of new information which has been brought together either for the testing or the illustration of the facts asserted of Swift. We perhaps miss in the narrative something of succinctness and of thorough digesting of the matter; and it would be no very high compliment to the author of the *Life of Goldsmith* and of the monograph on *Defoe* to say that he has here surpassed or even equalled himself. But our knowledge of that part of Swift's life which is here chiefly dealt with is at the best fragmentary, and in itself perhaps incapable of any very clear or succinct narration. It is enough that this

book gives us for the first time much that is of incalculable value for a knowledge of the life of Swift, and that to the judgment of this new material Mr. Forster brings his own sound experience and fine literary tact.

Whatever the objections that an editor or a biographer of Swift may have to meet in our day, there is one from which he is probably exempt. He is not likely to be told that the works of Swift want interest, that his genius has been eclipsed, and that the study of his writings may well be laid aside, as not 'entering necessarily into the institution of a liberal education.' And yet something like this is the verdict pronounced by Jeffrey in his critique on Sir Walter Scott's edition of Swift's works in 1816. He tells us how he remembers the time when every boy was set to read Pope, Swift, and Addison as regularly as Virgil, Cicero, and Horace; when all who had any tincture of letters were familiar with their writings and their history; and when they and their contemporaries were placed without challenge at the head of our literature. He congratulates himself that this is no longer the case, and that these writers have been deposed from their pedestal; that their genius has been surpassed, and that they have no chance of recovering the supremacy from which they have been deposed. The language in which he goes on to speak of them is somewhat astonishing. They were remarkable, he says, for the fewness of their faults rather than for the greatness of their beauties. Their laurels were won by good conduct and discipline, not by enterprising boldness and native force. They had no pathos, no enthusiasm, no comprehensiveness, depth, or originality; but were for the most part cold, timid, and superficial. Their inspiration is little more than a sprightly sort

of good sense. They may pass well enough for sensible and polite writers, but scarcely for men of genius.

As we read the estimate of the Edinburgh reviewer, we feel that not only does that estimate differ from our own, but that the standpoint from which it is made is one with which we are essentially out of sympathy. The generation for which Jeffrey wrote had no small share of self-complacency, and it was a self-complacency fortified by circumstances. It was a generation of very considerable force and earnestness, and that force and earnestness had a very strong bias in one particular direction. Such biassed force has its advantages, but a wide-stretching sympathy, or a quick sensibility to the genius of another age, is not one of these. What is good in itself it prizes, but it does so to the exclusion of that which an age possessing perhaps less stringent characteristics of its own may be ready to appreciate. For us, rivalry has not made appreciation impossible. Our own generation has sought other objects, and achieved a bias in a different direction; but while the force of literary genius may be thereby dulled, the absence and hopelessness of literary emulation may make our criticism none the less disinterested. Our laurels are not chiefly won in the fields where we may find Swift and Addison and their contemporaries for rivals, and we may content ourselves with our power of judging the more calmly of the merits of different competitors. We can no longer flatter ourselves with the complacent optimism upon which the Edinburgh reviewer bases his judgment of literary progress; we can no longer assent with him to the proposition that in literary taste every generation is better than its predecessors. Instead of believing with him that such taste 'is of all faculties the one most sure to advance with time and experience,' we are more likely to be impressed with the extreme delicacy of its growth; with the dangers to which it is exposed of being blinded or formalized by every twist and turn of popular fanaticism or prevailing pedantry; with the likelihood that development in other directions may only disarrange the equable balance, the 'sweet reasonableness,' as the chief critic of our generation has it, of literary judgment. What the Edinburgh reviewer feels to be 'little capricious fluctuations,' we may often be disposed to think serious aberrations, and we may see in them the loss of that quick appreciativeness which only the stirring of a new birth in literature could restore. But if we lose the gratification of believing in this comfortable natural law of progression

in literary taste, we escape the risk of being blind to the beauties of a state of less complete and perfect evolution. We relinquish the claim of rivalry, but we can solace ourselves with the recovery of the power of unbiased judgment.

The generation for which Jeffrey wrote had undoubtedly much reason for self-congratulation. Not only were its literary creations great, but its literary criticism, too, was keen, energetic, and incisive. It fairly claimed a great inheritance of reawakened life, and we need not be surprised if the strength that shook off slumber had little delicacy of touch for the beauties which belonged to the state of repose. But the qualities which gave brilliancy to its creations and energy to its criticisms were not those to inspire a subtle sympathy. It was a generation which left little room for doubts and waverings, for efforts at penetrating meaning, for tender and careful searching after hidden beauties. It could spare no time to learn excuses for faults that were apparent on the surface; it had a rough and ready justice, which was much more fit to draw clear lines of demarcation between what it believed good and bad, than to temper its condemnation of that with which it happened to disagree. Above all, one vice tainted every part of its criticism. Not only was distinction of political party made the gauge of literary merit, but all literary criticism was steeped in the strong wine of a political creed. The Edinburgh reviewer turned from a discussion on reform to apply, of set purpose, all the tools of his trade to literature. He proceeded upon the same maxims and he set to work in the same way. 'Whiggism is the one god, and the "Edinburgh Review" is its prophet,' was the foundation of his system, and that system was untroubled by any qualms or doubts. It afforded a ready recipe for dealing with any question. If a judgment on any subject could not, like that of the German philosopher on the white elephant, be evolved by the Edinburgh reviewer from the depths of his own inner consciousness, it was yet easy to procure it from the repertory of that storehouse of dogma whose key was held by his own clique. Whatever the brilliancy of its creation, whatever the energy of its criticism, the generation was penetrated to the very core with the political spirit and had no very great patience with any other. The very masterpieces which gave lustre to the age were gauged by the same criteria, and misjudged with the same rashness, until certain coincidence between these and the prevailing spirit led to their recognition on the ground of such

accidental harmony rather than of their intrinsic worth.

But if the spirit of Jeffrey's generation, or at least of his section of it, was above all political, the spirit that moved Swift and Addison was essentially literary. The one man amongst all English writers who was most deeply affected by the literary spirit was Pope, and Swift and Addison were only one step behind him. The constant reference to political questions, the prevalence of political subjects, the bitterness of political controversy, in their writings, afford only superficial evidence to the contrary. Accident determines what a man shall write about, but it does not determine how he shall write. To the protégé of Sir William Temple a fantastic and fruitless controversy might divide with politics the claims on his attention, and give the accidental bias to his career; to the young aspirant after Whig patronage the victories of Marlborough gave a fitting opportunity to attract attention by his 'Campaign;' to Pope, the connections of his own intimates with political parties gave an incidental interest in the Whig and Tory strife; but none of them had a soul framed for political discussion, nor found a sphere that suited them in the political arena. To Swift, party spirit is the great plague-spot in English life, for which no bitterness of vituperation can be too strong, and no image of ridicule too mean or degrading. It is but the dispute between high heels and low heels, or big-endians and little-endians, over again. Just as little in sympathy with the accidental distinctions of party spirit was the calm judgment of Addison. They can only remind his worthy knight of his schoolboy adventure, when he was called a popish cur by one for asking his way to St. Anne's Lane, and a prickeared cur by the next passenger for asking to be guided to plain Anne's Lane. 'There cannot a greater judgment,' goes on the Spectator, 'befall a country than such a dreadful spirit of division as rends a government into two distinct peoples.'—The influence is fatal both to men's morals and their understandings; it sinks the virtue of a nation, and not only so, but destroys even common sense.' There is something deeper than ordinary sadness in the words with which he speaks of a period of exaggerated party spirit. 'It is very unhappy for a man to be born in such a stormy and tempestuous season.' So it is with Pope: his verdict on political disputes is summed up in the often-quoted words:—

'For forms of government let fools contest;
Whate'er is best administered is best.'

Each felt, as they could not avoid feeling,

the angry onset of the contending factions. We cannot rest in contemplation or follow the bent of our own fancy amid the tumults of the arena, however we may despise the object of the dispute and the spirit of the combatants. All three were drawn into the contest: it laid its fetters on their genius and forced that genius to do its work: it twisted and perverted it, but could not take away its distinctive character. Swift, Addison, and Pope were, for their own day, the types and examples of the purely literary spirit; and what they were for their own day, they are still more distinctively for ours. The verdict of the Edinburgh reviewer on their eclipse and supercession is the one-sided judgment of a man judging those with whom he has no sympathy, and finding in the blindness of a self-assumed superiority ground for an easy and systematized optimism. Without shutting our eyes to his merits, we can yet see the limitations of these merits, and find room for others. Many may be disposed to think that 'into the institution of a liberal education,' the study of our literature at all does not 'necessarily enter,' and that other subjects, calling for more technical ingenuity and holding out incentives of more practical expediency, may with advantage take its place; but those of us who do believe in the all-embracing scope and training implied in a study of that literature, and who would not readily see it eclipsed by the most perfect technical education or the most complete discipline of the observing faculties, will not be willing to study it in less than its entirety, to look upon it as reaching its fruition only 'in each successive generation,' to seek in it *only* the qualities of energy and 'serious emotion,' or *only* those of balanced judgment, clear and luminous exposition, and unrivalled wit. The palm in the former qualities we may grant to the generation in which the Edinburgh reviewer wrote, and for which he claims them, but they do not bound the range of our English literature. 'Serious emotion,' more perhaps than any other characteristic of a literature, is apt to have its vagaries, often fluctuating and accidental only. The same review that contains Jeffrey's critique of Swift, in which he expresses his firm trust in the progressing literary taste of his age, contains a review of Coleridge's 'Christabel,' in which the writer speaks with a 'serious emotion,' hardly disguised under an affectedly flippant style. But what is the judgment of this writer for an age of 'serious emotion' and advanced literary taste? That 'the publication of "Christabel" is one of the most notable pieces of impertinence of which the pre-

has lately been guilty'—'one of the boldest experiments that has yet been made on the patience or understanding of the public!'—'The thing before us ("Christabel") is utterly destitute of value!' and so on. If the sure advance of literary taste, upon which Jeffrey congratulates himself and his generation, could lead to such a judgment on contemporary genius, can we wonder that it should be slow to recognise the distinctive merit—so entirely different from its own—of the age of Addison and Swift and Pope? A limit in one direction too often implies a limit in another; and the judgment which can find in Swift's genius only that of 'a sensible and polite writer,' which can estimate him as for the most part 'cold, timid, and superficial,' is so oddly constituted, that we can hardly wonder if its Whiggish 'serious emotion' fails to appreciate an emotion which, though possibly not without seriousness, is, like that of Coleridge, hardly so exclusively Whiggish as its own.

Those who come to Swift then—and in our day it is they who must be his chief readers—as one of the standard examples of the literary spirit, are not likely to find much ground for dispute as to the completeness with which he realises that spirit. The part he took, by the 'Battle of the Books,' in the controversy between the Ancients and the Moderns, was no doubt partly forced upon him by the attitude of his patron, Sir William Temple. Temple had committed himself very fatally indeed on the subject of the Pseudo-Phalaris. In the courtly and learned leisure of Moor Park, Temple had ornamented his commonplaces with the fashionable dilettante scholarship of the day. He had imbibed a sort of aristocratic respect for the literature of the dead languages as that which was closed to the vulgar, and open only to those whose life had always been surrounded with intellectual as well as physical appliances. But the depth and extent of the scholarship which flattered the exclusiveness of the master of Moor Park may be gauged by his citing, as specially distinctive of the spirit of antiquity, the epistles ascribed to Phalaris, and written by some sophist very likely a thousand years after his day. The mistake was speedily and not very tenderly put right by Bentley, and it behoved Temple and Temple's adherents to muster all their forces for the fight, to turn off the attack by an inroad into the enemy's domain. Thus came the 'Battle of the Books,' by which Swift stepped into the arena, with weapons of a finer temper and with a longer reach of arm than any of his fellows in the fray. The criticism was no longer verbal; the assertions were no longer

those of courtly commonplace. Instead of that, the whole contest was placed in such a light that not to the eyes of critics and scholars merely, but to all the risible faculties of human nature, Bentley and his adherents became ridiculous. The vast, but pedantic and arid, scholarship of Bentley is hit off to perfection in the picture of him as he marches in armour, patched of a thousand fragments, that clangs loud and dry with every step, like the fall of a sheet of lead. The dispute has passed out of the arena of Christ Church and Moor Park: there is no longer room in it for the schoolboy conceits of Boyle, for the rasping scholarship of Bentley, for the courtly dilettanteism of Temple. The defence of the Ancients is no longer a defence of aristocratic learning against popular and vernacular literature: it has taken its foundation on the broad basis of humour. Temple's need, no doubt, suggested to his dependant the assumption of his defence; but it did not limit his sympathies, or assign his position in the fight. He is bound to identify himself with Temple's mistake to some extent, and so he describes (doubtless forming his own opinion on the case all the while) the discomfiture of a scholar such as Bentley by a *petit maitre* such as Boyle; yet he is unable to repress the covert sneer implied in Temple's being caught with his back turned, and being 'lightly grazed' with Wotton's shaft. But Swift had a larger share in the dispute than that of a dependant, however valuable to his master he might, as a dependant, be. To us it seems quite evident that, however his advocacy is marred by his personalities and distorted by the necessities of his position, his place was naturally on the side of the Ancients in the dispute. Stript of its accessories, that side represented the protest against the anarchical element in literature. It maintained the standard of classic taste, as opposed to the erratic flights of overstrained originality. To Temple this might be a defence of aristocratic intellectual exclusiveness: to Swift it was the defence of that on which he felt the very existence of literature, as a great force, to depend. That, with all its varieties, a certain adherence to some classical standard, be it ancient or modern, is necessary, was the first principle of his creed, as it is of that of every man impressed with the literary spirit. If we fix upon the finest passages in the book, which are those where there is least of personal reference, we shall find that this is precisely the point upon which Swift insists. The Moderns are ambitious, but they have a 'tendency towards their own centre.' Their short-lived triumph is marked 'by a strange confusion of place

among all the books in the library.' The episode of the dispute between the spider—with his web carefully constructed in that corner of the ceiling which he imagines to be the centre of the universe, its material drawn out of his own bowels—and the bee who chances by ill-luck to trespass, to his own detriment, amid the filthy mass, contains the gist of the dispute. Labour as you may, says the bee, after all yours is merely the 'task which, by a lazy contemplation of four inches round, by an overweening pride feeding and engendering on itself, turns all into excrement and venom, producing nothing at all but flybane and a cobweb.' What you want is the 'universal range which, with long search, much study, true judgment, and distinction of things, brings home honey and wax.' These words extend the range of the dispute far beyond the merits or defects of this or that Ancient or Modern. They apply not merely to the fray between Temple and Wotton, or Bentley and Boyle; they express the very marrow of the truth which literature must always maintain, that excellence depends not on accidental coincidence with the taste of a day or a clique, but upon permanence of duration, upon harmony with the calmest judgment, and, at the same time, the most 'serious emotion' which even the Edinburgh reviewer could not achieve.

It is this predominance of the literary spirit which gives to the writings of Swift the most characteristic part of the interest they possess for us. It is this which rescues them as a whole from the danger that besets some amongst them, in the fact that the interest attaching to their subjects is only a passing one. Swift does not interest us as the adherent of Temple in a flimsy controversy, but because he showed how literary merit rested upon no maxims reposing in *gremio magistratibus*, but upon the broad lines that separate what is sound from what is ridiculous in all spheres and for all times. We are not attracted by the political discussion in the tracts with which he pierced the only too chinky armour of the Whigs, or strove to bolster up a decaying government, and preserve them from the ills of quarrels within and discontent without; but because he was the first to show how political disputes could be conducted after a literary fashion, and yet not lose any practical force, or be affected by any of that pedantic spirit which, up to his time, had been held to be the characteristic of the literary politician. We do not need to accept his allegorical picture of the religious attitude of the Roman Catholic, the Dissenter, and the Church of England man as just, in order to appreciate the marvellous genius of the 'Tale of

a Tub:' what holds us and commands our admiration is the ease with which the allegory succeeds for the time in achieving its object, be that what it may, and in making all but its own stand point seem utterly ridiculous.

But although we do not apprehend that there is much dispute as to the position which Swift holds in our literature, and the peculiar qualities that entitle him to it, yet his is a name about which abundance of disputation is likely to gather, hereafter, as it has done in the past. Granted, it may be said, that Swift was a brilliant exponent of the literary spirit, did he employ that spirit well? Was it not made the tool of faction, so as to degrade it? Was it not made the vehicle of coarseness so intense as almost to disgust people into a reaction against that from which ordinary and uneducated, but in this case better judging, taste recoiled? Did it not cover a spirit of hypocrisy, and give a permanence by literary excellence to that which does not really have existence in the human breast? Was he not false to his own heart, false to his political ties, false to the religion he possessed? And of writings whose subject-matter is so composed, can any literary excellence allow us to condone the evil and the untruth? Part of the assumption upon which this accusation is made we may admit to be true, but we must do even this with some reservations. It is true that the highest literary excellence is not consistent with the expression of that which is deliberately and altogether hypocritical and unreal. The most consummate art cannot master or mould to its purposes any but a frenzied partizan or a blind disciple if it refuses to appeal to something naturally and truly, however deplorably existing in the human heart. It is this want that has broken the force of Bolingbroke's writings, and which, but for the genius which refused, in spite of itself, to be tethered to insincerity by the platitudes of Bolingbroke, might have broken the force of the 'Essay on Man.' But we must go no further than this. In the first place literary excellence does not accept the limitations that may fitly be placed upon us in our social responsibilities. If what it expresses be true, it has fulfilled all we can demand of it. We may regret that it expresses feelings that would be better veiled, or we may regret that human nature is subject to such feelings at all. We may stand aghast at the darkness of the prospect that it opens to us; we may long for some lighter influence to make the shade less deep; but we cannot question its truth because we question its expediency. Besides this, we must beware of the stand-

point from which we judge of insincerity. Before we accuse a man of insincere acquiescence in conventionality or custom, we must know exactly the weight which that convention and his acquiescence bear to him. With his estimate of the results of that acquiescence we may disagree; we may believe him to argue wrongly, and we may pronounce his conduct to be socially wrong, and productive of enormous evil. But we are not therefore justified in denying him the merit of sincerity, or at least in laying upon him the accusation of a thorough insincerity permeating his whole life and distorting his vision. But it is only the insincerity that permeates a man's whole spirit that can affect him in the sphere of literature. As a member of society a man may have no right to put his own interpretation upon conventionalities: his acquiescence, if insincere, may be a political crime. But as an author, all we have to ask is whether his acquiescence has so clouded his vision as to leave him without the power of discerning whether what he speaks comes from his own heart or no. We have nothing to do with the relative degree of moral guilt belonging to social and literary insincerity. We only assert that they are not identical. Voltaire showed little respect for any conventionality which did not command his acquiescence; yet it may be doubted whether an undercurrent of affectation does not more or less mar the effect of everything he has written. Dryden veered round with every change of the political compass, and yet he never lost an honest grasp on what, in his own erratic fashion, he believed for the moment to be true.

But besides this broad distinction which must be drawn between social and literary insincerity, there is another consideration to be met before we can pronounce against the truth and sincerity of any writer. We must not only know the estimate formed by him of the conventionalities in which he acquiesced, and the degree to which that acquiescence affected his judgment of truth generally, but we must also carefully weigh the general tenour of his life. We must seek for any connecting links that may give consistency to that which would otherwise appear ground for a charge of apostasy. We must examine the evidence for such scandals as exist; we must not be blind to palliations; we must sift such facts as may alter the complexion of apparently well-established charges. Our task is then a double one: we have to examine evidence, and we have to put an interpretation, as just as we may, upon the facts which that evidence shall establish.

The views of Swift's life are various, but may be summed up in not many words. Let us see how, when classified, they contrast with one another. Let us begin with the most repulsive picture. Swift, it is said, was born in poverty, and educated by an uncle, to whom his only return was ingratitude and abuse. He went to college only to waste his time in idleness and foul abuse of those in authority. From Trinity College, Dublin, where he took his degree with difficulty, he was compelled to fly, owing to rustication. Thence he went to England, where he found an almost menial employment in the household of Sir William Temple, in whose service he ate, in rage and silence, the bread of 'a beggar or a lackey.' Quarrelling with his patron, he left Moor Park for Ireland, to take orders: but finding Temple's assistance necessary, he wrote a servile and fawning letter of repentance, which procured him the service he wished for. Discontented with the drudgery or the tedium of a remote Irish parish, he returned to Moor Park, and remained there till Temple's death. The patronage he had received from him he returned in words of flattery, as insincere as were the offices of literary hack which he had before performed for him; and the stifled hate and scorn he nourished were allowed to appear only in secret, and as it were by stealth. Disappointed in schemes of ambition in England, he left for Ireland, where he settled in a new and somewhat more lucrative charge. To amuse his leisure he invited to reside in Ireland a young woman who had been, like himself, a dependant on Sir William Temple's bounty, and whose heart he had stolen, while he had the opportunity, at Moor Park, but stolen only that he might keep it in a galling and exasperating bondage till she sank to the grave. He returned only to become a political renegade and the tool of those whose patronage, or promises of patronage, had attracted his ambition, or whose friendship flattered his toadying propensities. While their triumph lasted, he bullied and browbeat and toadied: when it came to an abrupt conclusion he retired to Ireland, 'nursing his wrath to keep it warm,' a pitiable object of baffled greed and ambition, requiting mankind for their neglect of his claims by hounding on rebellion and by outraging decency—an apostate to religion, to morality, to his country, to his friends. Before his life came to an end the darkness closed in on an intellect which had been a prey to unsated anger, passion, and disappointment, and his death was a fitting moral for such a tale.

Vulgar deception and hypocrisy, com-

monplace scepticism, political apostasy of the kind which the weakest and most slavish of the tools of Harley or of Walpole might have practised, are thus charged upon Swift. This, in some places word for word, is the glib verdict of the Edinburgh reviewer. It is confirmed by some phrases of careless rhetoric in which Macaulay indulges in his essay on Temple. At the very outset we may say that some of these charges had no assignable basis whatever, while the falsity of most of the remainder has now been abundantly proved by Mr. Forster. Misfortune, doubtless, was prepared for Swift before his birth; his father had died seven months before. The widow was left with two children; but in spite of wealthy and influential connections on both sides, Jonathan and Abigail Swift had not been able to make provision during their brief married life for the future. The churlish charity of his uncle Godwin, which grudged what, no doubt, he found it impossible with decency to withhold from his brother's widow, was certainly resented by Swift; but what was given him kindly from the lesser resources of another uncle he repaid by abundant gratitude. The story of his college career is nonsense; that of his service with Temple, and its terms, exaggeration run mad. On Temple's death he expresses himself in the conventional terms of a decent sorrow; he performs dutifully the thankless task of editing the works of his patron, which no one would read, or, at least, whose readers would not buy them. But in the freedom of private correspondence he does not conceal the fact that Temple was not a little prosy and pompous, and that at times he had had hard work to bear with his humours. He had known and taught Esther Johnson when an infant; she had learned to admire, and had grown up to love him; and what their relation implied she, open-eyed, accepted. For his political career we shall put forward an entirely different explanation, and one for which it is not necessary to impute to him any ignoble or selfish motive. His misanthropy, modified and tested in the light of well-established facts, will be found to wear an entirely different complexion. But the Edinburgh reviewer not only rests his estimate upon what is false and exaggerated; he never seems to have paused to ask himself if what he assumed was even likely or probable in itself—never to have allowed his imagination to draw a picture of Swift as he was, or even as he might have been.

The picture Johnson gives us, although it is drawn with little sympathy, is yet far different from this. He sees nothing very blamable in his conduct, either as a politi-

cal partisan or as a clergyman. It is only in the slighter points that he seems to bear heavily on him. His criticism shows not the rancour of one determined to see nothing good, but the impatience of one who sees flaws with which he has, or fancies he has, no sympathy. Swift's parsimony in money matters, his uncouthness or brusqueness of manner, his whims and fancies, his rather ostentatious display of that arrogance to the great which may easily cover a not very dignified self-gratulation on their intercourse—these are the foibles rather than the vices for which Johnson has least patience. Perhaps it was that he felt in himself something akin to them, and in the very nervousness of his determination to avoid them, viewed them with the greater dislike.*

The very resemblance which, as Scott remarks, Johnson bore to Swift in 'morbid temperament, political opinions, and habits of domination in society,' might help to stimulate his impatience with foibles so akin to his own. But Johnson does not appear to stoop to the vulgarity of making the tales of slander appear the history of a life, or forget the awe due to misfortune by gibling at the tortures of genius.

Another view is that which we find within bounds in Thackeray, and exaggerated in M. Taine's *History of English Literature*. With the former it occurs in an estimate of Swift as a man; and perhaps in a sketch professing only to catch the salient points of character, for presentation to the audience at a lecture, it is as true as any other. With M. Taine it becomes the basis of a literary criticism, the soundness of which it irretrievably perverts. In the picturesque but lurid glare that he throws round Swift, M. Taine reads all his works, which wear to him the aspect, not of specimens of consummate literary art, as we have been wont to regard them, but of the careless and disjointed utterances of a sort of devil-inspired misanthropy. It is strange that the quick tact of a Frenchman did not save M. Taine

* Johnson bears heavily on Swift in little things. The story of a college career, in many respects so like his own, he exaggerates. He sees the evident motive of Swift in lodging in the commonest inns that of 'surveying human life through all its varieties;' but he cannot deny himself the pleasure of hazarding the guess that it may have been from 'a passion deep fixed in his heart, the love of a shilling.' He omits to record the common story of Swift's education to parsimony. He records the charge of plagiarism brought against the 'Battle of the Books,' as borrowed from a volume of *Contray's*, whose title he quotes quite inaccurately, and of whose contents Mr. Forster's knowledge of the original enables him to show that he (Johnson) was entirely ignorant.

from the ludicrous disproportion of the opening words of his sketch to the superstructure he raises upon them. He describes the common, but—as Mr. Forster shows—mistaken view of the circumstances under which Swift took his degree. The degree was taken *speciali gratiâ*; and this Swift himself interprets, perhaps partly as a joke, partly with the common affectation of youthful idleness, to mean that which in Oxford phrase would be, 'He only just got through.' But at its worst, granting that Swift hardly felt a deep sympathy with the studies in vogue at Trinity College, and did not bear in his college career the character of a very exemplary student, it seems a circumstance hardly capable of preparing us for a crash of stage thunder like this:—

'This was his first humiliation and his first rebellion. His whole life was like this moment, overwhelmed and made wretched by sorrows and hatred. To what excess they rose, his portrait and his history can show. He had an exaggerated and terrible pride, and made the haughtiness of the most powerful ministers and most mighty lords bend beneath his arrogance.'

All this may be true, we are tempted to reply; but before assenting to it we should like to hear something worse than the story of a boy of eighteen finding himself troubled by a little irksome labour in taking his degree, even if the story itself had any good foundation. Whatever the *specialis gratiâ* involved, it did not prevent Temple at a later day from recommending Swift as a Fellow of the College, which was granted. Indeed, both the story and the use that has been made of it illustrate admirably the fashion after which most of those who have written about Swift have chosen to deal with him. Assertions have seldom been tested, and little judgment has been shown in the inferences which have been drawn from them. These writers have pictured to themselves a man whose whole nature was a compound of gloom and rage and distempered passion; at war with human nature, trampling on all that others revere, and making a boast of doing so; and what they have found inconsistent with the picture they have readily slurred over. Let us take one or two instances of this. We might imagine that few could read the *Journal to Stella* without feeling that here at least the misanthrope can smile, the gloom break, and the universal rage be for a time at least lulled to rest. But hear M. Taine. 'Swift in his gaiety is always tragical; nothing unbends him; even when he serves, he pains you. In his *Journal to Stella* there is a sort of imperious austerity; his compliments are those of a mas-

ter to a child.' M. Taine, we fancy, is the first who has felt them so. Again, in the 'Modest Proposal for preventing the children of the poor in Ireland from becoming a burden on their parents and their country, and for making them beneficial to the public,' in which Swift with mock solemnity advocates the eating of them, we should have thought that only the lighter side of his humour was shown. The paper is not perhaps quite in the present taste; its illustrations are free, and its language is not always that of the drawing-room of to-day. We might imagine some very weak and prosaic mother finding the recipe very, very wicked, and thinking the dean a sad, sarcastic, dangerous writer, and one who should certainly never be made a bishop. But that a critic of M. Taine's acuteness should gravely argue that it gives evidence of a deep-rooted melancholy; should call it 'the last effort of his despair and his genius;' should find in it 'a cry of anguish' deeper than any in literature, appears hardly credible. The self-conscious strut of a mock solemnity is never for a moment absent. The outside gravity of tone is only preserved enough to keep the humour; it is never for a moment allowed to become real. In others of Swift's treatises we see the ever-recurring gleam of a real and not merely an assumed hate and anger; we have glimpses of a gloom and melancholy so far-reaching that they strike home; but this one, chosen by M. Taine to illustrate his theory of Swift as a despairing misanthrope, appears to us of all the most free from these darker traits. The language, which studiously reproduces the pained but comic earnestness of a butcher or ham-curer recommending his wares, is the very essence of humour. The joke may be ill-chosen, and the miseries of the Irish were no very fitting subject for their idol's laughter; but a joke it certainly was, and we can most easily account for it as a laugh for once at the expense of the Irish, whose lavish worship Swift never accepted with more than half-jocular scorn.

That there are vast depths of melancholy in Swift's character and in his literary genius, we do not for a moment deny. That the picture of human nature which he himself sees, and to which he opens our eyes, is often one of awful gloom; that there are parts of his history which can only be explained through some terrible mystery, and that that mystery affected his genius, we readily agree. But there are few days so black that they show no rifts in the clouds, and the blue beyond is softer than the clouds, and yet more enduring and more real than they. In Swift's horizon the clouds were thick and dense, but they were often opened to a very

clear and very tender light. The picture given us by M. Taine is a very powerful one. He draws in vigorous touches a whole chamber of the human mind which Swift, perhaps more than any one else, explored. But when he bids us believe that Swift dwelt for ever in that chamber himself, we must refuse him our belief. The human brain is not strong enough, the human heart is not tough enough to breathe that atmosphere without rest and without change. To ask us to believe that Swift's character was summed up in those few lurid strokes, is to bid us accept a figment of imagination for a reality, an abstract of one side of human nature for a real man; it is to call upon us to acquiesce in an account to which neither the facts of Swift's life nor the characteristics of his writings give credibility.

In his first volume Mr. Forster does not give, as indeed it was not fitting that he should, a general estimate of Swift's character. But he lets us see quite enough of his method of testing facts, and of his manner of drawing inferences from them, to indicate in what direction his estimate will lie. 'The graver time' in Swift's life, as Mr. Forster well calls it, hardly falls at all within the period dealt with in this volume. The volume ends with the beginning of 1711, when Swift was still rising in the political world, when he was the chosen confidant of the ministry, and all but a cabinet minister without office. It leaves to be still dealt with the fall of the ministry to which he had linked his fortunes, and the disappointment of his own hopes. There is still the long exile—for such he held it—in Ireland, and the dark story of his love and its ending. We have still to see him the idol of the nation that was his only by accident of birth, and whose defence he assumed by little more than the accident of opportunity. The pay for that defence was an unquestioning worship which hardly any other nation could have rendered, and which grew no colder by the insulting scorn with which it was received. Mr. Forster has not yet had to review the work of greatest range that perhaps Swift ever wrote, in which his satire was no longer against a certain literary clique, or against certain religious vagaries, but against human nature itself. The *Travels of Gulliver* were not published till fifteen years after the date at which Mr. Forster leaves us. The most distinctive parts of Swift's life, therefore, in each direction—the cloud that deepens round the story of Stella near her death, the period of his most concentrated and sustained political effort, and the publication of the book in which he has penetrated most deeply into the dark places of the human mind—

are left untouched. But the groundwork for that graver time is here laid. The circumstances of Swift's early life are investigated, and the exaggerations and mistakes that have prevailed regarding it are dispelled. We see him, not as he might have been had he fulfilled the lurid imagination of some of his biographers, but as he actually was. And though Mr. Forster has here given us no comprehensive summary of his judgment on Swift, yet we have enough to enable us to conjecture more. That Swift had neither an unkindly nature nor an unkindly introduction to the wider spheres of life, he is at some pains to show. He is the first to give prominence to the character of Swift's mother, and to show that in her there was no exception to the common rule that the mothers of great men are often women of marked ability and force. He describes Swift's life with Sir William Temple, and shows that neither his continuance there argued so much servility, nor his abandonment of the post so much angry discontent and repining, as has often been supposed. He shows how he refrained from entering the Church till certain scruples were removed, and upholds his sincerity to her cause after he had entered her service. He shows how his first step into the arena of political controversy did not commit him to such personal attachment to and admiration of the Whig leaders as might make his subsequent desertion of them involve the deep political apostasy which has sometimes been attributed to him. He shows how his change of sides was preceded by a grave doubt of the wisdom of prolonging the war, as the Whigs were doing; and that when the change was made, the less purely national interests that guided him were those that belonged to the cause of the Church he served rather than such as were selfishly his own. He shows that the friendship for Harley and St. John which he cultivated was neither prompted entirely by the gratification given to his pride and vanity, nor wanting altogether in an object worthy his pursuit from motives of higher sympathy. He shows how slowly, and as it were rather by the exigency of party than from any wish of the men themselves, the friendship between Swift and Addison was drawn asunder. He touches, too, upon the early phase of Swift's connection with Esther Johnson. He has shown us already how Swift was not unlike other young men in that boyish attachment that means nothing but shows no unkindly heart. His mother's fears of an unwise marriage were apparently aroused, but Swift's sound sense put an end to all such apprehensions. A more serious attachment was made the occasion of much

impassioned language ; but it, too, died out, whether by neglect on the part of the lady, or by 'the expulsive power of a new affection,' because by this time that attachment for Esther Johnson, whom he had first known and taught as a child of seven or eight in Sir William Temple's house, was formed. It was an attachment which lasted till his death. From about his thirtieth year Stella was Swift's type of all women. Of the darker clouds that passed over the story at a later day, Mr. Forster has now nothing to say. But he does give us so far his view of that connection, and in doing so, to a certain degree, is forced to anticipate. To the belief that there never was, according to the much-disputed story, any marriage, Mr. Forster distinctly states that he adheres ; but as his narrative has not reached the year to which tradition fixes the marriage, if it took place, he is not called upon as yet to give us all the evidence for such a belief. But with regard to the whole relation between Swift and Stella Mr. Forster is very clear.

'The limits as to their intercourse expressed by him, if not before known to her, she had now (when her residence in Ireland began) been made aware of, and it is not open to us to question that she accepted it with its plainly implied conditions of Affection, not Desire. The words, 'in all other eyes but mine,' have a touching significance. In all other eyes but his time would take from her lustre ; her charms would fade ; but to him, through womanhood as in girlhood, she would continue the same. For what she was surrendering, then, she knew the equivalent ; and this, almost wholly overlooked in other biographies, will be found in the present to fill a large place. Her story has indeed been always told with too much indignation and pity. Not with what depresses or degrades, but rather with what consoles and exalts, we may associate such a life. This young friendless girl, of mean birth and small fortune, chose to play no common part in the world ; and it was not a sorrowful destiny, either for her life or her memory, to be the Star to such a man as Swift, the Stella to even such an Astrophel.'

Upon such a theory as this, little remains of that charge of being 'the destroyer of the women that loved him,' which has been so often and so lightly brought against Swift.

Thus, although Mr. Forster has not yet had to deal with those parts of Swift's life which have been the chief stumbling-blocks to his biographers, it is easy to see what the character of his verdict on these will be. They may well be stript of much exaggeration, and from what remains inferences by no means fatal to Swift's honour and honesty may be drawn. For an estimate of the whole of Swift's life, Mr. Forster's guidance

in the early stages may at least serve to set us on the right road.

The first question that arises about Swift is one to which much importance has been attached, viz., how far he adhered to the religious opinions professed by him as a clergyman of the Church of England. On the one hand it has been asserted that his whole life was one unbroken hypocrisy ; that he was, as Thackeray puts it, strangled in his bands and poisoned by his cassock, which was to him a sort of Nessus-shirt. On the other hand much has been said to show that Swift reverently held the dogmas which he professed, and having entered the Church, after carefully overlooking his position, devoted himself to the maintenance of her creed. It requires no deep search into Swift's writings to discover both themes and treatment likely to shock the religious feelings of most of mankind. But, on the other hand, he has in more than one treatise brought the whole weight of his sarcasm to bear upon the profession of scepticism and atheism ; and for those who ventured to dissent from the discipline or doctrine of his own Church, he professed a genuine hatred, and forcibly attacked the weak points in their position. He wrote a scheme for the advancement of religion, of which it was said that the author was a man acquainted with the world, who would go to heaven with a very good grace. But in truth it would perhaps be more reasonable to ask whether Swift deserves or would have regarded either the praise of common orthodoxy or the blame of vulgar scepticism. 'Swift's,' says Thackeray, 'was a reverent, was a pious spirit, because Swift could love and pray,' and, we might add, could think. Thus far we may know of his relation to religion in its simplest form. But who shall decide what was the binding force on Swift's conscience of the doctrines of the English Church, held, as he saw them held, by the bulk of the clergy of his day ? The Church was to him, as to his contemporaries, far more of a political corporation than of a religious body. Such had been the effect of a century of political attitudinizing, such the outcome of the alliance struck first between James I. and the High Church party. We are not concerned to defend or to discuss the policy of such an establishment : it is enough to point out the character it bore, and the way in which that character loosened its hold on the consciences of thinking men. Swift attacked the Dissenters, but rather because of what he saw in them that outraged decorum or common sense than because he was speculatively opposed to their tenets. In the 'Tale of a Tub' he is not

concerned to consider the grounds of Jack's action: he errs, as Peter errs, in not holding to the golden mean that Martin chooses, a mean so consonant with common sense, so politically convenient. 'The want of a belief is a defect which ought to be concealed,' he plainly says, 'when it cannot be overcome.' He defends the Christian religion, but it is from a contempt for the vulgar and blatant forms of popular infidelity, in all its utter vanity and misconception, rather than from a sincere feeling for the doctrine he defends. It was the wretched weakness, the inflated conceit, the inherent cowardice that this infidelity covered, which stung his sarcasm. It is only a varied form of conventional religious hypocrisy, and for both Swift feels a consuming hatred. In the *True and Faithful Narrative*,* the lady who in her consternation sends for the prophet Whiston, although she had before 'been addicted to all the speculative doubts of the most able philosophers,' is described in the lines just preceding those where we have the lady who, having made up her mind to the institution of prayers in her household, puts it off till the next day, 'reasoning that it would be time enough to take off the servants from their business (which this practice must infallibly occasion for an hour or two every day) when the comet made its appearance.' Swift's religion, in truth, stood above and outside of the doctrines which contained the not very sincere creed common in his day. The degree of blame which attaches to acquiescence in these forms, it must be for each to determine; to us it does not, in all the circumstances, seem very great. Religious hypocrisy he saw through and scorned, and the trammels of religious narrowness never greatly galled him. But the main force of his attack is directed against what he found common in his day, political intrigue which took the form of religious dissent—and shallow vanity which took the form of free-thinking. Yet though a mind like Swift's might stand above doctrinal forms of religion, there are times when the darkness gathers round, and perforce even minds like his seek refuge in the kindly ways that bring consolation to their fellow-men. Swift never neglected religious exercise, but as far as possible he resorted to it by stealth. Partly perhaps he dreaded the growth of conventional hypocrisy; partly he felt that his religion was only outwardly that of the bulk of his fellow-worshippers. And yet he craved for sympathy. In his later years,

foreseeing the approach of madness, he used to pray to be taken from the evil which he saw must come. Who shall presume to gauge what religious feeling underlay the unutterable sadness of that despairing, lonely prayer?

From Swift's religion we pass to the question of his political career. Here too he has been accused of inconsistency that amounted to absolute breach of faith. After adhering to the Whig party he basely deserted them, and, a political turncoat, sought the patronage of the Tories, which he was prepared to pay for with writings whose bitterness evinced the genuine rancour of a renegade. Now it would be rash to assert that Swift's political career is in any way very creditable. Were the conduct of public men regulated on the principles which he followed, the result would be of the kind for abundant illustration of which we would not have to go beyond his own age. But before we pass a sweeping denunciation, we must look at all the circumstances. What were the ties of party, to which he was expected to show such allegiance, to a man like Swift? How far did they comprise his views of politics? No more than the doctrines upheld by the bench of bishops comprised his religious views. From beginning to end of his political career nothing is so often repeated as his hatred of the curse of party. Grave expostulation, indignant invective, contemptuous sarcasm, are all poured out against it. He feels that it has disjointed the age, that it breaks the ties of friendship, and makes men blind to justice or to common sense. But a man cannot always choose the tools with which he has to work, and few are high-minded or scrupulous enough to abstain from the fray because its instruments are not those he would himself most reverence or admire. Swift had to serve as a partisan or stand aloof altogether. He chose the former, and in this, as in all else, he followed no half measures. It was not in his nature not to throw that intensity which Mr. Forster justly considers one of the chief characteristics of his satire, into all that he did. In a hand-to-hand struggle we don't measure the weight of our blows, we don't distinguish greatly upon whom they fall. The struggle may bring out the worst part of our nature, but for that it is not our nature that is most to blame. In judging of Swift's political career, therefore, we are not careful to estimate the degree to which he sincerely felt the wrong done to Ireland when he wrote the '*Drapier's Letters*;' we are not anxious to assign his change from Somers and Halifax to Harley and St. John to purely patriotic motives.

* A true and faithful narrative of what passed in London during the general consternation of all ranks and degrees of mankind, on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday last, &c.

It is enough if we can prove that he found, or imagined he found, some basis for the bitterness of his invective; that he never pursued a personal attack merely for itself rather than for the question that hinged upon it; and that if his motives for change were not altogether those of the most exalted patriotism, they were yet far removed from the ignoble selfishness of the servile renegade.

Let us look to a few of his political utterances. The first was that on the Dissensions at Athens and Rome, which was undoubtedly written, and was just as undoubtedly accepted, as a manifesto in favour of the chief leaders of the Whig party, attacked by the rancour of the Tory faction. So much we may admit. But it is further asserted that in it Swift lavished upon these Whig leaders the most flattering comparisons, and wrote of them under the thin disguise of the most respectable names of antiquity. This present flattery, as well as his subsequent attacks, were prompted merely by a selfish ambition, and the sudden transposition is held effectually to dispose of his claims to political integrity. We are concerned now only with the first part of the accusation, that which relates to the tract itself. Did it involve the direct flattery that is implied, or was Swift's object in that flattery one of personal aggrandizement?

For ourselves, we can find in the tract little beyond a calm but indignant protest against the excess of party spirit. The warning that is drawn from the political life of Athens and Rome is one which has its lesson for Whig as well as for Tory. It has no special Whiggishness of tone. That which the writer appears to dislike most is what he calls the *dominatio plebis*. Undoubtedly the lesson bore most heavily at that moment upon the tactics of the Tory majority; but there is no special attack upon their principles, only upon their present factious prosecutions. Next, with regard to the personal identification of the names drawn from antiquity with the prominent leaders whose purpose it served, Mr. Forster says most conclusively:—

‘The charges which have been based upon it, of having afterwards turned against the men whom it had compared and identified with such faultless heroes as Aristides, Themistocles, Pericles, and Phocion, are simply not true. It has no such strained comparisons, for its applications are in no respect personal. With perfect truth Swift says in it: “I am not conscious that I have forcep an example or put it in any other light than it appeared to me long before I had thought of producing it.”’

To this we may add that the number of

names is not even identical with that of the Whig leaders, and Swift's accusers have been sorely put to it to distribute six names over four persons. Nor is the description itself entirely flattering. Themistocles, who is taken to represent the Earl of Oxford, had ‘somewhat of haughtiness in his temper and behaviour.’ Pericles, the representative of Halifax, was accused of ‘misapplying the public revenues to his own private use.’ ‘His accounts were confused, . . . and merely to divert that difficulty and the consequences of it, he was forced to engage his country in the Peloponnesian war.’ The exact identification must have been embarrassing both to the flattered and the flatterer. Add to this that any set comparison is only introduced apparently as an afterthought in the close of the chapter on Athens; that in what is said of Rome there is not one word of personal reference at all; and the meaning which it has been attempted to fix upon this tract appears to have amazingly little foundation except in the imagination of Swift's accusers.’

Let us take another tract, perhaps even more characteristic, and written when Swift's position was entirely changed. It was not published till after occasion had gone by, but it can still serve to show how far there was an identity of political feeling between the earlier and the later times, however much the outward relations of Swift had changed. In judging of this we must not lose sight of a point which is distinctive of the bulk of Swift's political tracts, and of this among them, that they were really not so much oburgations of political opponents as admonitions to political friends. If we keep this in mind in judging of them, the bitterness, nay, the injustice of the invective appears as nothing but the dress which was to make unpleasant advice more palatable by abuse of others.

The sum of the piece is this. Party spirit is no doubt an unmitigated evil. We have never concealed our opinion that it is false and vain: it fosters the worst passions and it prevents the free action of talents which might serve the nation usefully. But because party spirit is bad, we have not on that account the power to disregard it. Having chosen a line of policy we must keep to it, only let that policy be in the first place clear and decided. Let there be no doubt as to its intention, no darkening of counsel to adherents who have a right to know it. Do not believe that you will gain more by stratagem than you will lose by having a reputation for chicane. Nay, more than this, your action must be firm. You must not encourage opponents, nor attempt their

conciliation. You will gain only their ingratitude and contempt. 'Let all schisms, sects, and heresies be discountenanced, and kept under due subjection, *as far as consists with the lenity of our constitution*. Let the open enemies of the Church (among whom I include at least Dissenters of all denominations) not be trusted with the smallest degree of civil or military power.* Let the army too be regulated and made amenable to the dictates of your policy, and so mended as to be fit for the trust reposed in it. But while you are clear and decided in policy and firm in action, while you shape your tools to your purposes and give no encouragement to your opponents, you must at the same time be moderate. The exaggerations of high Tories are only less dangerous than the schisms of intriguing Whigs; but the former may be dealt with, the latter cannot without injuring our own self-respect. Above all, let us have no tampering with the Protestant succession, let us be steady in our support of the Hanoverian family. Let us offend no scruples by loudly proclaiming that succession to be necessary and desirable on any abstract principle, and in order to destroy any notions that are dear to many who might help us; but let us maintain it only on the ground that it is necessary for the maintenance of the Protestant faith. 'Let us,' and these are the most pregnant words in the whole treatise, 'put those we dispute with as much in the wrong as we can.'

These doctrines may be not only inexpedient but absolutely dangerous. They may involve, as Jeffrey thought the proposal about the army did involve, an appeal to civil war. But in the first place they are no more extreme than those to which many of the opposite party were ready to resort. The remodelling of the army was not one hundredth part as dangerous a use of faction as the proposal of the Whigs to give the command of it to the Duke of Marlborough for life. But however that may be, we fail to see how they could not honestly be held by the same man who wrote the 'Disensions in Athens and Rome.' They are the words and the opinions of one who had accepted the galling bonds of party when these bonds were worst. His judgment may be thereby perverted, his genius may be given to the support of that which his calmer reason would have condemned; but, save in the proof of such partisanship, we see in them nothing of moral turpitude, nothing of renegading rancour.

And now let us consider the circumstan-

ces of the actual change, on account of which the charge of political apostasy has been laid upon Swift. 'We do not believe,' says Jeffrey,* 'that there is anywhere on record a more barefaced avowal of political apostasy, undisguised and unpalliated by the slightest colour or pretence of public or conscientious motives. . . . His only apology, in short, for this sudden dereliction of the principles which he had maintained for nearly forty years is a pretence of ill-usage from the party with whom he had held them—a pretence which, to say nothing of its inherent baseness, appears to be utterly without foundation.' Now, in the first place there is, we believe, a considerable distinction between a dereliction of principles and a desertion of party, which the Edinburgh reviewer chooses here to confound. Unless the former be based on an honest change of opinion, it stamps a man with shame. But desertion of party is a very different thing. Party may find in itself an embodiment of principle which others fail to see in it. Unrequited service may not be the highest, but it may be a very reasonable, motive for deserting the party responsible for it. A man may find himself able to adhere with tolerable consistency to his opinions outside the sphere of the party whose ingratitude he has felt, and whose entire representation of his own principles he may have cause to doubt. Were Marlborough and Godolphin, or even Somers and Halifax, the be-all and end-all of politics to Swift? But what proof have we that a consideration of ill-usage entered strongly into Swift's motive for a change of position? Except what arises from his own common habit of exaggerating what might tell against himself, and from the rancour of the hirelings of the other party, absolutely none at all. It is strange to find a man's dishonour based upon words of his own, spoken half in playfulness half in sulkiness. But this is what is done by Jeffrey. It is strange that he should not see the effect of the words which he himself quotes, and which show us just what Swift thought of this charge of rattling. 'The Whigs think I came to England to leave them? And who the devil cares what they think?' Are these the words of a conscious renegade, or of one who thought party a sham in which, to his misfortune, he had acquiesced, and whose ties shall as little fetter his action as its tenets comprised his own principles? Had Swift read the attack of the Edinburgh reviewer, who can say what his answer might have been?

But granting that Swift did, to some ex-

* Works, by Scott, vol. v. p. 246.

* 'Edinburgh Review,' vol. xxvii. p. 12.

tent, change his views as to Whig principle, and not merely shift his position in the confused and ill-regulated fray, had he no other ground for doing so than selfishness or caprice? What were his views towards the Whigs and their views of him before this? They had ill-used him 'because I refused to go certain lengths they would have me.' Their violence had disgusted him. They had pursued certain measures which he had distinctly discountenanced. The removal of the Test in Ireland may have been expedient, but Swift had not thought so, and he had openly stated his disapproval. The appointment of Lord Wharton as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland Swift had looked upon as an insult to that country, and an outrage upon all decency; and Repeal of the Test for the sake of soothing tender consciences had not been more palatable to him from the advocacy of one stained by every vice beyond all others in a most profligate age. The expediency of continuing the war Swift had early begun to doubt. 'We must have peace, let it be a good or bad one,' he says, some time after, in his journal. But the Whigs stood committed to war. Lastly, what were his views of the crisis? Did he leave honesty and the Whigs for dishonour and reward among the Tories? 'The nearer I look upon things,' he says,* 'the less I like them. . . . The ministry (of Harley and St. John) is upon a very narrow bottom, and stands like an isthmus, between the Whigs on one side and the violent Tories on the other. They are able seamen, but the tempest is too great, the ship is too rotten, and the crew all against them.' Is this the language that a man would hold in his own closet who had deserted the party to which his principles bound him, and had linked himself with that which offered him patronage and reward instead of sympathy and honour?

We believe that, however mistaken and disastrous Swift's political career may have been, the charge of profound political apostasy is absolutely baseless. But even were we to set aside all the difficulties he had found in adhering to the Whigs in these last years of their supremacy, and look only to motives of a less purely political kind for the change, yet were these motives selfish? Distinctly not. The main ground upon which Swift's discontent with his own treatment by the Whigs rested was not a personal one. That he could not have got preferment for himself, had he studiously sought it, is incredible. But he chose to throw all his political influence into a demand for the remission of

the First Fruits to the Irish Church. In answer to that demand he was met by evasions, and delays, and delusive hopes, doomed from the first to disappointment. On his joining himself to Harley and St. John, this was his first demand. Obtrusive offers of personal reward he steadily and with even overdrawn brusqueness refused. Into the claim for the First Fruits he merged, for a time at least, all his efforts. No doubt a certain amount of personal pride was concerned in the result, and not quite unnaturally. But he cared little to obtrude his own part in the success of the application, and the ingratitude with which it was rewarded he meets philosophically in his letter to Stella. 'So goes the world,' he says, 'and so let it go.' The vast influence which soon fell to Swift's share no doubt gave him gratification: he would not have been human had it not. But what surprises us throughout the whole of this, the most brilliant epoch in his career, is not the greed or ambition that he shows, but the little he asked, and the still less he got. Jeffrey speaks of his preferment in the Church as what far exceeded his first expectations or his deserts: it is surprising that he did not add his abilities. The ablest service that any political party ever received was rewarded with a post worth about £600 or £700 a year; the greatest genius that the Church of England ever counted amongst her clergy was banished to an Irish deanery, while Tenison was archbishop of Canterbury. Truly it is not surprising that the Edinburgh reviewer should 'really recollect no individual less entitled to be either discontented or misanthropical than Swift.'

Passing from these more or less personal questions, we come to one which affects more directly our estimate of Swift's writings. These, it is said, express a misanthropy so black and gloomy as to argue a heart at war with all humanity. By recording such feelings he has given them a permanence which they did not deserve, and which makes his writings a curse rather than a blessing. We do not mean to rebut this by asserting, as has been asserted, that in these writings, in the black picture of human nature which he draws, Swift meant to work any great reform and to purge mankind. Genius seldom cares to write directly with a purpose, and of all men Swift has least of the reformer about him. But to appreciate the misanthropy that runs through his writings, and an exaggerated view of which has produced the estimate of M. Taine to which we have referred, we must understand the peculiar qualities of Swift's humour.

The words in which Mr. Forster speaks of

* Works, by Scott, vol. ii. p. 196.

the 'Battle of the Books' describe, not unfittedly, one side of all Swift's humour.

'There is not, in short, a line in this extraordinary piece of concentrated humour, however seemingly filled with absurdity, that does not run over with sense and meaning. If a single word were to be employed in describing it, applicable alike to its wit and its extravagance, intensity should be chosen. Especially characteristic of these earlier satires is what generally will be found most aptly descriptive of all Swift's writings, namely, that whether the subject be great or small, everything in it, from the first word to the last, is essentially part of it; not an episode or allusion being introduced merely for itself, but every minutest point not only harmonizing or consisting with the whole, but expressly supporting and strengthening it' (p. 95).

This intensity and concentration which are such characteristic excellences of Swift's humour, are at the same time the parts of it most dangerous to him who wielded them. Swift's was not the genial easy humour that accompanies the quiet laugh, or the grave half-pathetic smile of Addison or Steele. He had none of the gaiety that makes Goldsmith's humour a source of pleasure to himself and others. He knew nothing of those 'sentiments which,' as the Edinburgh reviewer tells us, 'it is usually thought necessary to disguise under a thousand pretences'—or of the truths 'which are usually introduced with a thousand apologies.' Intellectually, Swift could not be blind to reality and truth however hidden; by temperament, to hide what he saw was utterly impossible to him. Human nature stood before him stripped of all its seemly trappings, hideous, contemptible, in utter nakedness. To his consummate clearness of vision there was no deception that could prove a veil. It was pierced through with the ease of the lancet laying bare the nerves, and the stupid uselessness of the subterfuge only added to the mockery of the show. And he had the gift besides of unrivalled clearness of language, which served to lay before his reader the whole truth of the vision that he saw, unexaggerated by any false rhetoric, unsoftened by any drapery of words. His style is calm, cold, unimpassioned as a piece of sculpture; with no tawdry ornament, no mannerism, no slovenly ambiguity. Human nature was not flattered by the sight presented; but, in truth, her shocked recoil was the best tribute to the genius that laid her vices bare.

No, there is nothing of the moral teacher in the hand that wields that pitiless scalpel. The reformer draws the hope that nerves him to his work from a sanguine blindness that was denied to Swift. The view of human nature, savage amid civilisation, with

all her possibilities of unmeasured ill softened, but not uprooted, by centuries of philanthropy and toil, is not what animates those who struggle for only a little good. To feel the littleness of the good and the vastness of the evil ever before him, would shake the nerves of the most steadfast martyr, and make the tongue of the most fervid preacher dumb. But upon this sight Swift could never close his mind's eye; and, sleepless himself, he could not suffer others' sleep.

The power that could create real humour, which the world would know for such, out of this grim material, was even more marvellous than the clearness of vision itself. And yet it is unquestionably there. Gulliver's Travels contain the intensest tragedy the world has ever listened to, and yet perforce the world must laugh at its own pitiful discomfiture. For a century and a half it has amused our children and given food for laughter to our men. The movement of the whole is so easy and so light that we hardly notice that, with the writer, we are actually scorning ourselves, casting down our cherished idols and trampling them under foot. He never loses our sympathy for one moment. He leads us step by step, till we actually admire his majesty of Brobdingnag when he passes this verdict on us: 'I cannot but conclude the bulk of your natives to be the most pernicious race of little odious vermin that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the face of the earth.' When we have seen ourselves in the Yahoos (who still want the crowning malady of reason), how ready we are to recognize the good sense of the Houyhnhnm's reflection, 'How vile, as well as miserable, such a creature, with a small proportion of reason, might be.' How proud we feel when the superior Houyhnhnm honours our race in Gulliver by gently raising his hoof for him to kiss! Human nature does not learn to amend itself, but it cannot avoid knowing itself through humour like this. Take again the True and Faithful Narrative to which we have before referred. Here is human nature in expectation of the immediate summons to the Judgment Seat—not so much as it might be, but as Swift persuades us he actually saw it. What does this laughter tell us? Miserable wretches, what is your religion? A rag, for which the most drivelling imposture, the most insane superstition serves you just as well. What is your virtue? The coward fear of ill, that bade the miser, in prospect of the comet's advent, refund half-a-crown apiece to those he had cheated, and appear for the nonce a true penitent in all but charity to his neighbour. What is your boasted reason? Nothing but the obstinacy of Zachery Bowen

the Quaker, who refuses to believe the common dissolution, only because none of the brethren have had a manifestation of it. Like slaves, you are only cowed by fear. Once that is gone, 'the world went on in the old channel; they drank, they whored, they swore, they lied, they cheated, they quarrelled, they murdered.'

The humour is there, but it is not the kind that brings its possessor happiness. That clear pitiless insight seared the eyeballs that gazed as much as it shamed that they gazed upon. Swift was a misanthrope, but after his own sort. He did not hate men so much as mankind. It was not envy so much as the shadeless perspicuity of his vision that was the basis of his misanthropy. It is not the misanthropy of a Caliban or a Mephistopheles. It is that which finds a response in the heart of every man who thinks or feels at all. Thackeray himself was accused of cynicism, but he was a cynic only as genius is cynical in its sympathy. Swift's misanthropy was cynicism grim even to despair, but his hatred of mankind was bitter only because he felt what love for his kind might be.

He has not told the world how he felt this last. Genius rarely turns to us all its facets; it vouchsafes a heedless glimpse of one aspect, the rest it carelessly withdraws. But have we no means of knowing that other side? Was the boon companion of St. John always a cloudy misanthrope? Could the friend of Pope in the weakness and fretfulness of ill-health know nothing of tenderness or gentleness? The man whom Addison calls the 'most agreeable companion, the truest friend, and the greatest genius of his age,' was he always a hater of his kind? Steele knew him otherwise when he describes that 'turn of conversation' that made his company 'very advantageous.' Pope knew his gentler mood when he saw that 'uncommon archness' in his eyes, 'quite azure as the heavens'—those eyes in which poor Hester Vanhomrigh saw a look 'so awful that it struck the gazer dumb.' Stella must have known that gentlest mood of all when he shaped his mouth, as he tells her, to chat with her in the little language that she prattled to him as a child of six, and that he never forgot when he had the fate of an empire almost in his hands. And we too may see him as he was when the fits of misanthropy were gone, when he was no longer the merciless satirist, the imperious dictator of his party, but the lover, genuine and simple as lover that has left us his story never was before. Intrigues of court, attendance on this or that great man—what are they all to him? He wearies for the little

garden at Laracor, for a sight of Stella, for the simple occupations of his own garden, his canal, and his willow walks. He is tired to death of the hurry and the bustle, the wretched ambition that only disappoints the hopes that it creates. When he returns home at night, wearied and fagged, the excitement of the strife left behind, then it is that the clouds part and the light of a pure sky shines in on Swift. 'Come and appear, little letter,' says he, as he slips it from under the pillow. 'Here am I,' says he, 'and what say you to Stella this morning, fresh and fasting?' Whig and Tory, Harley and St. John, Churchmen and Dissenters, fall into the background: the hand that was strong for the scalpel could be very tender now.

But this was a glimpse which we have, as it were, only on sufferance. Swift did not care that the world should know him as Stella did. The bias of his intellect and his temperament lay towards the so-called misanthropic humour which forms the staple of his work. But such work as this had its natural effect of reacting on its author. However great the gain to us, his genius was to himself a curse rather than a gift. This clear vision and its forced employment were no kindly task. He feels angry and surprised at men's indifference to what appears so clear to him, and yet he craves for sympathy. He would fain cease from working, but 'a person of great honour (who was pleased to stoop so low as my mind) used to tell me that my mind was like a conjured spirit, that would do mischief if I could not give it employment.' He curses what, in the fashion of the day, he calls his muse—what we might call the bent of his genius. To her he owes his restlessness.

'To thee, what oft I vainly strove to hide,
That scorn of fools, by fools mistook for pride;
From thee whatever virtue takes its rise
Grows a misfortune, or becomes a vice.'

'Do not,' he said to Delany, 'the corruptions and villainies of men eat your flesh and exhaust your spirit?'

The gloom and the anger increased together as years went on. 'I find myself disposed every year, or rather every month,' he writes to Bolingbroke, in 1728, 'to be more angry and revengeful.' The Edinburgh reviewer is surprised that 'born a beggar,' and endowed with a comfortable income, the like of which he had no right ever to expect, he should have had the audacity to be misan-

* Delany denied it, with a text of Scripture for his authority; but we are not told what Swift's answer was.

thropical or gloomy. But, alas! there is a sort of gloom that even the comforts of respectable maintenance cannot lighten, and we doubt Harley might have made Swift His Grace of Canterbury without clearing away the despair that settled heavier and heavier upon him, and into the depths of which, perhaps, even the Edinburgh reviewer could not penetrate.

The exercise of humour so grim as Swift's was of itself no cheering task, but it met a temperament which was only too ready to accept its colouring of gloom. Underneath all that misanthropy, underneath the guise of bitter sarcasm, there lay some hidden cause which is, and must remain, in great part a mystery. Throughout his life something presaged to Swift that time of hopeless madness, with its alternate rage and fatuity. For years before his death he was under a keeper, and at times it required six men to keep him from tearing his eyeballs from his head. Even here the pitiless rancour of accusation pursues him; the chief feature of his madness was, it is said, hatred of the sight of his fellow-men, proving, as is assumed, the truth of the allegations as to his misanthropy. The awe that is due in sight of reason dethroned may well spare apology, even though it does avert slander. These later years belong neither to the accuser nor to the apologist; but that which at last resulted in utter madness, we believe to have affected the whole course of Swift's life. Those lighter maladies, which Swift mentions with such evident fear, must have covered something more fitted to excite that fear than anything his words convey. To this mysterious bane of his life we attribute the dark and sad mystery of Swift and Stella; much, at least, of the restless discontent which pursued him throughout life; and, above all, that utterly loathsome coarseness that stains his works. His coarseness is not that of his own or of any other age. It contains no suggestive allurement, no images of pleasure. It is the coarseness of the man himself; the suggestion of his incipient madness, or its cause, and of that alone.

We have endeavoured to estimate Swift's character and writings, neither hiding the darker traits nor forcing facts into conformity with a preconceived, although picturesque, idea of unrelieved and lurid gloom. To Mr. Forster's later volumes we must look for the completion of the work he has begun in that now before us, the clearing away all that dust-heap of scandal that has gathered around the name of Swift, and the placing on the pedestal which justly belongs to him one who, in his own peculiar line, was the greatest genius which England ever

produced. When fully known, we may expect that the greatness of that genius may command our reverence; its sadness, not our sneers and wasted diatribes, but rather our pity and our awe.

ART. II.—*Ignatius—His Testimony to Primitive Conceptions of the Christian Religion.*

THE paucity of writings which may with any degree of certainty be ascribed to Christians living contemporaneously with, or immediately after, the latest of the Apostles of Christ, naturally invests the Epistles of Ignatius, written so early as A.D. 107—or ten years later, as Pearson supposes—with an interest and authority that cannot well be overrated. It is not the design of the present remarks to discuss the genuineness of the seven Greek Epistles of the shorter recension, as compared with the larger Vulgate or the still shorter and less numerous Epistles of late discovered in Syriac. Interesting and important as this question is, our present concern is with the now commonly accepted Greek Epistles. The object we are mainly concerned with is to examine the testimony of Ignatius on questions of Christian doctrine. It cannot but be a matter of the utmost interest to observe in what form the Christian faith, as handed on by the Apostles, not only in their written remains, but also in their oral communications, presented itself to the minds of their immediate followers. If the result of such observation is to show that no important element of belief, beyond the particulars of the Christian faith which are to be found in the New Testament, was held by these, this result tends largely to confirm our persuasion that the New Testament contains a complete and sufficient record of Apostolic teaching. If we find the New Testament writings continually cited as authorities, and that *memoirer*, and with the familiarity of acquaintance with them which a belief in their authoritative character would naturally produce, we have in this an important historical proof of the claims which they have on our acceptance, and their right to the place they occupy in the sacred canon. Dr. Newman indeed in his Essay, to be noticed presently more particularly, says that in the shorter genuine Epistles there are only six quotations from the New Testament, and these consisting only of a few words each. This entirely depends on what is meant by a quotation. Formal citations by name, and

reference 'to chapter and verse,' as Dr. Newman says, we cannot find, as it was notoriously not the custom of the early Christian writers to make citations in this way. But the Epistles of Ignatius are full of allusions to Apostolic sayings, full of phrases and thoughts borrowed from the New Testament, not by direct copying, but by the writer having his mind full of the sacred writings. One cannot long read Ignatius without being struck by many evidences of this pervading atmosphere of New Testament thought. And if at the same time matters of ecclesiastical organization appear to have received a permanent settlement, which, from whatever causes, had remained in a certain unsettled state during the period of the founding of the Church in different places, and while the newly-planted communities enjoyed the spiritual superintendence of the Apostles themselves or their immediate assistants, such a settlement must justly claim our most profound respect. For we may feel assured that arrangements would be adopted which, if not in accordance with positive provisions, were in the spirit of Apostolic guidance, and as nearly as might be after the example of such arrangements as the Apostles themselves may have adopted. And this is the more probable in proportion as we find a general uniformity in the organization which was soon adopted throughout the Church at large.

Considering how important the testimony of a writer like Ignatius must therefore necessarily be, such an inquiry as we propose to make would under any circumstances be worth the care that might be devoted to it. It is of the greater moment in so far as attempts may have been made by the advocates of different opinions to find countenance for their views in these documents. In particular those who allege primitive tradition as an authority for opinions that are far enough from the views of Christian doctrine presented by Ignatius, and the few authentic writings of others belonging to that early period, are naturally disposed to enlist their testimony on their side, if by any means it may be possible. They are tempted to catch at slight hints and fancied rudiments of subsequently developed doctrines; to put a meaning on words which only a wilful perversion, or the tendency to see in the words of another whose authority cannot be denied the meaning that only exists in one's own mind, could ever make them seem to bear; and then by paraphrastic representations and an ingenious summing up of such fancied and overstrained testimonies to produce an impression on the minds of those who have not the documents themselves

in their hands. A writer in the 'Dublin Review' for October, 1873, gives a very interesting and valuable sketch of the evidence in favour of the genuineness of the Ignatian Epistles. To that he has prefixed a summary of the testimonies they are alleged to bear to modern Roman doctrine. The remarks we shall have to make on these allegations will, we feel convinced, suffice to prove that we have not unjustly characterized this attempt to make Ignatius speak the language of modern Rome.

Dr. Newman, in his Essay on Ignatius, does not go so far, though we presume to think he finds in these Epistles much more than Ignatius ever thought himself. It is not just to hold a writer responsible for developments of his sayings, even when they are logically deducible from his words. For it might have been that the consequences, if foreseen, would have made him speak differently from what he may have said without perceiving the conclusions that might be drawn from his words. Dr. Newman's Essay was written in 1838, and is now republished in his collected 'Essays, Critical and Historical,' 1871. Whether what he meant by the 'Catholic system,' when he wrote this Essay as an Anglican clergyman, is what he now understands by the same words, it is not for us to say. But the Essay, with one or two incidental remarks excepted, may very well stand as a moderate attempt to find in Ignatius, not only the theology of Nicene times, but rudiments of many Roman Catholic notions. He sets out with saying that those who maintain the Apostolic origin of what he calls Catholicism 'are obliged to grant that it is not directly and explicitly inculcated in the Apostolic writings themselves.' The works of the next generation, the so-called Apostolic Fathers, he says, are brief, and their statements sententious, and therefore he thinks likely to be understood differently according to the views of the reader, who will see in them very much what he brings to them himself. That this is eminently the case with Dr. Newman, will be seen by any one who peruses his Essay, and in fact the remark seems intended not so much for the condemnation of other interpreters, as for his own justification. What Dr. Newman brings to the study of Ignatius is not the prepossession of modern Protestantism, but the Catholicism which he says is not in the New Testament, which is not even in the Apostolical Fathers, except as read according to his view of the way in which they should be read, and which he finds in the theology of the fourth and fifth centuries. Indeed, we should say that even that theology derives a good deal of its sig-

nificance in some particulars from subsequent developments applied on a like principle of interpretation. This principle of interpreting the earlier writer by the language and the views of much later writers, is an utterly false one, and would neutralize the value of any document as an historical evidence of the sentiments of the writer or his times. Dr. Newman instances a number of phrases in Ignatius which were afterwards of great significance in the controversies that arose from time to time. Some of these expressions sprung up naturally in the course of time, as words always do; some were the simple outcome of the study of the New Testament writings, or the teaching of the Apostles corresponding to those writings; and some arose from controversies that had begun even in the New Testament times, or immediately after. And it would much more conduce to the respect in which the doctrines of Ignatius are to be held, and to our belief in the genuineness of his writings, to treat them as expressing the theology natural to the time, than as an anticipation of subsequent controversies.

Though the argument *ab silentio* is not always to be depended on, it cannot but be justly considered highly significant that in writings of considerable extent, and touching so exclusively on matters connected with Christian faith and the Christian life, so many subjects of primary importance in later theology should be so entirely passed over unnoticed. We find in Ignatius no trace of a belief in a purgatorial state after death, nor even of simple prayer for the departed; no notice of any penitential discipline; nothing to give any countenance to the adoration of the Blessed Virgin or other departed saints; no seeking of their intercession. In regard to all these subjects there is an absolute silence, a scriptural simplicity in the highest degree consistent with a date so nearly following the death of the last of the Apostles. Dr. Newman, indeed (p. 221), sees an apparent recognition of the so-called *Limbus Patrum* in Magn. ix., and of departed saints remembering, or at least benefiting us, in Trall. xiii. As regards the former, whatever may have been the state of the departed before the time of Christ, Ignatius says nothing of it in the place referred to. He does say that the prophets waited for Christ, and as they waited in righteousness, by His coming He has raised them from the dead;* *i.e.*, plainly given them the hope

of resurrection. For of course the resurrection has not yet been obtained. As to the latter, he says to the Trallians, 'Purify your spirit, which is mine; not only now, but when I attain to God; for I am yet in peril.*' Various emendations of this passage have been suggested, and explanations offered. But the meaning seems plain enough, though the way of speaking is remarkable. Ruchat, *apud* Jacobson, translates rightly, 'Purifiez votre esprit qui est aussi le mien.' Such is his sense of the communion of saints, such his love for them, that he counts their spirit his also. I doubt if the sequel exactly represents what Ignatius meant: 'Et non seulement il est à présent, mais aussi quand j'aurai obtenu Dieu.' This if correct only affirms the communion of saints to extend beyond the present life; but the more natural explanation is that their care to purify their spirit should continue after he has departed. Even he is still in peril while he lives, and so would they be also until they too have attained to God.

The Epistles are likewise free from all apocryphal tales and old wives' fables, all pretension to miraculous powers, all speculation about the unseen world and the angelic hierarchy. Indeed, as regards this last subject, he disclaims any knowledge. He excuses himself to the Trallians (chap. v.) for not treating of matters which he calls celestial, and that in a way that leads one to think they had sought information from him about such things. 'Is it that I am not able to write of celestial matters to you? Nay, but I am afraid lest I might injure you, as being babes.' This is said in such a way as to make it seem that they had complained of his not giving them the information he speaks of. What might have been the nature of that which he could give he does not enable us to say. But we may gather that it would have been very different from their expectation, by what he tells them he could not give. They seem to have thought that, by reason of his approaching martyrdom, he should, like Stephen, have seen heaven opened and beheld the array of the celestial hosts. For he goes on to say: 'It is not because I am in bonds that I am able to understand celestial matters, and the allocations of angels, and the hosts arrayed in principalities, things seen and unseen. In more than these things I am still a learner.' Dr. Newman sees in this an apparent recognition of what has since been called the *disciplina arcani*. But the so-called *disciplina arcani* was only a reserve practised towards

* Παρὼν ἤγειρεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ νεκρῶν. Perhaps the verb here, being in the imperfect tense, might be translated, 'was raising;' that is, providing the means of their resurrection. Hefele only sees a reference to Matt. xxvii. 52.

* Ἀγνίσκει ὑμῶν τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα. Hefele, after Cotelierius, reads passively ἀγνίσκῃται, but the sense is the same.

unbelievers and catechumens, as regards the higher solemnities of religion, while Ignatius is plainly speaking to members of the Church. In a note, p. 200, he remarks on the phrase *κατοικονομίαν*, used by Ignatius in speaking of our Lord as borne 'by the Blessed Virgin,' according to the dispensation of God,* that, 'Here is an additional word, which afterwards is known to have a technical meaning.' Even if the expression was used by Ignatius in reference to the secrecy of the Divine purpose until the fulness of the time was come, surely that would lend no countenance to the phenacism or economy afterwards practised by some of the early Christians, and recommended by men of Dr. Newman's school, when this Essay was first published. But Ignatius does not appear to have used the word at all with reference to secrecy. Ignatius is also free from all such allegorical interpretations of the Old Testament as abound in the Epistle that goes under the name of Barnabas, and has none of the babbling that is characteristic of the spurious writings of early Christian times. With the one exception of the overwrought enthusiasm with which he courted his approaching martyrdom, there is a prevailing character of good sense which gives weight to his authority, and makes his testimony, both positive and negative, the more important. This testimony we now proceed to examine in regard to some of the more important matters which have been the subjects of discussion and the occasion of divisions in the Christian Church.

The points in regard to which we propose to examine the doctrinal testimonies of Ignatius may be reduced to the following heads:—

I. The Trinity and Divinity of Christ.

II. The Atonement and kindred subjects of Justification and Grace.

III. The Eucharist.

IV. The Organization of the Church and Roman Primacy.

I. The testimonies of Ignatius to the doctrine of the Trinity and to the pre-existence and Divinity of Christ, are too well known to call for much additional observation. The important point to be noticed is that, while in respect to accuracy Ignatius stands distinguished from some of the other ante-Nicene orthodox writers, such as Justin, in Ignatius there is not such an exactness and precision of language as might be thought to betray an acquaintance with the phraseology and definitions introduced in the progress of later controversies. It is for instance with some reserve that we should venture to say with the Dublin reviewer (p. 137), that in

asserting the truth of Christ's humanity he settled beforehand the controversies that were to arise in the fifth century 'on the union of the two natures, and excludes Nestorianism by anticipation.' As our blessed Lord is frequently called God, God Jesus Christ, and our God, in these Epistles, so also His blood is spoken of as 'the blood of God,' as for instance in Eph. i.,* a phrase which would have its Scriptural justification in the received reading of Acts xx. 28, and lends countenance to that reading as being possibly derived from it, 'The church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.' But when the reviewer quoted these words of Ignatius, with a reference to them in a note, he should also have given a reference for the words which he adds, marked also as a quotation, 'It is "God who was conceived by Mary"' (p. 357). We know of no such words existing thus *simpliciter* in these Epistles. He probably had in view Eph. xviii. 'For our God Jesus the Christ was borne in the womb by Mary, according to the dispensation of God.†' The reader will at once perceive that there is a great difference between thus saying that Jesus Christ our God was so borne, and saying simply that God was conceived by Mary, without any mention of the human nature. So distinct an anticipation of the *θεωτόκος* would have tended to the disparagement of the genuineness of a writing which purported to be of the early date of these Epistles, rather than to the support of the doctrine which this word was adopted to express. It is true that, as Dr. Newman (p. 206) remarks, 'heresies beset the Church of the first century, which did but reappear, substantially the same, but in more subtle forms, in the fourth and fifth.' Cerinthianism was the form of error against which the phrases just now quoted were, no doubt, specially directed, for Cerinthus taught that the Logos only occupied or dwelt in the man Jesus for a time; taking up His abode in Him at His baptism, and forsaking Him before His death. This doctrine will sufficiently explain the emphasis with which Ignatius asserts the *πάθος τῷ θεῷ* and the fact that 'our God, Jesus Christ, was borne in the womb of Mary.' In Nestorianism the union was permanent and from the commencement of the human existence of our Lord. But the twofold personality which that doctrine taught did not allow of such a phrase as *θεωτόκος*, while the words of Ignatius are suited to the proper form of Cerinthian

* Ἐν αἱματι Θεοῦ.

† Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκνομορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ' ὁ νόμον αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ.

heresy, and this particular saying of Ignatius would possibly have been accepted by a Nestorian.

While the commonly received reading of Acts xx. 28 is in accordance with the manner of speaking just noticed, another much disputed reading, that of 1 Tim. iii. 16, 'God was manifest in the flesh,' also receives support from one or two references to it by Ignatius. Thus, in a passage to be noticed again presently (Eph. vii.), he speaks of 'God having been made in flesh,'* and in Eph. xix., 'God humanly manifested.†' And this latter expression is more likely to have been derived from the disputed reading in 1 Tim., inasmuch as it is used in the mention of certain mysteries. 'The virginity of Mary, and her childbearing, and likewise the Lord's death, were unknown to the prince of this world, three mysteries wrought in the silence of God, but to be proclaimed aloud.' He then asks how these were manifested to the world? In reply, he refers to the Star of Bethlehem, attended by the choir of the sun and moon and other stars, and awakening by its strange appearance curiosity and surprise, putting an end to all magic, ignorance, and every bond of iniquity, whereby the ancient kingdom was destroyed, 'God being manifested as man.' The connection between this latter clause and the enumeration of the mysteries, with the explanation which it gives of the Blessed Virgin's childbearing, reckoned as one of them, makes it one of the mysteries by implication, and thus affords strong support to the reading of 'the mystery of godliness, God was manifest in the flesh.'

The other passage, in Eph. vii., just now referred to, which is quoted by the reviewer, p. 357, calls for further remark. 'There is one physician, in the flesh and spiritual, made and not made [begotten and unbegotten],‡ God become partaker of flesh, in death true life, both from Mary and from God, first subject to suffering, and then without suffering, Jesus Christ our Lord.' The Florentine Codex and the Old Latin read 'begotten and unbegotten,' while some copies of Athanasius, in citing the passage, have the other reading, 'made and not made.' Usage, indeed, exists in favour of this latter, as a possible translation of the former, on the strength of which the reviewer adopts it, though he candidly admits that the former was what Ignatius wrote. The great point to observe is that whatever translation may be admissible, so ambiguous and inexact

a manner of speaking was not likely to have been adopted by one familiar with the formula, 'begotten before all worlds,' and it is therefore a note of antiquity in favour of the genuineness of the Epistles. But while the reviewer admits that this is the true reading, though he adopts the more orthodox translation, 'made and not made,' for the subsequent clause, 'first subject to suffering, and then free from suffering,'* he gives, without any notice of the change, 'first impassible, then passible.' This of course implies the 'pre-existence in the Divine nature, and the subsequent existence in human nature. On the other hand, the words of Ignatius say nothing of the preceding impassibility, but speak only of the suffering state here, and the subsequent freedom from suffering; that is, *post resurrectionem*, as Hefele explains in a note. The reviewer, in his note on this passage, says that Rom. iii. makes it certain that Ignatius was not a Patripassian, and that Magn. viii. is still more decisive on this point. This is quite true, while the manner of speaking in both is evidently not adopted with such a special reference to the Patripassian heresy as might betray a later origin of these Epistles.

Both these passages are attended with some difficulty. In Rom. iii. Ignatius begs of the Romans to pray for him, that he may not only be called a Christian, but found to be one. 'For if I be found one, then I may also be called one, and then be faithful when I am not visible to the world. For nothing that is visible is perpetual.† For the things that are seen are temporal, but the things not seen, eternal.' 'Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν πατρὶ ὧν μᾶλλον φαίνεται. We think the meaning of this most agreeable to the context is, that our Lord Jesus Christ, now that He is with the Father, is more widely known than when He was visible on earth. Why so? Because, as he explains in the next sentence, 'The work is not merely carried on in silence, but Christianity is a work of magnitude.' The article before 'our God' is against making it the predicate. We might, however, translate in accordance with the order of the words, and with due regard to the article, 'Our God Jesus Christ is the more shown [to be such] now that He is with the Father.'

The other passage above referred to (Magn. viii.) says that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is His eternal Word, not proceeding from silence.‡ If Gnosticism had never been heard of, there would have been no

* 'Ἐν σαρκὶ γεγόμενος Θεός.

† Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερούμενον.

‡ Γενητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ὅς, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος.

* Πρώτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής.

† Οὐδὲν φαινόμενον αἰώνιον.

‡ Οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών.

difficulty in these words; the Divine Word did not, like vocal words, begin from a state of silence, but was eternally with the Father. But Sige and Logos being successive, though not immediately successive terms in the Gnostic genealogies of Æons, if Ignatius spoke in this way without reference to these heretical notions, the coincidence would, to say the least, be extremely curious, and the Dublin reviewer wisely admits that Ignatius had the Gnostic Silence in his mind. This has been made a ground of suspicion against the Epistles as indicating an acquaintance with doctrines that were not developed in the time of Ignatius. It is certain, however, that the full-blown Gnosticism that was of a later date than Ignatius, was in a forward state of development much earlier. The Gnostic Æons were for the most part, generals and abstracts in the current philosophy, invested with personality according to the prevalent tendency of Oriental thought. The New Testament itself gives indications of Gnosticism being already in progress of development in the pleroma and 'philosophy and vain deceit' of Col. ii. ; and in the 'pseudonymous γνώσις' and 'endless genealogies' of the First Epistle to Timothy, to say nothing of 'the sect of the Nicolaitans.' That Simon Magus adopted a species of Gnosticism is also beyond reasonable doubt, and the Dublin reviewer (p. 401) has referred to the Philosophumena of Hippolytus for proof that Sige was one of the Simonian Æons. An interesting point which he has not noticed is that *φωνή* held the place in Simon's series of Æons that *λόγος* did in the later Valentinian, borrowed from Simon with certain alterations. According to the system of Simon the primitive root was called *δύναμις* and *αἰγή*, from whence spring six roots, in pairs of males and females successively (Philosophumena, vi. 18–20). Now if Ignatius had these Simonean Æons in view, we may suppose him to mean, like Hippolytus (Phil. x. 33), that the eternal Son was not Logos in the sense of *φωνή*, or vocal sound that proceeds from previous silence, as Simon taught, but was eternally with the Father, the *Λόγος ἀίδιος*.

We need not say that Ignatius in these Epistles thoroughly opposes himself to the earliest form of Gnostic error that troubled the Christian Church, one that directly affected the belief in the incarnation of the Son of God, namely the denial by the Docetæ of the reality of our Lord's human body, which was supposed to be a mere phantom that deceived the senses of men. This arose from the belief of the inherent evil of matter as opposed to spirit, and it was to avoid the difficulty of supposing that

our Lord had part in what was essentially evil, that His humanity was regarded as a mere *δῶκησις*, or phantasmal appearance. That this error had appeared in the Church during the lifetime of St. John seems clear from the many well-known indications of opposition to it in his writings. The opposition of Ignatius to this form of Gnosticism in clear and distinct terms, with only the one supposed allusion to those forms of Gnosticism in which this was soon absorbed, is a great mark of antiquity and genuineness in these Epistles. It is remarkable that this early idealization of our Lord's humanity should, at least in respect to His miracles and His resurrection, have now again appeared as an extensive form of modern rationalism, though from a different cause.

Dr. Newman (p. 200) finds in the *τέλειος ἀνθρώπος γενόμενος* of Smyrn. iv. an anticipation of the manner of speaking adopted to oppose the Apollinarian doctrine of the fourth century, which taught that our Lord had not a human soul. Though this word was as he thinks well adapted to oppose the Docetic errors of the time of Ignatius, yet he says it was scarcely taken from Scripture, and was uncalled for by the context. The coincidence with the phrase used against Apollinarianism is quite accidental. Ignatius seems not to have had any heresy in his mind, but to have used the words in reference to suffering and death as the lot of humanity, and the complete fulfilment of its condition. He says that 'in order to suffer with him I endure all things, as He that became perfect man, enables me.' The reference seems to have been to our Lord's words, 'the third day I shall be perfected,' or to those of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where we are told that the Captain of our salvation should be made perfect through sufferings (ii. 10); and that 'although he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered; and being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him' (v. 8, 9). The recurrence of this Scriptural idea through association of thought gives a natural explanation of the use of a phrase which Dr. Newman says was uncalled for on the occasion.

We have only further to say on this subject of the Trinity, that in Magn. xiii. the three Persons are twice enumerated, not in the regular order of the baptismal formula or the doxologies, but as in 2 Cor. xiii. 14, the Son being first mentioned. This has been noticed as a great sign of antiquity, as mentioned by Hefele *in loc.*

II. We proceed now to the Atonement and

kindred subjects of Justification and Grace. In regard to the first, while salvation is continually ascribed to Christ alone and His sufferings, there is nothing more definite than the statement in Eph. i., that Christ offered Himself to God as an oblation and sacrifice for us. He follows in this the simplicity of the Scriptural statements. There is nothing that lends itself to any particular theory as to the way in which Christ's oblation and sacrifice of Himself was effectual to our salvation in regard to God. As regards our justification thereby, Ignatius tells us in Philad. viii., that to him 'the old ways, the uncorrupted old ways, were Jesus Christ, His cross, His death and resurrection, and the faith which is through Him, by which means he desired through their prayers to be justified.' So far positively; negatively we find him in Rom. v., after describing the insults and persecutions he had to endure on his way to Rome, saying that from these wrongs 'he derived spiritual improvement, yet he has not thereby been justified.*' The preterite form of the verb in this last clause, nearly an exact quotation from 1 Cor. iv. 4, seems indeed to indicate that, as in the case of St. Paul, the spiritual improvement he acquired was disclaimed as having secured his final justification, rather than with reference to a state of justification generally. And this is the more probable, as he presently adds, 'Now I begin to be a disciple,' and he prays that nothing visible or invisible may envy him that he should attain to Christ by dying. 'Let fire and cross, the assaults of wild beasts, lacerations, and tearing asunder of limb from limb, all diabolical punishments befall him, only that he may win Christ.' But in all this there is no more efficacy attributed to these sufferings as regards the attainment of salvation than in St. Paul's, 'If so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together.' Indeed it is plain from this whole passage that beyond obedience as a disciple of Christ learned by suffering, the only efficacy he attributed to these torments was their expediting his final blessedness. He wishes to enjoy the beasts that were prepared for him, prays that they may be ready, will flatter and encourage them to devour him quickly, and not to stand off in a cowardly manner like some. Haste to win Christ, by which he means the enjoyment of his Saviour after death, is the burden of the whole Epistle. He begs they will not interfere for his release. The altar is ready for him, let him be offered to Him who has brought him from

the east to the west. It is good to set to the world, that he may rise to God. He fears only how he may be steadfast to the end, and can only be sure when he ceases to be seen on earth. He cares no more for earthly things. But in all this there is not a word that implies the notion of any satisfaction for his sins by the suffering he was to endure. Indeed, though there is much expression of humility, much sense of weakness, there is no mention at all of his sins, no expression of penitence whatever.

Let us now see how the Dublin reviewer treats this subject. He says, p. 358, that 'of the Protestant theory that the merits of Christ are imputed to Christians without infusion of grace or necessity for mortification,' no support can be found in the Ignatian Epistles. It is true enough that there is no trace in them of such a theory; but it is difficult to believe that the writer is not well aware that there is no Protestant community that has not taught the necessity of an infusion of grace, and the duty of mortifying the flesh with its affections, and that this is the teaching of Protestants, whether they abstain altogether from the use of such a phrase as the imputation of Christ's merits or righteousness, as not to be found in holy Scripture, use it in a lax and rhetorical way of speaking, or even adopt it in its most literal and objectionable acceptance. What Protestants have denied is that such mortification, and the habitual righteousness that proceeds from the infusion of grace, can avail by way of merit or deserving to entitle men to the blessings of salvation, which are only due to the unmerited grace of God and the merit of the Saviour's work. Whether as the measure of men's future reward, the proof of the reality of faith, or constituting fitness for heaven, the value of the effects of grace infused, and of the mortification of our evil tendencies, has never been denied, except it may have been by a handful of fanatical sectaries. But as not due to man's unaided strength but to the grace infused, and as in their concrete manifestation imperfect, they are held to be insufficient to give a claim on divine justice by any inherent merit.

The reviewer having thus set up as a Protestant theory what Protestants do not teach or believe, proceeds to say that the Epistles 'breathe from first to last a spirit which is either fanatical or simply unmeaning to those who do not accept the Catholic doctrine, that grace is a principle of merit, that the Christian has to satisfy for his sins by penance, and conform his life to the passion of our Divine Redeemer.' To this last clause there is no exception to be taken; it sets

* *Μάλλον μαθητεύομαι, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδιώμεται.*

forth what Protestants will recognise as a true and holy principle. But the writer does not venture to say that there is a word in Ignatius that affirms either of the preceding principles. Protestants who do not accept them have long enough read and admired Ignatius, without seeing in his writings anything either fanatical or unmeaning. They have indeed perceived in his eagerness to win the crown of martyrdom, and in his courting of suffering and death, so strongly expressed, chiefly in the Epistle to the Church in Rome, where he expected to finish his course, a highly wrought enthusiasm, the natural result of the persecutions he suffered. For persecution when it does not cause defection, tends to create enthusiasm both by its physical and its moral operation. This was aided by the circumstances of his journey, his reception by the Christians in his various resting-places, and the admiration of the deputations from different Churches that waited on him as he proceeded, which had, no doubt, a powerful influence in exciting a person of naturally ardent temperament. But even if we were obliged to regard this as all fanatical or simply unmeaning, unless we should attribute to him opinions of which he gives no indication, and which he could scarcely have failed to express if he held them, surely when so many have been fanatical or even foolish in some one particular or on some special occasion, who were calm and sensible enough in other respects or on ordinary occasions, we have no right to affirm that this could not have been the case with Ignatius.

The reviewer evidently feels the weakness of his argument, for he tries to prop it by a reference to two passages of Clement, the meaning of which he mistakes, not to say misrepresents. In one of these he alleges that 'we are said to be "justified by works," i.e., by works done through grace; while the other denies that we are "justified by works," i.e., as the context shows, by natural good works.' Now, as justification by faith without works, in some sense, and justification by works and not by faith only, in some sense, are both affirmed in the New Testament, of course faith and works must each have a causal relation to justification, though not the same relation. But it is not with this that we are now concerned, but with what Clement is represented as saying. In the first-mentioned passage (Clem. 1 Cor. xxx.) the works spoken of are not specially regarded as works done by grace in opposition to natural good works, but as deeds in opposition to words; and the justification intended seems to be far enough from that

about which divines have disputed. He says, 'Let us put on concord like a garment, being humble-minded, temperate, keeping ourselves aloof from all whispering and evil-speaking, justifying ourselves by works and not by words.' Evidently Clement speaks not of our being justified before God or by Him, but of being justified by ourselves, not by fine talk and self-laudation, but by deeds making good our Christian profession and character. As the previous things he mentions are things to be done by ourselves, so also is the justification he speaks of. The participle *δικαιοῦμενοι* is evidently in the middle voice, and accordingly Hefele translates it so: *Operibus, non autem verbis, nos justificantes*.

Now if we turn to the second passage of Clement referred to, c. xxxii., we shall find that there again the good works by which he denies that we are justified are not 'natural good works, as the context shows,' in opposition to works of grace: they are in the highest sense the works of grace. Having spoken of God's goodness to the Jewish people, he says 'all were glorified and magnified, not by themselves, or their works, or the performance of righteousness which they wrought, but by His will. And we therefore having been called by His will in Jesus Christ, are not justified by ourselves, nor by our wisdom or understanding, or godliness, or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart, but by the faith by which the Almighty God justified all from the beginning of the world.' Not only the description of the works themselves as done in holiness of heart, but their subsequence to our calling in Christ shows that they are works done by grace. Even by these the called in Christ are no more justified than, before the grace of the gospel, those who were called in Abraham were justified by their righteousness done under the grace of the Old Testament.

From Clement thus misunderstood we are brought back to another passage of Ignatius which is misinterpreted in like manner. 'Similarly in his Epistle to the Ephesians Ignatius describes the good Christian as one who receives the grace of Christ ἐν φόβῳ δικαίᾳ in a nature which is (really) just, and the work of salvation as "the con-natural work," because it is effected not by mere imputation of Christ's merits, but in virtue of a principle which dwells in the soul and unites itself to the nature of man.' It would be hard to find in so small a space a greater number of mistakes. It is not true that Protestants think, as it is implied, that the work of salvation is effected by mere imputation of Christ's merits, and not in

virtue of a principle of grace which dwells in and unites itself to the soul. It is not the case that Ignatius speaks here at all of receiving the name of Christ, whatever that may mean. There is nothing, as the Greek reader knows, but the mere English reader might not perceive, to warrant the parenthetic introduction (really), which seems put in to make the latter suppose that Ignatius is distinguishing this nature as really just from a nature just only by imputation. And lastly, what he translates 'the connatural work,' even if rightly translated, is not the work of salvation at all. He tells the Ephesian Church how he had heard through God of 'the much admired name it had acquired by its righteous disposition, according to faith and love in Jesus Christ our Saviour.*' The good name was evidently the character that Church had gained, not the name of Christ they had received, and they had acquired it by what he calls 'a righteous nature,' *indole probâ*, as Hefele translates, so described because it was in accordance with faith and love in Christ Jesus. And so far as it was in accordance with these it was a really just or righteous nature, whatever imperfections may have still existed in it. But Ignatius says nothing of its being really, as distinguished from nominally, such. He proceeds to tell them that 'being imitators of God, having been quickened to new life by His blood, they had fully accomplished the brotherly work.† For having heard that he was coming bound from Syria for the common name and hope, they had hastened to see him, who hoped by their prayer to obtain the privilege of fighting with beasts at Rome.' 'The brotherly work' is what the context suggests, a good and proper translation of the phrase used by Ignatius. 'The connatural work' would be a legitimate rendering if there was anything mentioned with which it was connatural; but there is not anything such. Archbishop Wake indeed, in accordance with a well-known use of the definite article, translates 'your connatural work:' congenial or kindred would be better English and more intelligible. But this is not what the reviewer intends, and it would be admissible if the context did not suggest the other rendering, *opus fraternitatis*, as Hefele translates, which seems to be clearly the meaning of Ignatius. It will now we think be seen that it would be difficult, as we said, to make a greater number of mistakes, if not of wilful misrepresentations, in so small a space, and all for nothing except to make it appear that Prot-

estants hold a doctrine which they do not hold, and that Ignatius is opposed to them in regard to it.

There is only one more particular that we shall advert to in this part of our subject. It is the assertion in p. 359 that 'Ignatius extols virginity in words which must sound strange to Protestants, as a state chosen in honour of our Lord's flesh.' If the writer had presented what Ignatius really does say on this subject (Polyc v.), it would not sound strange to the ears of any reasonable Protestant. First as to the meaning of the phrase which he translates 'in honour of our Lord's flesh.*' He says in a note that this translation is supported by the Syriac and Armenian versions, but that Hefele's translation, 'in honour of the Lord of the flesh,' may be adopted without prejudice to his argument. In an expression like this, in which the direct order of the words gives a good and consistent sense, nothing would justify a departure from it but something in the context that would clearly indicate that the inverted order was intended by the writer. There is nothing of this kind, and the direct is plainly the proper order in which the words are to be taken. The other savours of a devotion that pertains to much later times, and that has effloresced in the *cultus* of the Sacred Heart. As Christ is the Lord of the flesh as well as of the spirit, and our bodies are the members of Christ, He claims from His disciples that according to their ability they should honour Him with their bodies as well as with their spirits, which are His; and if they can serve Him better, and better do the work He has assigned to them in celibacy than in marriage, it is not strange to Protestants to be told that they should honour the Lord of their flesh by denying even its lawful inclinations for His sake. And that this is the meaning of Ignatius may be seen from the conclusion of this chapter, which relates entirely to the subject of marriage, with only this parenthetic reference to celibacy, after which he returns to marriage and closes by saying, 'Let all things be done to the honour of God,' as before 'to the honour of the Lord of the flesh.' Beyond this there is nothing in favour of virginity in what Ignatius says. He certainly does not extol it, but rather speaks of it in a very dubious and cautious way. Having mentioned the duties of husbands and wives, he then says, 'If any is able to continue in chastity in honour of the Lord of the flesh, let him continue without boasting. If he boasts he is lost; and if he thinks more of

* Τὸ πολυαγάπητόν σου ὄνομα, ὃ κέκτησθε φύσει δικαία.

† Τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον.

* Ἐἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Κυρίου τῆς σαρκός.

himself than of the bishop, he has perished.' Here we see that far from extolling the practice he does not say a word in recommendation of it, and it is made to depend upon an ability, the possession of which can only be known from trial and experience, a condition which is quite inconsistent with vows or obligations entered into beforehand, and which implies the liberty of receding from the practice whenever experience shows the ability to be wanting. It further appears that Ignatius considered the practice, even when the ability exists, to be attended by special temptations to spiritual pride and setting one's self above or in opposition to his ecclesiastical superiors. Dr. Newman, p. 121, considers that Ignatius has signified 'his implied praise of virginity, and his implied countenance of formal resolves for that purpose, when he says, "If he boasts, he is perishing."' We have seen what his praise amounts to, and formal resolves are only implied in the words quoted in so far as that one would not be likely to boast in such a case, if there was not a resolution to maintain the observance of the practice. But 'formal' is an ambiguous word as thus used; it may refer only to a solemn resolution formed by the individual and openly acknowledged as a settled purpose, or it may mean a vow publicly made under the sanctions of religion, and entered into as a matter of irrevocable obligation. Of this latter formality at any rate there is no implied countenance in anything Ignatius says, but rather an implied discountenance. How little credit was attached to the profession of virginity as such may be seen from the salutations at the close of the Epistle to the Smyrnæans. 'I salute the houses of my brethren with their wives and children, and the virgins that are called widows.' According to 1 Tim. v., widows were employed in the services of religion. Qualified widows however might not always be had. Married women would often be hindered by the cares of the household. If any such were employed in the Church of Smyrna, they are saluted amongst the wives previously mentioned. That there were unmarried women so employed is clear. But instead of their unmarried condition being considered one of special honour, it was covered by the assumed designation and character of widows: as such they appeared to the world, and such they were called in the Church. There is in Grabe's '*Spicilegium*,' ii. 24, a fragment ascribed by Damascenus to Ignatius, which if genuine shows his mind in this matter: 'Lay the yoke of virginity on no one; for it is a dangerous matter and hard to be

maintained, especially when made compulsory.'

III. We come now to the eucharistic views of Ignatius. Beyond the use of the word altar—and how little that signifies we shall soon see—there is not a semblance of any notion of eucharistic sacrifice in these Epistles. By this absence of any recognition of the sacrificial character of the rite the Dublin reviewer feels evidently embarrassed, and to supply the deficiency he has recourse to Clement, who speaks of the bishop 'offering the gifts,' and he refers to the Apostolical Constitutions as leaving no room to doubt what Clement was alluding to. We shall see presently what these references are worth. We are told that 'the distinctness with which S. Ignatius declares his faith in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, is of itself proof that our Lord is the victim offered upon the altar.' Of course this assumes that an altar necessarily implies a victim, as if no other kind of oblation might be offered on an altar. But a singular argument is used to support this conclusion as regards Ignatius. "Sacrifice," "oblation," and the like, are the terms in which the Eucharist is constantly described by S. Justin and S. Irenæus. Protestants have agreed that, though these Fathers indisputably regarded the Eucharist as a sacrifice, they meant by this sacrifice no more than an oblation of bread and wine offered up to God in the name of the faithful, who presented them to the bishop. This argument, however, was based on the supposition that in the ante-Nicene period no one believed that the bread and wine were changed into the body and blood of Christ. If S. Ignatius recognised (and he certainly did) the Eucharist as the flesh of Christ, that, and nothing short of it, can be the oblation which is made upon the altar.' Let us state this argument more distinctly. Clement speaks of oblations, but does not tell us the nature of them. Ignatius says nothing of oblation, but uses the term altar. Justin and Irenæus some half century after the death of Ignatius speak of oblation and sacrifice; but they do this in a manner which, as far as these words go, it is admitted, does not necessitate the supposition that it consisted of anything but bread and wine. But then Ignatius believed that the Eucharist is the flesh of Christ, and therefore Justin and Irenæus must have meant more than the oblation of bread and wine, and that our Lord Himself was offered as a victim by this oblation. And as these Fathers are thus proved to have held this, so must Ignatius also half a century earlier, and, as it is

implied, Clement nearly as long before him.

This curious argument rests on a series of unwarrantable assumptions. First it is assumed that what Ignatius thought of the real presence, Justin and Irenæus must also have thought, though this is a subject which, before it was dogmatically formulated, was liable to be viewed in different lights, and to assume different phases in different minds, separated by distance of time and place. Then it is assumed that when Ignatius spoke of the Eucharist as the flesh of Christ, he meant that the elements were materially changed, which is by no means the case, as we shall see. It is further assumed that if Justin and Irenæus held this doctrine as to the consecrated elements, they understood the oblation of them in their consecrated and not their unconsecrated state, though their words do not express such a meaning. It is then assumed that what they thought on this subject, half a century after Ignatius, he must also have thought in his day, though it is notorious that the tendency of thought was towards development, and though the words of Ignatius give no warrant for the assumption, beyond what may be supposed to exist in the use of the term altar. The inconclusiveness of this argument is quite evident without any reference to what Irenæus and Justin actually say, which want of space obliges us to forego.

We may now return to Clement and the reference to the Apostolical Constitutions. Respecting the latter, it is to be observed that a writing falsely ascribed to Clement, and of a date which the great Roman divines, Bellarmine, Baronius, and Bona, do not fix within an earlier limit than the time of the Nicene Council, is no authority for the meaning of Clement. The liturgy which it contains appears never to have been used in any Church, though it perhaps presents a tolerably fair ideal of the liturgies in use at the time of its composition. The passage referred to is where the proclamation having been made that all disqualified persons should depart, and that the faithful should be in readiness, the deacons are directed then to 'bring the gifts to the bishop to be laid on the altar.' These are evidently the requisites for the celebration about to commence. No consecration has yet taken place; the celebrant has not even yet put on the proper vestment; and nothing else can be intended than the yet unconsecrated bread and wine, with perhaps, as we may gather from the third of the so-called Apostolic Canons, oil and incense, and at the proper season grapes and ears of corn. This presentation of the unconsecrated elements is still

prescribed by the modern *Ordo Missæ*, and has its corresponding oblation, together with the alms, in the Anglican ritual. This reference, therefore, even if the document were authoritative, could throw no light on Clement's mention of 'the gifts' offered by the bishop, beyond what the words of Clement himself express. When he says it would be no small sin to depose from the office of bishop those who have blamelessly and piously offered the gifts, there is no reason to suppose that he meant more than the bread and wine presented by the faithful and offered to God for the purpose of the Eucharist. It is not unlikely indeed, from the word blamelessly, that the pecuniary gifts of the faithful presented simultaneously, as in the Anglican offertory, may have been also intended, and that Clement had in view the blameless and faithful devotion of those to God's service. However that may be, neither in Clement nor in Ignatius does *θυσία* appear in reference to the Eucharist. Whatever they had thought of it as a commemorative sacrifice, there is nothing in either to indicate the same beyond the use of the word altar by Ignatius. Let us now see how far this word, as so employed, goes to justify any inference as to the notion of a propitiatory sacrifice now prevalent.

We first notice two passages from Eph. vi. and Trall. vii. In the former he says that 'unless one be within the altar he is deprived of the bread of God,' and in the latter, that 'he that is within the altar is pure, but he that is without is not pure,' the second clause here being absent from the Greek MS., but supplied from the Old Latin. The foundation of this way of speaking is laid, we have no doubt, in a very ancient usage, according to which the word signifies the area, enclosed space, or *sacrarium*, in which the Eucharist was celebrated, and not merely the holy table. It is to be found in the 44th of the Laodicean Canons, which forbids women to go within the altar, and probably in the third of the Apostolical Canons. Other ecclesiastical writings also afford instances of this usage,* which is not even yet extinct; at least in Ireland the Roman Catholics commonly call the entire sanctuary the altar, as well as the table itself. Mede and others have seen examples of this in Rev. xi. 1 and xiv 18. However that may be, Ignatius in Eph. v. seems to have meant this area, understood literally. He says, 'If any one be not within the altar he is deprived of the bread of God. For if the prayer of

* Thus in the ancient Greek liturgies the altar is the enclosed space. Within it is the *δύα τράπεζα*. It is so also in modern Greek usage.

one and another has such power, how much more that of the bishop and of the whole Church. He therefore that comes not to the assembly is proud, and hath cut himself off; that is, as it were excommunicated himself. But if the place itself in which the holy mysteries were celebrated was not intended, the word must plainly mean the fellowship of the Church maintained by the assembling therein for communion. And it is worthy of note that the participation of the bread of God (whether by this the eucharistic bread or the general blessings of the Christian religion be intended) is made to depend, at least in some measure, on the efficacy of the joint prayers of the whole Church. In the other passage, Trall. vii., being within the altar is plainly being in the fellowship of the Church, as maintained by acting in unison with the bishop, the presbytery, and the deacons. Clement of Alexandria extends this way of speaking, and calls the congregation itself assembled, for prayer the earthly altar.* And a little after, the same writer tells us that 'the sacrifice of the Church is the word exhaled as incense from holy souls.'† Now considering that the word *θυσία* was not applied, as far as we know, to the material oblation of the Eucharist till a much later period than the time of Ignatius,‡ it would seem as if it was this spiritual sacrifice, 'the sacrifice of praise, the fruit of the lips' of Heb. xiii. 15, that was the reason why the place where the faithful assembled for the eucharistic celebration, or the congregation of the faithful itself, was called the altar. And the use of the word by Ignatius in this sense belongs to a period in which the eucharistic celebration was still identified with the love feast, as in 1 Cor. xi.; for in Smyrn. viii., having said that that should be esteemed a valid Eucharist which was celebrated by the bishop, or one to whom he had given authority, Ignatius presently adds, 'It is not lawful

without the bishop either to baptize or to celebrate a love feast.' This identification of the Agape with the Eucharist seems to imply the assembling of the people within the *sacrarium*, or so-called altar.

There are two other places in which Ignatius uses the word altar. In Magn. vii. he says, 'Come therefore together all, as to one temple of God, as to one altar, as to one Jesus Christ.*' And in Philad. vi.: 'Be diligent therefore to resort to one Eucharist, for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup for union with His blood; one altar, as one bishop, with the presbytery and deacons.' Considering the ideas which we have already shown were attached to this word by Ignatius and others, we think there is as good reason to suppose that he uses it in these passages in one or other of the same senses, which would be equally consistent with the context, as in the more special sense of the holy table.

The absence of the word *ιερεὺς*, as a title of Christian ministers, from these Epistles is admitted. As the use of the title would have savoured of later times, so its absence is a note of antiquity. There is a passage in Philad., ix. which uses the word in a dubious manner, but clearly not of the Christian ministry. 'And the priests were good, but a better thing the high-priest, who has been entrusted with the Holy of Holies, who alone has been entrusted with the hidden things of God; he being the door of the Father, by which Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and the prophets, and the apostles, and the Church enter in.' Either the priests here spoken of were the priests of the Old Testament mentioned in reference to some who are represented in the preceding chapter as appealing to the Old Testament; or, as would seem from the sequel, the whole body of the faithful both of the Old and the New Testament, 'a royal priesthood,' are intended. Justin also calls the faithful the priesthood which offers the eucharistic sacrifices (Tryph. p. 344).

So little does the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist appear in the Epistles of Ignatius, that the Dublin reviewer tries to make up for the deficiency by saying that 'the distinctness with which Ignatius declares his faith in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, is of itself a proof that our Lord is the victim offered on the altar' (pp. 363, 364). But however the Roman doctrine of the real presence is necessary to the Roman doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice, the latter

* Έστι τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν θυσιαστήριον ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἐπίγειον, τὸ ἀβροισμα τῶν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀνακειμένων, μίαν ὄσπερ ἔχον φωνὴν τὴν κοινὴν καὶ μίαν γνώμην. Strom. vii. p. 717. Ed. Sylburg.

† Καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ θυσία τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ψυχῶν ἀναθυμῶμενος, ἐκκαλυπτομένης αἷα τῆς θυσίας καὶ τῆς διανοίας ἀπάσης τῷ Θεῷ. In Polycarp, ad Phil. iv., widows are called the altar of God.

‡ The word first appears in Justin, as applied to the material oblation. And it is to be noted that he speaks of the bread and cup in the Eucharist as sacrifices, using the word in the plural number; a manner of speaking in which the bread and the cup are regarded as separate oblations, which long continued in use, and conveys an idea quite different from that of the propitiatory sacrifice in the Eucharist now taught. See 'Dial cum Tryph.' pp. 260-344. Par. 1615.

* He says not *to* one temple and one altar, but *as to*, and we may perhaps understand our Lord Himself to be intended, just as in Rev. xxi. 22 the Lamb is the temple in the heavenly Jerusalem.

doctrine does not follow as a necessary consequence from it. But it is not needful to discuss this question at greater length. It will suffice to examine the testimony of Ignatius on the subject, taking the several passages that refer to it in detail.

We notice first certain passages which are admittedly figurative, indeed in the highest degree metaphorical. In these allusion is evidently made to the expressions of our Lord in John vi., and the sacramental idea is in some degree present to the mind, and a sacramental way of speaking is adopted, while the writer overleaps the external rite, and goes directly to the internal and spiritual participation. Thus in Philad. v., after expressing his fear of failure as not being yet perfected, he says he trusts through their prayer to attain the lot assigned him by God's mercy, 'fleeing to the gospel as the flesh of Jesus, and to the apostles as the presbytery of the Church.' Here the gospel is, as it were sacramentally, the flesh of Christ, and the Apostles who preached it, as it were the presbytery of the Church universal administering that sacrament, just as St. Paul speaks of himself in Rom. xv. 16 as 'the liturgic minister of Jesus Christ, sacerdotally ministering the gospel of God.' According to this passage it is the gospel (and of course faith in it is implied) that is the means of partaking of the flesh of Christ. In the passage we now proceed to cite it is faith and love that are expressly mentioned in this way. In Trall. viii. he bids his readers to 'build themselves up anew in faith, which is the flesh of the Lord, and in love, which is the blood of Jesus Christ.' The manner of speaking is similar, only that faith and love here stand in place of the gospel.

We now come to a passage of the same kind in which the sacramental allusion is more distinct, while yet the thought in like manner overpasses the external rite, and bounds into the fruition of the life to come. It is in Rom. vii. He had been speaking of his wish to die, and says, 'My desire, *ἐπιω,* has been crucified, and there is not in me a fire that craves material fuel; but there is in me a living and speaking water, that says to me from within, Away to the Father. I delight not in corruptible food, nor in the pleasures of this life. I wish for the bread of God, heavenly bread, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, and I wish for the drink of God, His blood, which is love incorruptible and ever-springing life.' Here the whole tone of the thought overpasses the eucharistic rite, the terms of which are in part borrowed; or rather we should say it is the words of our Lord in John vi.

that are borrowed.* His longing goes beyond anything to be enjoyed on earth; the eucharistic participation was within his reach, whenever he desired it; he craves what he can have only when he quits this life; and to come down from his longing for death, to any blessing however great to be enjoyed here, would be a descent which the whole character of this touching and noble passage forbids. It can scarcely be thought that one who held the material reception of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper, would use such statements as are made in these passages in regard to faith and love and the gospel, which in a sacramental way he calls the flesh and the blood of Christ. It is the fact that he did not so regard it that enabled him to make this application of the sacramental idea. The reviewer's explanation of these sayings, that faith and love are so called 'in the sense that they have His true humanity for their object, and attain their end by uniting us to it' (p. 383), suggests a very moderate interpretation even of the words of institution themselves; as if one should say the bread and the wine are called His body and blood because they have His true humanity as the object of their significance, and attain their end by uniting us to it. In confirmation of this explanation he quotes a passage in Smyrn. x., which, if he has rightly interpreted it, is in full accord with all that we have said. 'Nor will you be ashamed of your perfect faith, Jesus Christ.' To call Jesus Christ their perfect faith would be a like figure to calling their faith the flesh of Christ, only that it would not have the same sacramental allusion. We fail to see how it in any way helps the reviewer's argument. The sense, however, is most completely missed. He mentions indeed in a note that Hefele, instead of 'your perfect faith,' has *qui perfecte fidelis est*, but says that he has himself followed the rendering of Dressel. Ignatius, however, tells the Christians of Smyrna that they had not despised his chains, nor were they ashamed of them; and then he adds, 'Neither will Jesus Christ, the perfect faith, be ashamed of you.' Even if we give

* It is scarcely possible to doubt that the writer of this passage had in his mind our Lord's discourse in John vi. Allusions are always vague and inexact, but not the less distinctly show the source from whence they are derived. The Gospel of St. John was plainly sufficiently old to be familiar to the writer's mind when he made these allusions. The reader will perceive the significance of this remark as bearing on the date of the Fourth Gospel. The allusions also indicate that our Lord's discourse was regarded as going above and beyond the mere external eucharistic rite.

the definite article the pronominal force of *your*, still this would not mean their subjective faith, but their faith in an objective sense, what they believed and trusted in. Indeed so much seems admitted. 'He is spoken of as "perfect faith," inasmuch as He is the object and the author of that virtue.' But this destroys any semblance of parallelism to the manner of speaking the words are cited to illustrate, as in that it is 'the interior act of faith' which is called the flesh of Christ.

We may now pass on to a couple of passages of a more strictly eucharistic nature. In Eph. xx. he bids them all to assemble in one faith, 'breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality, the antidote whereby we may not die, but live for ever in Jesus Christ.' The words express no more than the high sense he had of the benefits of Holy Communion, and have no further doctrinal significance. The reviewer in translating them has introduced a word which has no counterpart in the original,*—'The antidote against death, the *pledge* of everlasting life.' It is curious that he should have adopted the phrase of the Anglican Church Catechism in its definition of a sacrament, 'a pledge to assure us' of the inward and spiritual grace given unto us. The other passage is in Philad. iv. 'Be diligent to resort to one Eucharist; for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, one cup to unite us to His blood, one altar, as there is one bishop with the presbytery and deacons.' In addition to what we have already remarked on this passage, we shall only observe that the way in which the cup is mentioned, not as containing the blood of Christ, but as intended to unite us with it, is rather calculated to divert our thoughts from the contents to the intent, and certainly does not show that Ignatius regarded the former as Christ's blood in any material sense, while the unity of Christ's flesh as a reason for one Eucharist proves nothing respecting the identity of the flesh of Christ and the eucharistic elements.

But in fact the Dublin reviewer makes an implied admission that the passages already cited are not sufficient by themselves to sustain the views attributed to Ignatius. Indeed he all but admits that Scripture itself is not decisive on this subject. The most he ventures to say is that 'it cannot be maintained, with much show of reason, that the words of our Lord necessitate a metaphorical interpretation; while the sixth chapter of St. John supplies strong confirmation of the

view which Catholics take of our Lord's meaning' (p. 361).^{*} In a like cautious and hesitating way he says of the statements of Ignatius already mentioned: 'No doubt, if these sentences stood by themselves, attempts would be made to explain them as the exaggerations of Oriental rhetoric' (p. 360). He adds, 'Fortunately there is one,' of which he proceeds to show that this cannot be said. But first, we remark by the way, that it is not as 'the exaggerations of Oriental rhetoric' we should explain such sayings, but as the language of high and ardent devotion, which ever overleaps the limits of a dry logical literalism, and abounds in the metonymy of things closely conjoined, interchanging the sign and the thing signified, sometimes rising from the bread, which is the sign, to the body of Christ, the thing signified and sacramentally conjoined with it, and so calling the bread Christ's body; and sometimes going back from the thing signified to the sign, for the sake of its significance, and so calling Christ's flesh the bread of God. It is the taking of this devotional way of speaking *ad litteram*, and then making it the ground of dogmatic formulas which are intended to have logical exactness, and thereby shocking the common sense and doing violence to the consciences of many, that has caused much of the dissension that has harassed the Christian Church.

The passage relied on as a crucial test of the opinion of Ignatius respecting the eucharistic presence is to be found in Smyrn. vii., and it is thus presented by the Dublin reviewer: 'Not admitting that our Lord took upon Himself true flesh, those men,¹ namely the Docetæ, 'abstained from the Eucharist and prayer, because they do not confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ' (that flesh) 'which suffered for our sakes, and which the Father in his goodness raised to life' (p. 360). Ignatius might have been allowed to speak for himself. The words 'that flesh' seem to be put in to anticipate the supposition that might possibly be made, that the eucharistic flesh was different from the material flesh that suffered. We notice this only as an instance of a habit which frequently betrays itself in this writer of not allowing a quotation to speak for itself without precautionary words introduced. In this sentence, and in the *Hoc est enim corpus meum* itself, the flesh and the body are the real flesh and the real body of our Lord. The question is not of the mean-

* Unless he takes antidote to mean something given *instead*, which, if there is any usage to justify it, the connection with medicine here would seem to exclude.

¹ But in John vi. it is not the sacramental element that is said to be the flesh of Christ, but Christ Himself that is the bread of life, which came down from Heaven.

ing of the predicate, but of the *copula*; whether the verb substantive denotes numerical identity, or by a metonymy denotes a different relation. The verb substantive is naturally understood to denote a different relation when the assertion of identity might seem not likely to be intended. That in this case the idea of numerical identity shocks the common sense of mankind, we need not say. In the words of the Dublin reviewer it constitutes, 'to put it cautiously, an astounding miracle.' And any one of common intelligence on hearing such a manner of speech would, without consciously so much as making question could this sense be possibly intended, at once put some other meaning on the words.

The argument on this passage of Ignatius is founded on the fact that it was of the Docetæ he was speaking. 'Had the Church in those days believed that the blessed Sacrament was no more than a symbol, there was nothing in the celebration of the holy mysteries which need have given any offence to the Docetæ. They granted that our Lord had an apparent body, and they could have no objection to the commemoration of His death under a symbolic form. They withdrew from the mysteries of the Church because they were a reality as well as a commemoration. They could not partake in a sacrament which professed to communicate the true body of Christ, because they denied that He had any body at all.'

To this argument we make a twofold answer. First, we think it is in the highest degree probable that in this place Ignatius is not speaking specially of the sacramental Eucharist at all, but of eucharistic worship, that is, the worship of praise and thanksgiving in general. Observe that the word for Eucharist* at the commencement wants the article, the use of which was to have been expected if the eucharistic rite was intended, and not the more general sense of thanksgiving. The combination of the two words *εὐχαριστία* and *προσευχῇ* in this general and indefinite way would naturally be rendered 'thanksgiving and prayer.' It seems like an echo of St. Paul's 'supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks,' in 1 Tim. ii. 1, and other like combinations; while Ignatius himself recommends the Ephesians (c. xiii.) to assemble more frequently 'to give thanks and glory to God.† With the words of Scripture ringing in his ears, he blames the Docetæ for abstaining from thanksgiving and prayer. He had just enumerated several other duties which they

neglected. 'They have no care for charity, nor for widow, or orphan, or oppressed, or bound or loosed, or hungry or thirsty. They abstain from thanksgiving and prayer, because they do not confess that the thanksgiving (*τὴν εὐχαριστίαν*) is the flesh of Christ which suffered for our sins,' that is, the great cause of thanksgiving. Not acknowledging this great proof of God's goodness, they had no motive of charity to men or thanksgiving to God, no ground of confidence in prayer in this proof of His goodwill to them. The article before the word thanksgiving, when it occurs the second time, is one of simple reference to the first, or it denotes pre-eminence—the great thanksgiving.' We may compare this manner of speaking with the already mentioned places in which the gospel and faith and charity are called the flesh and the blood of Christ. That this was felt to be the sense of the passage as it stands in the Epistle, is evident from a variation of reading, as the passage is quoted by Theodoret, the variation being an alteration to bring the commencing words into agreement with the sequel, supposed to have a purely sacramental import, the variant for prayer in this citation being oblation,* while for 'abstain from,' is substituted 'do not receive.'

Our second reply to this argument is on the supposition that the passage refers solely to the Eucharist. And here it is to be observed that they were not obliged to attribute to the eucharistic body a greater reality than they attributed to the apparent body, in which they admitted our Saviour was manifested on earth. On the other hand, if the modern notion of transubstantiation, or anything approaching to it, had been dreamed of, while for the reason just mentioned the Docetæ might regard one body as unreal as the other, they would have seen in the Eucharist a true example of *δόκησις*, which could not have failed to recommend the rite to themselves, and to furnish them with a powerful *ad hominem* argument against their orthodox opponents. There would have been in the Eucharist an admitted instance of seeming qualities of one thing striking the senses, but having no substantial reality at all, while the actual thing which did not appear to the senses might be as real or unreal as they thought fit to suppose it. The force of this crucial test and argument founded on a reference to the conduct and views of the Docetæ being thus disposed of, there is nothing in the words of Ignatius, even if he intended the eucharistic celebration alone,

* *Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται.*
† *Εἰς εὐχαριστίαν Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς δόξαν.*

* *Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσφοράς οὐκ ἀποδέχονται.*
See Hefele's note.

that is not perfectly intelligible on the grounds already indicated in these remarks. Does the reviewer suppose that Protestants cannot or do not use language like this? I shall only refer him to the well-known hymn of the excellent Nonconformist Doddridge:—

'My God, and is Thy table spread?
And doth Thy cup with love o'erflow?
Thither be all Thy children led,
And let them all Thy sweetness know !

'Hail, sacred feast, which Jesus makes,
Rich banquet of His flesh and blood!
Thrice happy he who here partakes
That sacred stream, that heavenly food !'

IV. We have now arrived at the last subject of our inquiry—The Testimony of Ignatius on the Organization of the Church, and its relation to the Roman See. In Ignatius we find the three orders of bishop, presbyter, and deacon clearly distinguished. The name of bishop is no longer, as in the New Testament and in Clement's Epistle, synonymous with presbyter, or inclusive of it. The bishop is always single, the presbyters are sometimes spoken of severally, sometimes as a corporate body, the presbytery, the council, or Sanhedrin of the bishop. The analogy of order is between Christ, the apostles, and subordinate ministers employed by Him on the one hand, and the bishop, presbyters, and deacons on the other. Want of space obliges us to omit much we had noted for discussion on this subject, interesting on its own account, as also for its curious treatment by the Dublin reviewer. We shall notice only one instance of this.

Episcopalians might well feel satisfied with the views of Ignatius, coupled with the precedents of Timothy and Titus. The reviewer, however, tries to bridge over the interval between these by means of Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians. To make this serve his purpose he tampers with the words of Clement in a most unwarrantable manner. We refer to the well-known passage in chapter xlv., in which Clement says that 'our apostles also knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife about the office of the episcopate.* Wherefore on that account, having taken perfect foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid,† and afterwards gave an ordinance, that if they should fall asleep,‡ other approved men should succeed to their ministry.§ Those therefore that were ap-

pointed by them,* or afterwards by other men of 'repute, with the approval of the whole Church, and have blamelessly ministered to the flock, . . . these we judge to be unjustly deposed from their ministry.'† Now, while this passage plainly intimates that there were other men of repute who had authority to ordain bishops and deacons, as Timothy and Titus had from St. Paul himself, Clement leaves it in doubt whether he spoke of the apostles as having ordained that if they themselves should fall asleep others were to succeed to the office of the apostles; or merely, that if the bishop and deacons should fall asleep, others should succeed them; or as having included themselves and the bishops and deacons in this ordinance. The absence of any reference in the context to others than presbyters, and the distinction of pronouns, seem to indicate that Clement had only in view the succession of presbyters and deacons. The reviewer, however, is not content to leave the passage in its well-known ambiguity. For 'if they should fall asleep,' he substitutes (p. 368) 'if they themselves should fall asleep,' without any indication that the word *themselves* is interpolated. And in the next clause he says 'that other approved men should succeed them [the apostles] in their ministry.' The original words are not given. In a note he says that he has 'substantially' followed Döllinger in his translation, though it differs from that of Hefele. But he does not point out what the difference consists of. He also tells us that Clement 'adduces the threefold organization of the Jewish hierarchy (high-priests, priests, and Levites) as a parallel to the orders of the Christian clergy.' This is greatly overstated. The comparison is made, as far as the analogy is expressed, only in regard to the orderly performance of divine offices at the appointed times and places, and by the appointed persons, our Lord Himself having ordained where and by what persons they should be performed, 'by His supreme will,' or perhaps by His last counsel,‡ meaning His final charge to the apostles; just as the high-priest and the priests had each their appointed services (*λειτουργίαι*), and the Levites their ministries (*διακονίαι*), and the laity their proper duties (ch. xl.). But there is no express parallel drawn between these and the orders of the Christian ministry in regard to number or relative correspondence. In the next chapter the example of the Mosaic priesthood, as confined to the proper

* 'Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. The strife was evidently not about the mere use of the title.

† That is, bishops and deacons.

‡ Ἐάν κοιμηθῶσιν. No subject is expressed.

§ Τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν.—Their liturgical office.

* Ὧς ἐκείνων, the former; i.e., the Apostles.

† Τῆς λειτουργίας.

‡ Ὡς ὑπερτάτῃ αὐτοῦ βουλήσει.

performance of his own office by each, is further enforced, and in chapter xlii. the Christian ministry is described, rather with reference to the authority it was derived from, than to the threefold gradation of orders. The mission of Christ was from God, and the apostles were sent by Christ. These having preached in various places, appointed the first-fruits of their preaching to be bishops and deacons of the faithful. The apostles having all departed, there would be none, so far as this enumeration goes, to make up the threefold gradation. It is only in the incidental allusion to the 'other men of repute' already noticed, that we find any reference to a higher order as distinct from the apostles themselves. We are referred to chapter xxi., where we find mention of persons called *προηγούμενοι*, who are supposed to be prelates, as distinguished from presbyters, mentioned immediately after. But as these seem to be elders in regard to age, as distinguished from the young in the next clause, the sense of prelates in distinction from other ministers is not so clear. Why we have been careful to mark the indistinctness of Clement's testimony on this subject, which the reviewer endeavours to make much more explicit than it really is, will be seen presently. But apart from this, even a true cause, and the cause of truth itself, equally suffer from perverting or straining testimony, and it should never be allowed to go unchecked.

We have now only to consider the alleged testimony of Ignatius to the primacy of the Roman See. In the earlier part of his article (p. 354) the Dublin reviewer says that Ignatius 'gives the first explicit testimony to the primacy of the Roman see.' Moderate as the word primacy is, the assertion is not warranted by the evidences adduced, which we shall show do not amount even to an implicit testimony to any sort of primacy beyond that of dignity and honour, if even so much. When the reviewer comes to establish his assertion, he begins by saying: 'Of course all Catholics hold that the primacy of the Holy See formed part of the deposit of the faith from the beginning. Events might bring the supremacy of the Roman Church into greater prominence; time might be needed to develop all that was involved in Christ's commission to S. Peter; still the rights of the Holy See come not from man but from God, and were acknowledged by Christians from the first' (p. 371). The testimony to be examined must not, however, be viewed in the light of this assumption. What we have to examine is how far 'the history of the Church witnesses to this truth,' or rather to the truth of this,

that we should not assume the point in question. Before he allows Ignatius to speak he cites Clement as in the lifetime of St. John practically asserting the primacy of Rome 'by sending three deputies with a letter to settle disputes, and lay down the laws of ecclesiastical government at Corinth.' To this statement it is to be replied that it was not an unasked for interference, but was in consequence of advice being sought by the Corinthians, as we learn from the introduction to the Epistle. The person through whom the advice was sought was probably Fortunatus, supposed to be the same mentioned by Paul in 1 Cor. xvi. 17, with whom Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito were sent by Clement as bearers of the Epistle. Such a mission unasked for would not necessarily have implied the assumption of authority. Still less can there be any such assumption inferred from a gracious answer to a request for advice under trying circumstances.

In the next place there appears to have been no one in Corinth at this time possessed of any recognized authority to settle disputes or maintain order in the Church. Throughout the Epistle there is not the slightest allusion to any single person corresponding to the bishop of the Ignatian Epistles. It is the deposition of presbyters only, under the name of bishops, that seemed to be condemned in the famous passage already discussed; and the so-called *prohégumēni*, previously mentioned, being in the plural number, as well as not clearly ecclesiastical superiors only, cannot be regarded as proving the existence of episcopal authority in that Church when the Epistle was written. The transition from the immediate superintendence of an Apostle like Paul, who speaks of himself as burdened with 'the care of all the churches,' to a settled episcopate, did not take place in all Churches simultaneously. Some, such as Ephesus and Crete, may have retained such a form of government from the days of Timothy and Titus. Others may have had no local bishop at all during the lifetime of St. Paul, and when he was removed from them by such a distance as would make communication difficult, they may have enjoyed the temporary superintendence of some of his assistants. In such cases, on the cessation of Paul's superintendence, or that of others of the Apostolic College, the Churches so bereft of Apostolic care would of course be often in a very unsettled state, and may have been for some time without a bishop. We suppose that during the lifetime of Paul the Corinthian Church remained under his superintendence, with the aid of such of his assistants as he may have sent there from time to time; and

that when he suffered at Rome there was no one specially charged with the care of that Church. It is said indeed, by Jerome we believe, that Apollos was bishop of Corinth, but as other authorities have assigned to him no less than four other different sees, no reliance can be placed on that report. Dorotheus moreover says that Silas was bishop of Corinth, and not Apollos. His list of the sees filled by the Seventy is quite untrustworthy. He seems to have taken all the respectable names he could find in the New Testament to make up the requisite number, and assigned them such sees as he thought fit. His authority is entirely rejected by the learned. The first bishop at Corinth of whom we have any authentic information is Primus, mentioned by Hegesippus, whose episcopate must have been nearly a century later than the date of Clement's Epistle. At any rate it is clear enough from this Epistle that when Clement wrote there was no one in Corinth to whose authority he might have urged the Corinthians to submit. If Paul had died while retaining the personal superintendence of that Church, and in the confusion of the times no bishop had been specially provided for it, whence could the Corinthians so naturally have sought advice as from Rome, where Paul had died, where his companions would probably have remained, and to which the Corinthians were more nearly related than to any other Church of eminence? For Corinth having been destroyed by Mummius, B.C. 146, remained in ruins until Julius Cæsar planted there a Roman colony chiefly consisting of freedmen, who found great treasures in the ruins, restored the city, and became the flourishing community that existed when the Christian Church was planted there. Accordingly we find several Latin names mentioned in connection with it in the New Testament, besides the numerous residents in Rome whom Paul salutes in writing to the Romans from Corinth.

Having now disposed of Clement, we may turn to the alleged Ignatian testimony. It is admitted that six out of the seven Epistles give no intimation as to any local centre of the Church universal. In these six Epistles, those only whose purity is vouched for by the famous Florentine MS., each local Church in its organization of bishop, presbytery, and deacons, is independent and autonomous, for anything that appears to the contrary; and it is only the possession of this organization that is said to be essential to a Church properly so called. It is true Ignatius speaks of a Catholic Church in Smyrn. viii. 'Where the bishop appears, there let the multitude be; as where Jesus Christ is, there is the

Catholic Church.' Is it not highly significant, that in this earliest use of a phrase which has played so important a part in the ecclesiastical discussions of all subsequent ages, it is union with an invisible centre, Jesus Christ, and not external union with a visible centre, that is said to constitute the Catholic Church? This being the state of the case as regards six of the Epistles, it is only in the Epistle to the Romans a few stray expressions are imagined to point to Rome as the centre of unity, or possessed of any sort of primacy.

The point first insisted on is that, in the preface, the Roman Church is said to preside in the region of the Romans.* In the Epistle to the Magnesians the bishop of that Church is described as 'the presiding bishop,'† whereby the presidency of the bishop in his diocese is indicated; while in the Epistle to the Romans it is not the bishop, but the Church that is said to preside, and it is alleged that this can only mean that it, i.e., the Roman Church, 'is to the Church catholic what each bishop is to his own Church' (p. 372). One feels disposed to smile at such an argument as this, seriously advanced to sustain so weighty a conclusion. The entire force of the argument is supposed to exist simply in the fact that the word 'preside' is used in one case of the bishop and in the other of the Church. But surely this word, which does not stand absolutely, cannot be understood to denote a presidency extending beyond the region to which it is limited. In the phrase *τόπος χωρίου*, the former word denotes a particular place within the latter, here plainly the place by pre-eminence, the article being dropped, as common in the address of epistolary writings. The word *χωρίου* is diminutive, and if it does not mean a small place, it does mean a place of limited extent. The only legitimate translation is that given by Hefele, *In loco regionis Romanorum*, explained in a note, after Pearson, as *In ipsâ urbe Româ cum suburbiis*. Dr. Newman translates the clause as 'the Church which has foremost station in the place of the Romans.' This would seem to distinguish the Church in the city from the lesser Churches in the Roman district.

But the Roman Church is presently spoken of as 'presiding over charity,' *προκαθήμενη τῆς ἀγάπης*. This is translated by Hefele, *universo cœtui charitatis præsidens*, and explained as presiding over the entire body of Christians. There is no usage to justify so forced a rendering, the instance from John of Antioch, *προκαθήμενη τῆς ἀνατολῆς*,

* Προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίον Ῥωμαίων.
†, προκαθήμενον ἐπισκόπου.

being quite irrelevant. This is a natural way of speaking: not so the other, except in the sense of pre-eminent in charity. It is preceded by five and followed by two epithets, all denoting virtues, without one conjunction, except between this and the word preceding, 'worthily pure and presiding over charity,' plainly showing that a virtuous quality is intended, as in the vulgar Latin, *eximæ charitatis*.

The Epistle is scarcely addressed to the Church in its corporate capacity, but rather to an assemblage of Christian people. For with the word Church there stand in apposition a number of plurals denoting people distinguished by Christian graces. And there is no reference to any of the clerical order, no allusion to the bishop of Rome. This is remarkable on any view of his rank, but especially if he was the recognized head of Christendom. The omission seems to help to determine the date of the Epistle, as written *sede vacante*, and so of the condemnation of Ignatius, as signed by the 'Martyrdom' to the ninth year of Trajan, for which Pearson substitutes the nineteenth. His death was many months later than his condemnation, nearly four months having elapsed from the date of the Epistle to the Romans to his death according to the 'Martyrdom.' A like interval must at least have passed after his condemnation, to allow for the journey to Smyrna and all the delays at various resting-places, giving time to write this and the previous Epistles, and to receive deputations from neighbouring Churches. This would bring us to the tenth year of Trajan, the last of Euaerestus in the Roman chair, Alexander having succeeded in the eleventh of Trajan, according to the most approved chronology. (See Dodwell's *Dissertatio Singularis*, p 79.) We should thus have A.D. 107 for the date of this Epistle and the death of Ignatius. On the other hand, there was no change in the popedom again during the time of Trajan. We do not know if any one else has noticed this remarkable coincidence between the vacancy of the see and the absence of any mention of the bishop in this Epistle, and the date of the martyrdom as commonly assigned to A.D. 107.

We can now barely touch with running pen the remaining marks of Roman pre-eminence. But that will be enough. 1. Ignatius bids the Romans pray for the Syrian Church, which, bereft of him, has God for its pastor. 'Jesus Christ alone will take the oversight of it, *ἐπισκοπήσει*, and your charity.' This the reviewer renders, 'Jesus Christ alone and your charity will act as bishop to it.' This strains the words: charity is not the subject of the verb, but is

subjoined like an after-thought. This oversight of Christian charity might be expected from any Church, much more from the prosperous Church of Rome. 2. The Romans are said to be purified, 'strained out, *ἀποδιυλισμένοις*, from every tinge of foreign dye.' But a like *ἀποδιυλισμός* is ascribed to the Philadelphians. 3. He gives counsel to other Churches, but tells the Romans he gives them no precepts like Peter and Paul, referring no doubt to the preaching of those Apostles amongst them. But he does not speak of precepts in general. The one object of the Epistle was to beg that they would make no efforts for his deliverance. In doing this he says, 'I do not, like Peter and Paul, enjoin you.' He tells them they were Apostles, he is condemned; he is not worthy to enjoin, but only to beseech. Besides, he says the same to the Ephesians. 'I do not enjoin you as if I were somebody.' He is only beginning to be a disciple, they are the co-initiated of Paul, *Παύλου συμμύται*. 4. Lastly, 'of the Roman Church alone he declares that it has taught others.' Surely it is the function of every Church to teach, even outside its own boundaries. But plainly he speaks of no special function of teaching, but only as one might say, 'You have preached to others; practise what you preach. They taught others to be ready to die for Christ, and it is in reference to his fear that they might seek his release that he says, 'Ye have taught others; but I wish that what ye have enjoined in making disciples may be made good,' plainly by themselves in not interfering on his behalf.

Such are the testimonies of Ignatius to Roman pre-eminence, in reference to which Dr. Newman remarks (p. 253) that a writer in the fourth century 'would have introduced the doctrine of the Roman supremacy with the energy of the contemporary popes,' instead of speaking with such indirect and implicit deference, if he were a partisan of Rome; but if an Oriental, would have been influenced by the feeling of jealousy that existed in those days between Rome and the East. The remark would be just if there really were any notes of special deference in the language of Ignatius, as in fact there are not.

ART. III.—*The Progress of Reform in Russia.*

- (1.) *Our Situation.* By A. KOSHELEFF. In Russian. Berlin. 1875.

- (2.) *Russia in 1870.* By HERBERT BARRY. London. 1871.
 (3.) *Iran at Home; or, Pictures of Russian Life.* By HERBERT BARRY. London. 1872.
 (4.) *The Englishwoman in Russia.* By a Lady ten years Resident in that Country. London. 1855.

It is now twenty years since the publication of the entertaining and instructive volume placed last in the above list. At that period the long reign of the Emperor Nicholas had just closed in gloom and disaster, and the authoress gives us a vivid description of the condition of Russia during the ten preceding years. The rebellious spirit which was manifested in St. Petersburg on his accession seems permanently to have affected and hardened the mind of Nicholas; for subsequently his sole object seems to have been to keep Russia isolated from the rest of the world, and to bar what he deemed the pernicious encroachments of modern liberalism. On one occasion, it is true, he sounded his nobility on the subject of emancipation, but the resolute opposition which he encountered sufficed to drive from his mind any such project which he may have previously entertained. He likewise conferred many new privileges on the serfs. But the results of what was nothing but a system of brutal repression were seen in the years immediately preceding the Crimean War. The general discontent had culminated in a state of feeling which presaged nothing less than a revolution, brought about by a popular rising, with all its attendant horrors and excesses. Such is the conviction which a perusal of the volume we refer to leaves upon the mind.

Then came the Crimean War, which, though to Russia so disastrous in its immediate consequences, was nevertheless to inaugurate the era of her freedom and regeneration. She became thoroughly aroused to the sense of her inferiority to her neighbours, and mortifying though this consciousness may be to national pride and prejudice, disaster appears to be, at all events in recent history, an invariable condition antecedent to serious reform. The dreaded revolution whose approach cast such an ominous shadow before it has been averted by the legislation of a monarch who has forever earned the esteem and admiration of mankind. The measures by which this great change has been effected have been, in their grand result, a success. But it will astonish none who are in a position to estimate the gigantic nature of the task undertaken by the Emperor Alexander the Second to learn that all does not work so smoothly within as

outside observers might be tempted to believe; that a perfectly contrived constitutional machine cannot be manufactured to order; that the ardour of the nation is somewhat damped when brought face to face with the inevitable difficulties of a period of transition; or—lastly, that a powerful and interested faction has been called into existence, which spares no effort to impede the progress of the noble work undertaken by their master. That such is, expressed in general terms, the actual condition of Russia at the present moment, we infer from the work of M. Kosheleff, which, though it contains nothing which is not a fair subject for discussion in any land which really enjoys liberty of the press, has been necessarily published at Berlin, owing to the rigour of the Russian censors.

A few words regarding the history of the establishment of serfdom in Russia may not be deemed out of place. As is very generally known, it is an institution of quite recent introduction in that country, and we may trace its origin to about the period when prædial servitude finally became extinct amongst ourselves. The last plea of villenage in the records of our courts bears the date 1618 (a plea pronounced bad, it is true), whilst the first edict of Boris Godúnow binding the peasantry to the soil was issued in 1592. This act is usually held up to reprobation by foreign historians as a cruel act of tyranny; but the contrary opinion is frequently held by native authors, that it was a necessary step in the further civilisation of their country. We quote from the history of M. Ustrialoff in support of this assertion:—

‘Boris Godúnow, after having manifested a rare talent in conducting the foreign policy of his country, and having raised it to a summit of power and influence menacing to its neighbours, now proved himself an able administrator of internal government. In this department his principal aims were the purification of morals, the improvement of the social economy, and the encouragement of trade and commerce. To this end, besides issuing severe edicts against drunkenness, usury, and other prevailing vices, he carried into execution an important alteration in the condition of the people. In Russia the peasants were accustomed to migrate, at stated intervals, from one landed proprietor to another, and the results of these migrations were very injurious. The people habituated themselves to vagrancy and a semi-nomadic mode of life. To remedy this evil the regent, in 1592, forbade the migration of the peasants, or cancelled their right of removal from one estate to another, and commanded them to remain annexed to the lands on which they might be living at the date of the promulgation of the edict. Some

were allotted to the Tsar, others to the monasteries, and others to the landed proprietors.*

This regulation was in part rescinded by Boris himself, in 1601, after his accession to the throne; but his concessions were revoked in 1606, during the reign of the False Demetrius, by a decree of the Dúma, or Council of Boyards, confirmed in the following year by an ukase of Vassili Shúiski. But from the reign of Peter the Great dates the complete and final enslavement of the agricultural classes of Russia. The capitation tax introduced by that monarch made each landed proprietor chargeable for the number of the peasants actually residing on his estates at the time of compiling the census. They were little likely, in consequence, to connive at the escape of the agriculturists for whom they had to pay the tax, and to whose labour they had become legally entitled. Thus it happened that from that time down to the year of emancipation, 1861, the value of land in Russia has always been appraised by the number of serfs it maintained. Each serf paid a labour-rent of three days per week for the common land of the 'mir,' or commune, to which he belonged, and the plot attached to his cabin tilled by himself personally. The remaining three working days of the week were his own. This apportionment of serf labour enables us to explain the great depreciation in the value of landed property which alarmed the proprietors during the first years of emancipation, and made them so adverse to the same; for by the provisions of that scheme the labour-rent is fixed at forty days per annum for a male and thirty for a female—an arrangement which leaves the landlord a little more than a fourth of the labour which he formerly had at his disposal. A rapid and unexampled rise in the price of land has, however, more than indemnified the proprietors for their losses in this respect, though their incomes have, in most cases, been curtailed by the abolition of the odious *obrok* levied on the serfs who had become artisans or traders in the towns.

The Russian peasantry were, previous to the year 1861, to make use of our own legal phraseology, villein socagers or villeins *regardant*, since they could not be legally sold apart from the land on which they lived. Formerly there was also the class corresponding to the villeins in gross. They were termed 'kholopy,' and were either prisoners of war, insolvent debtors, or their descendants. Their lords, however, never possessed the right of inflicting capital punishment, whatever the license they may have permitted themselves on their own responsibility.

The principal features of the emancipation scheme of 1861 are as follows. Personal liberty was conferred on the serfs, who were declared to hold their land by copyhold, paying a fixed rent in labour or money; arbitrators, termed 'mirovói posrednik,' were appointed to measure the land and settle disputes between the proprietors and the liberated serfs; enfranchisement of the copyholds was made obligatory on the landlords on payment of the capitalised value of the rent, this operation being facilitated by the Government advancing four-fifths of the sum in bonds bearing interest at 5 per cent., the same to be repaid in instalments spread over 49 years. Thus the whole operation of emancipation will not be completed till the year 1910.

A system of servitude, which in England was only extinguished by slow degrees during the lapse of many centuries, and whose vestiges still remain in our copyhold tenure, was thus practically abolished by a stroke of the pen. It is a curious circumstance that there is ground for believing that Godúnoff borrowed his scheme for the settlement of the peasantry from an imperfect account of our own Poor Laws, themselves designed to counteract vagrancy, which had assumed large proportions subsequently to the confiscation of the religious foundations by Henry VIII. This conjecture is based on the following data. In the year 1553, Archangel was discovered by the English sailor Chancellor. His crew were conveyed thence to Moscow, where they were well received and hospitably entertained by the reigning monarch, Ivan IV., or 'the Terrible,' as he is termed; and from this time the latter kept up a close intimacy with England, and more especially with Queen Elizabeth. This policy was also pursued during the reign of the weak Feodor by his all-powerful minister and brother-in-law Godúnoff. The edicts by which the peasants were attached to the soil bear the dates 1592, 1597, 1601, 1606, respectively. The first law which in England confined the poor to their parishes was promulgated in 1504; the first providing for their relief in 1547; followed in 1601 by the celebrated 43 Eliz. c. 2. Is it not then conceivable that the Russian legislator based his schemes on information obtained from the commandant of the English expedition? These conjectures are interesting, as the 14 Car. II. c. 12 makes a still nearer approach to reducing the destitute classes to a servile condition by confining to their own parishes such as were

* For further details on this subject, *vide* 'Systems of Land Tenure.' Macmillan, 1870. By the Cobden Club.

likely to become chargeable to the rates. Had not the Revolution terminated the rule of the Stuarts, it is obvious that under a succession of monarchs of the stamp of James the Second this retrograde legislation might have been pursued still further.

From this slight sketch of the establishment and abolition of serfdom in Russia we pass on to inquire into her social condition at the present moment and the effects of the recent reforms. The testimony of those who have most recently written on this subject, and who are the best qualified by an intimate acquaintance with the people to form a correct opinion, concurs in drawing a picture which differs widely from the sombre delineation of twenty years ago. The national energies have been aroused from their torpor, and the agitation of society is in striking contrast to the unnatural and ominous calm which was remarked during the preceding reign. We most of us remember the Russia of Nicholas as she appeared to the exterior world; how that emperor was the arbiter of Europe for a lengthened period; how he curbed the aspirations of the liberal spirit, and was the prop and refuge of arbitrary power; how he reckoned on Austria and Prussia as his vassals; miscalculated the pacific tendencies of Great Britain; and was surprised by the coalition which shattered the fabric of his power. Such was the imposing attitude of the Russian Colossus thirty years since. Looked up to with reverential awe by the mightiest of its neighbours, it disturbed the minds of the keenest observers and the surest calculators. They were, however, mistaken. The rotten system of the martinet emperor collapsed under the strain of adversity.

Meantime, what was the interior condition of the country? The following is the picture in the words of M. Koshelev:—

'From 1825 to 1855 we existed under an oppressive and monotonous system of repression. There was no scope for social activity. Self-government might not even be alluded to; and the use of the word *'zemstvo'** stamped a man as unworthy of confidence and designing, yes, even rendered him liable to danger and persecution. The assemblies of the nobles were of no importance; scarcely any business was transacted by them, and scandals were of constant occurrence. The elections to important offices degenerated into the intrigues of interested persons. In the towns self-

government was a parody of the same, for it was in the hands of the most ignorant of the inhabitants, and meant abject subservience to the provincial governors. The tribunals inspired no confidence, and those among the judges who were honest and impartial, were, thanks to the secrecy of the proceedings, suspected of unfairness and neglect, if not of corruption. Trade was at a standstill and credit had no existence. Serfdom weighed heavily on millions of human beings. Literature was fertile in poetry, dramas, novels, &c., which might be quite immoral, provided social subjects and the conduct of government were not touched upon. A Russian dared not, either in the newspapers or in books, speak of political questions or the evils of the times. In a word, below was the torpor of death, whilst in the upper strata of society despotism flourished free from all restraint. The life of a Russian as a man was confined to the secret recesses of his soul. There alone he felt that he was a being made in the image of God—there alone could he be conscious of an independent existence, of a right to freedom of thought, sentiment, and will. But what brought despotism to its senses, aroused a people robbed of its civil rights, and benefited the country generally, was the desolation of the Crimea.'

We must here again advert to the fact that the Crimean War will in all probability prove the cardinal point upon which the whole future of Russia will hinge, and from this era will date the rise of that vast nationality whose future none can pretend even vaguely to forecast. Without this violent shock it is highly probable that she would never have succeeded in casting from her without internecine strife the hereditary incubus which weighed her to the earth; and it was indubitably far better for her to surmount this crisis of her fate in a desperate contest with the foreigner than amidst the horrors of civil commotion. Since the termination of that struggle, during which she was so rudely undeceived as to the nature of her resources, that great work has been accomplished the necessity of which had been appreciated by both Alexander I. and Nicholas; and she has already been rewarded for the sacrifices incurred in thus adapting herself to the spirit of modern civilisation, for emancipation has enabled her to adopt the principle of universal liability to military service, and thus keep pace with the armaments of her formidable neighbours. Under the régime of serfdom this could not have been effected, since army service conferred personal freedom, and the wealthy classes would have been derived of their most valuable possessions by its universal enforcement.

The nation now enjoys, to a limited extent it is true, the privilege of self-government, though the system introduced appears to be

* The *zemstvo* is the local assembly of Russia, where deputies from all classes meet to discuss matters within their jurisdiction. It is probably lineally descended from the 'Thing' of the Scandinavians.

hampered and obstructed by the *chinovniks*, or civil officials, by every means at their disposal. Both training and personal interest prompt this class to oppose all change, but more especially the development of free institutions. Each district and province has its *zemstvo*, each town its council, which assesses local taxation. As a rule personal liberty is secure, though it is true that suspected persons are occasionally deported to Siberia or Vologda without formal trial. With the exception of these disgraceful acts of despotism on the part of subordinates, every Russian is now tried by a jury of his peers, and the justices of the commune (courts of conscience) are even elected by its members. Though taxation augments with truly formidable rapidity, this can hardly be avoided when the instinct of self-preservation seems to impel every continental power to train its entire able-bodied population to arms. The Russian nation has not the privilege so dear and essential to a free people of arranging its taxation and appropriating its revenues, yet it has made a certain progress in the right direction; for the imperial budgets are now regularly published for the public information, a concession which has but recently been made. There is one circumstance, however, which seriously retards the development of internal prosperity—the insufficiency of the police force to ensure security to life and property. This arises partly from the vast distances which intervene between the towns or villages in which it is deemed necessary to maintain a station, and partly from the excessive good nature of the inhabitants, which induces them to favour the escape of fugitives from justice. From this circumstance is derived a serious evil which threatens to widen the gulf which already exists between the upper and lower classes—the absenteeism of the nobles and great landed proprietors. These, averse to the new order of things and distrusting the capability of the police to protect their persons and property, spend their lives in the large towns or enter the civil or military service of the Crown. Notwithstanding this, to judge from outward appearances, the conduct of the peasantry is improving considerably as to material comfort, and a cursory view of these general facts might lead to the deduction that the Russians have every reason to be satisfied with the progress made in the path of reform during the last fourteen years. How comes it then that, in the words of M. Kosheleff, ‘a sense of profound despair prevails amongst educated Russians, and more especially the young’? Are we to attribute this phenomenon to defects inherent in the national character—a want of perseverance, and a

temper easily discouraged by unexpected obstacles? They themselves reject this imputation, and offer the following explanation. They say in effect: it is true that our Tsar in his great goodness has freed us and accorded us civil liberty and privileges, but his functionaries are ever trying to drag us back into the mire again. By their vexatious practices, their explanatory circulars and memorandums, they have divested the laws made by the emperor of most of their essential qualities; and no sooner do we imagine ourselves in the full and unrestrained enjoyment of our liberties than we are dragged back to our fetters again by these unworthy servants of a benevolent ruler, whose powers are naturally unequal to the supervision of the intricacies of the administration of a vast empire. M. Kosheleff thus illustrates the present situation of his country:—

“A man shut up in prison, when he has spent some years there, becomes in a measure habituated to the mode of life. He gets through his time somehow. His emotions become by degrees less sensitive, his thoughts confined; he becomes callous, and ceases to be conscious of the utter misery of his situation. But it is intolerable to a man who has acquired his freedom and tasted its sweets if he is dragged back to prison again from time to time; more especially if these temporary respites are dependent on the caprice of his jailers, and the concession of more or less indulgence is determined by the same tyrants. The mind of such a miserable being must inevitably lose its equilibrium. His ideas become confused, and if he do not resolve on some mad act, despair seizes him. He takes no further interest in anything; his strength wanes; he is annihilated by this intolerable state of existence.”

“In other words, the Tsar has, in spite of the most determined opposition from various quarters, promulgated the fundamental laws which should secure civil rights to his subjects; but these are exposed to the arbitrary interpretation of subordinates, who, having failed in the attempt to stop reform altogether, are determined to clog its progress to the utmost of their power.

Are we, then, to accept this as a fair representation of the present condition of Russia,—that of an individual whose faculties are so distraught that he is for ever on the verge of committing suicide, or, as the alternative, of subsiding into a state of idiocy? To form an unbiassed opinion on this question, we must bear in mind that Russia has, ever since the times of Peter the Great, been divided into two great parties, the national, or Old Russian, and the Western. The former, considering community of property in land as the true basis of Slavonic civilisation,

regards the economical system of the West as effete, and would have Russia strike out a line of her own without reference to the worn-out ideas and institutions of the Western nations. A doctrine favoured by this party is that which would encourage the increase of population rather than restrain it, and would make the possession of a numerous family a source of affluence rather than of poverty, by assigning an equal portion of land to every adult male in the commune. The adverse party, amongst whom may be numbered the advisers of the emperor, carry out the policy of Peter, and look to the West for the models on which to mould the nascent civilisation of their country. These adhere to economical views which find favour amongst ourselves, and in the Acts of Emancipation clauses have been inserted which provide for the voluntary dissolution of the commune by its members, who would in this case become peasant proprietors. M. Koshelleff evidently holds views opposed to those which guide the advisers of the Tsar, and though there still may exist in Russia many an abuse demanding the pruning hand of the legislator and administrator, we must carefully bear in mind the divergence of his views and theories from those accredited by the liberators of Russia, before we attach unconditional credence to his statements or yield to the depressing influence of the gloomy picture which he draws.

In Russia the right of meeting for the discussion of public affairs has had no existence since the suppression of the *Dúma*, or National Council, by the violent hand of Peter the Great. The voice of the people has had consequently but small opportunity of reaching the ears of its rulers in recent times. During the reigns of the first monarchs of the house of Romanoff this was otherwise. The *Dúma* had elevated the dynasty to the throne and enjoyed a large amount of the confidence of its princes. The evil results of Peter's arbitrary conduct were intensified by his hasty reforms, which practically divided all Russians into two separate classes—the nobles with their skin-deep polish, the result of a superficial education, and the peasants, who were left in their pristine barbarism and ignorance. Between these two sharply-defined sections of society a vast gulf opened whose depths are not yet filled up. There is no bond of union between the governing classes and their inferiors, and to the brilliant members of St. Petersburg society the humble *mújik* of the provinces is the inhabitant of another world, whose inclinations and necessities are but little studied or understood. In former times, when what is now the Russian Empire was but an agglomera-

tion of petty states ruled by petty princes, each of these possessed its diet. Later on, when these principalities began to arrange themselves around Moscow as a nucleus, the White Tsar had his *Dúma*, and though his decision was final, yet the voice of the people made itself heard, and faulty legislation could not occur through absolute ignorance of popular needs. It was Peter who undid all this, and made Russia what it was previous to the present reign. The morbid activity and despotic temperament of that extraordinary monarch had in many respects an evil influence on the destinies of his country, though we are far from undervaluing the many real services which he rendered her. But whatever his merits, there can be no doubt that in many instances he mistook the shadow for the reality, aping the fashions, nay, even the follies and vices of civilisation, instead of steadily fixing his attention on its substantial advantages. Even at the present moment the *zemstvo* does not afford the coveted right of unrestricted discussion. The field left open to debate is so hedged in and circumscribed by the directions of the Government, that but little scope is left for the free expression of opinion. The reports of the proceedings in these popular assemblies are submitted to the governor of the province previous to publication, when matter deemed unfit for public perusal is ruthlessly struck out. These, again, in their garbled form, excite but little interest amongst the masses, and the press is deprived of much of its legitimate influence.

The Russian peasant nevertheless, following the bent of his nature, takes a lively interest in public affairs. The courts of justice are usually crammed with an attentive audience drawn from the labouring classes, who sit for hours to see, as they say, 'how things are carried on,' now that justice is administered openly and impartially, not as formerly with closed doors by a corrupt official. They perform the office of juror satisfactorily enough, erring, if at all, in the severe and impartial enforcement of penalties. This is the more surprising that the *mújik* is naturally so tender-hearted an individual, that a gang of the vilest criminals passing through his village on their way to the mines of Siberia receive succour and charity at his hand; whilst fugitives from justice issue from the recesses of the woods at night to find their meal placed on the sills of the cottage windows by the kindly inmates. The village justices, or 'conscience people,' likewise give universal satisfaction. It thus appears that the peasants possess many of the qualities which are essential for the task of self-government, nor is it probable that they

would misuse this privilege were it fully conceded to them. They are, as a class, conservative in their ideas, and are assuredly as devoted to their country as any peasantry in Europe. They require political education and stimulating in the path of progress, rather than repression. At the present day no government, however strong in material resources, can dispense with the support to be derived from an educated and enlightened public opinion. It is now an axiom in politics that even the most despotic governments can merely guide public opinion in its selected path, never force it aside or compel it to adopt another. How indispensable is it then that this public opinion should be exercised and developed by the task of self-government, and thus rendered capable of forming, as by instinct, a rapid and sound judgment on any of those tremendous questions which may at any moment be forced on it for decision! Such without a doubt is the view held by the Tsar; but it seems certain that those who find it to their advantage 'to fish in troubled waters' retard this consummation by a dogged resistance to progress in every shape.

'Before, we had no civil rights; we were an appanage along with the serfs, who were themselves domineered over by their owners without any other limit but their own good will and pleasure; or like a flock of sheep under the guidance and protection of the shepherd and his assistants. At last the great work was accomplished, but not without our co-operation. Afterwards came other reforms framed in the same spirit. We felt ourselves human beings, and were filled with love towards the author of our liberties. We resolved to show ourselves worthy of his benefits, and we exerted ourselves to struggle along the path pointed out by him. But there were men who liked not this unanimity between Tsar and people, and who desecrated in it their own ruin. They disdained no means for compassing the destruction of this alliance. They inspired him with distrust of his people, and the people, just released from slavery, and judging themselves citizens of a European monarchy, were again bent beneath the yoke of despotism, and by degrees deprived of those liberties which they had so recently acquired. Can they avoid feeling the hardships of their situation?'

It is painful to learn, from the testimony of M. Kosheleff, that corruption has not vanished from official life with the disappearance of the old régime. Mr. Barry relates a device of one of his friends, who, to avoid wounding the susceptibilities of a high official whose graces he was desirous of winning, offered him a cigarette from a case one side of which was stuffed with notes; but we had hoped and believed that this was a thing of the past. Candour, however, compels us

not to gloss over this disagreeable subject, and to quote the statement of the Russian author to the effect that corruption, though effected with more secrecy, has assumed still more alarming proportions than before.

'Formerly officials accepted, yes, scrambled for kopecks; now our reformed administrators suffer no man to appear in their presence with such mean offerings. But they are not above accepting shares and salaries from railway and other public companies. They are likewise nothing behind the officials of the Napoleonic and Austrian empires in speculations on the Bourse; but in this respect they are in unison with the age. The result is that corruption has not ceased in reality, but only in appearance. It has not decreased, but on the contrary vastly increased. Formerly the atmosphere was clearer in the upper ranks of society and the infection almost confined to its lowest strata, but now—the tables are well-nigh turned.

Corruption has ever been, and will, we apprehend, long remain the besetting sin of the Russian official. A habit which is the growth of centuries cannot be eradicated in a single generation. Peter the Great battled against this evil in vain, and ultimately gave up the attempt in despair. His favourite and right-hand Menshikoff was an incorrigible depredator, and the Tsar had found both remonstrance and punishment (including personal chastisement from the imperial hand) equally useless. On the last occasion on which a petition was placed in his hand detailing the rascalities of his minister, he returned it, merely remarking, 'I cannot help it; Menshikoff will be Menshikoff.' Mr. Barry relates a witty contrivance for arousing the attention of the Emperor Nicholas to similar malpractices. It is customary in Russia to suspend the portrait of the emperor in solitary grandeur at one end of the reception room at grand entertainments. On a certain occasion when the emperor was expected to attend, the host, who was not only of high rank but also of unblemished integrity, hit upon the following device for designating two notorious depredators. He caused their portraits to be suspended on either side of the Tsar's. Nicholas, on arrival, at once remarked this breach of etiquette, and, calling the host aside shortly afterwards, questioned him regarding this alteration in the arrangement of his picture-gallery. The response was: 'Sire, I have this day been entertaining myself by arranging a tableau of the *'crucifixion.'*

If the wisdom and experience of a people be embodied in its proverbs, judges and the law have not hitherto stood very high in popular esteem in Russia. The following are a few random specimens:—'Fear not

the law, fear the judge ;' 'In judgment stand with purse in hand ;' 'Where there's law there's injustice ;' 'They complained of their hurts and were stripped of their shirts ;' 'There are worms in the earth, spirits in the water, twigs in the forest, and tricks in the law ;' go not to law, a shoe will cost more than a boot.' If these be the expressions of a belief derived from long experience, the reform of the Russian judicature which took place in 1864 was urgently required.

But to what extent has this reform been effectual ?—That the law may inspire the subject with respect, it is necessary that those who administer it should be independent of the executive authority, and inaccessible to private influence. The irremovability of the judges by the head of the State is rightly regarded as the safeguard of our liberties in this respect, and the same principle has been introduced, at any rate theoretically, in Russia. It is however probable that this salutary regulation is rendered practically inoperative. An independent judge may not be formally removed for failing to give effect to governmental suggestions, but by other means his position may be rendered insupportable for a man of spirit and character. We are told that though during the years immediately subsequent to the reform the best class of Russians came forward to assume judicial functions, these have since been expelled by degrees to make room for more 'promising' persons. The public service is deserted by the best lawyers for private practice, in which self-respect is not subjected to frequent humiliation. The extent to which this cringing to authority is sometimes carried, may be gathered from the following scene witnessed by M. Kosheleff himself :—

'I chanced to be leaving a certain town, the principal one of the province, by rail at about four in the morning. I drove to the station, and what do I behold on the platform ? The whole of the judges of the district tribunal were walking up and down the platform dressed in their robes. I learnt that the Minister of Justice was expected to pass through. I thought that he would at least be as thunder-struck as myself at this strange scene, and that he would severely reprimand his subordinates and point out to them the impropriety of their conduct. But my expectations were unfounded. The Minister received the deputation with exceeding politeness and evidently considered the reception as a matter of course. I subsequently learnt that similar proofs of attachment, if they are not exacted, are accepted very willingly from the officials of the Judicial Department, and when these manifestations of subservience are omitted, it is remarked upon, and the consequences are

sometimes serious for those who permit themselves such sallies of independence.'

As might have been foreseen, the acquisition of personal freedom, by enhancing the sentiment of self-respect, has materially raised the standard of comfort aimed at by the peasantry. The consequence has been a general rise in the prices of the necessaries and comforts of life. Increased production has not, however, kept pace with the augmented demand thus created. The prices of bread, wood, meat, &c., have, it is stated, increased threefold, in some cases fourfold. The lower classes drink more spirit than formerly, less, however, than in Poland, England, and Sweden, but make up the difference in tea and beer. This may at first appear a statement little flattering to our own character for sobriety, or that of our Scandinavian cousins ; and that the *mújik* should be augmenting his already excessive consumption of ardent spirit is not a hopeful augury for the future. But, in explanation and exculpation, we may state that the Russian drinks only on high days and holidays. Then, it is true that he speedily reduces himself to a condition of helpless inebriety ; but usually he inbibes nothing stronger than *kvas* or tea, the former being an inoffensive fluid composed of fermented rye. Thus it is quite possible that his total consumption of spirits in the course of a year is considerably less than that of an Englishman or a Swede with their more chronic habits of drinking. The Russian labourer also attempts to dress better now that he is a free man ; he likewise insists on his former dark, smoky, and noisome cabin being fitted with windows and chimneys. This is a state of things which all will approve ; but wages, though so high as sometimes to cause the stoppage of mills and factories, have not kept pace with the vastly increased prices of the necessaries of life, and the result is that the labourer frequently contracts debts and sinks to the lowest depths of misery. To this pressure of prices on the labouring classes we in England are no strangers. But in Russia the evil is not extenuated by that thrift which is on the whole a conspicuous characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race. Waste and extravagance are strongly-pronounced vices in the Slav character. In 'Ivan at Home' we are introduced to the dissolute and spendthrift 'Barin,' who dissipates a colossal fortune in every species of frivolity and excess, and dies a pauper ; and this is not, or perhaps we may now say, *was* not a singular type of the national character. The impecunious prince who spent a chance legacy of £2000

in attempting to acclimatize lobsters in a fresh-water lake is, we trust, an extinct species of idiot; and the following reflections on the financial ability of M. von Reuturn are surely exaggerated:—

‘In general, our political economy has much resemblance to the domestic economy of our former landed proprietors. They maintained swarms of footmen and other hangers-on; they spent vast sums on balls, dinner-parties, equipages, ladies’ dresses, and other superfluous expenditure. If they were pressed for money, they used to write to their agents to sell something or collect the *obrok* in advance from their serfs. If these sources became exhausted, they freely gave their notes of hand, and lavished the money thus obtained as if it was surplus revenue. But they never had money to spare for improvements in agriculture, extension of cattle breeding, purchase of machines, &c. . . . To the extreme chagrin of all those devoted to the emperor, our finances are managed almost in the same manner as were formerly those of our nobles. Officials and dignitaries of various sorts and designations are as numerous as the stars of heaven; their salaries, though usually moderate, are, including incidental and extraordinary contributions, very considerable and extremely burdensome to the people. Direct taxation, it is true, increases but slowly, but on the other hand indirect imposts increase not daily but hourly. When there is a deficiency of revenue our finance department hesitates not to cast its burden on future generations by contracting loans, notwithstanding that we are at peace with all the world and that we do not now expend more on the improvement of our means of communication than we shall subsequently have to disburse yearly on different branches of productive expenditure. In one word, thrift and economy are not the distinctive characteristics of our financial measures.’

Whilst considering thriftless and thoughtless extravagance in expenditure and the absence of thought for the morrow as too plainly radical vices in the Russian character, we think it somewhat unfair to tax the imperial government with a desire to ease itself unduly of its burdens at the expense of posterity, when, in reality, that posterity will reap the more tangible benefits of recent reforms, which can only accrue after a lapse of many years. A scheme whose operations stretch over the space of forty-nine years may fairly be allowed to call in the assistance, in a pecuniary sense, of those who are to follow after. Though the steady rise of late years in the price of land may indemnify the upper classes for losses consequent on the emancipation, the increasing wants of the lower, high prices, and heavy taxation, all tend to deter the Russian government from laying too heavy a burden on the present generation. Besides which, the

larger proportion of the loans contracted by it have been devoted to the construction of railways, a description of investment from which posterity must derive infinitely more advantage than those now in existence. The progress that has been made in this department may be judged of from the fact that in 1860 there were but 650 miles of railroad completed; whilst there are at the present moment upwards of 10,000.

We now come to the educational question, and in this department Russia has adopted what will probably be considered a retrograde course. Whilst we, for our parts, have been admiring the linguistic facility displayed by many of her sons, and considering the propriety of diminishing the hours allotted to purely classical pursuits, she, on the other hand, has questioned the value of the curriculum adopted at her educational establishments, and has been led to insist on classical proficiency in both her universities, lyceums, and gymnasias. It may well be doubted whether this is a wise disposition on the part of the Minister of Public Instruction. The Latin tongue has a peculiar significance for the western nations of Europe, who have all more or less come under the influence of Roman civilisation. It is either the basis of, or an important element in, their respective languages, and is also adopted by both law and science. This is not the case to anything like the same extent for the Russian, whilst the acquisition of the more important languages of Western Europe is quite indispensable to him, as it is chiefly through the medium of these that he gains access to the stores of information already accumulated by more advanced civilisations. An Englishman or Frenchman not understanding Latin would be in a similar predicament to a Russian ignorant of either French or German. The importance of an acquaintance with the classical tongues may be sufficiently obvious to ourselves, but M. Kosheleff ascribes our partiality for them to causes entirely different from those above. Though he is not quite correct in his data, the passage may possess sufficient interest to deserve quotation:—

‘Firstly, the instruction in classical tongues is, like everything else in England, optional, and not compulsory as with us. There it is possible for a man ignorant of Latin to become not only a justice of the peace, but even *lord chancellor* (*sic*); not only a subordinate in the ministry, but even premier. With us it is impossible to obtain entrance into the civil service, except as a clerk, but by means of a certificate from at least a middle school; and in the army such a certificate is indispensable to avoid remaining a private soldier for a lengthened period. I do not condemn this order of

things established amongst us; it is unavoidable at present; but for this very reason our educational establishment should be organised so as not to awaken universal dissatisfaction amongst our youth, render them all dull and degenerate, and cause them to seek an escape from existence with the revolver; but, on the contrary, so as to develop their capabilities and fortify their moral faculties.* How this is to be attained it is not here our province to point out, but one thing is certain—not by those means which are now employed, but by others of quite an opposite character.—Secondly, in England a classical education is not valued in all classes of society, but principally in that which is especially dear to ourselves, and to which we possess nothing similar. Aristocratic pretensions and whims are however ludicrous amongst us; we ought to master thoroughly the real meaning of English aristocratic feeling, finish once for all with these inventions so unsuitable to us, and establish ourselves firmly on our own ground.—Lastly, they retain a classical education in English schools for this reason, that the English are extremely conservative. Their judges still wear wigs; they address the king or queen officially on the knee; the entrance of the Lord Mayor of London upon his functions is celebrated by the strangest of ancient ceremonies; in one word, the English never change anything unless they are obliged, and there is no necessity for them to do so, as each man merely submits to custom as much or as little as he finds convenient.

Though the writer is evidently ignorant of the real value of the classics, and more especially of the Latin, to an Englishman in professional life, it is plain that they do not possess anything like the same importance for a Russian. This arises from the diverse bases of their respective civilisations. The influence of Rome never of course reached as far as Russia, whilst that of Byzantium was but feebly exercised, since the Greek tongue was never adopted by the Eastern Churches or made use of for literary purposes. The enlightenment of Russia has proceeded from the West, and it is to the study of Western literature that she must still chiefly look for many a long year for further instruction.

The fact just mentioned has had one remarkable effect in moulding the national character. It has gone far towards destroying originality of thought and has produced a servile spirit of imitation. This spirit, first grafted on the original stock by Peter the Great, has had the effect of obstructing natural growth and development. It has been the fashion at one time to believe implicitly in such and such a French author, now in a German, and now perhaps in an

Englishman. This has been carried on to such an extent and for such a prolonged period of time that people have ceased to believe in themselves, and hardly believe in anything at all. This is the true origin of Nihilism, that bugbear of the Russian government; a doctrine, if we may so term it, what is an absence of all belief, which arises not from an exercise of the intellectual powers, but from blind subservience to the opinions of others; a total surrender of the mental powers, resulting in a chaotic state of mind which refuses to distinguish between good and evil, and even denies their existence. The epidemic spreads, owing to the secrecy maintained by the government as to the extent of its ravages, and to the fact that its sophisms may not be exposed and refuted by public argument and discussion. In a completely free country the fallacies which now addle the brains of the Russian youth would be brushed away like a gossamer web. But the subject is tabooed by the censors, and as a public attack on a Nihilist is equivalent to a report to the 3rd Section of the Emperor's Cabinet (Secret Police), competent authors abstain on this ground alone from engaging in combat with the common enemy. The havoc caused by this plague is truly formidable, and fully justifies the anxieties expressed by the government in a recent circular. The frequency of suicide amongst men under the age of thirty is a most alarming symptom, and this, coupled with the blighting effect which this pestilential disorder of the mind exercises on domestic relations, is a circumstance which calls loudly for immediate and effectual remedial action. We trust that the following description of its effects is overdrawn:—

‘It is impossible to deny that morality, especially in the classes which constitute what is termed society, is at a very low ebb. There is no more domestic happiness. Married couples separate, and if they continue to live under the same roof, cease to hold any communication with each other; and this not from any incompatibility of temper, but because one or both have become infected with Nihilistic doctrines: they disregard marriage, and prefer living apart from each other. Parents, believing in nothing, abandon their offspring to their fate; whilst children seldom venerate their parents, either because, having still before their eyes the ideal innate in man, they perceive how far short their fathers and mothers fall of this; or, themselves falling under the influence of Nihilism, they become corrupted and look upon their parents as behind the age. In short, with us domestic life is shaken to its very foundations, and affords no firm basis for the education of the man, far less of the citizen.’

* In 1872, out of 23,900 male students at the gymnasias, only 584 received certificates.

With regard to freedom of discussion, though the law of 1865 confers this boon on the public press, its provisions have been virtually set aside by the practice of the censors summoning editors privately before them with the view of warning them against touching on topics deemed by the government unfit for publication. The Central Asian question, the famine in the government of Samara, the agitation amongst the Greek Uniate of Poland, are all topics which have recently been prohibited. Two numbers of the 'Bessieda' were also lately committed to the flames, the one for criticising too boldly the advantages of a classical education, the other for an article on the education of females. In these proceedings we recognise the action of an irresponsible bureaucracy totally unfettered by the restraint of public opinion; and it is highly probable that so long as such tyrannical proceedings are endured, Nihilism and evils of a similar origin will continue to afflict the country and embarrass and alarm its rulers.

Most of the difficulties under which Russia labours may be traced back to an identical origin—the exaggerated policy of Peter the Great, who, instead of directing his endeavours to adapting the spirit of Western civilisation to the forms of Russian life, persistently followed an opposite course. This error is commonly to be observed in energetic reformers, who seem to imagine that by adopting the forms of civilisation they can secure its substantial advantages. Now it is contended by a large section of the reflecting Russian public that the forms of Western civilisation are unsuited to the requirements of the Russian people, which is half Asiatic in its origin, manners, and modes of thought, and that it would be far wiser to impart an original impulse to the natural energies than to follow servilely in the wake of the West. The class distinctions which exist amongst ourselves, a legacy of feudalism, should find no place, it is maintained, in Russian society. The existence of an aristocracy, a squirearchy, a bourgeoisie, as understood in the West, is not requisite for Russia, the basis of whose social organisation is the 'mir,' or commune, and in whose *zemstvos*, or rural assemblies, all classes sit side by side. Attempts to isolate the nobles from the masses, so it is maintained by the national party, do but subtract from their legitimate influence over their inferiors, and withdraw them from their proper sphere of action.

The Russian nation has been liberated, and it is but natural that it should now look forward a step further, and should yearn for those popular institutions which are the

glory and safeguard of countries more advanced in the path of civilisation. The captive has been released from prison and longs to burst asunder the bonds which still fetter his movements. The corruption of justice, the enforced silence of the press, the absence of an educational system, the tyranny of the police, and other abuses troubled and irritated the nation twenty years ago far less than an inconceivably milder type of the same evils and disorders in the present day, for the simple reason that it is now awake to its requirements and sensible of its relative inferiority. M. Kosheleff writes:—

'In former times these and more irksome conditions of existence did not embarrass, burden, or exhaust us to the same extent as they do at present. Formerly we were not in Europe, or were merely on its outskirts. Formerly we lived isolated and cut off from the civilised portions of humanity. Formerly, borrowing the various conveniences of life from the West, and dazzled by its civilisation, we little heeded our own national wants, and were proud of our *singerie*. Formerly justice was perverted; we endured servitude, or exercised the powers it conferred over others; we revelled in the abuses of arbitrary power or suffered from its consequences. In a word, formerly we were half Asiatics, half Europeans, but not civilised beings conscious of the dignity of man, or the rights, obligations, and necessities of human nature. Certainly, even now we cannot be said to have attained to that consciousness fully, but efforts have been made in that direction. We feel that we have become beings of another nature; that other necessities begin to make their voices heard within us; and that the satisfaction of these has become a matter of necessity to us.'

It seems clear that the voice of the Russian people will, at no distant date, make itself heard with effect in the national councils; but, meanwhile, until the masses shall have been placed in immediate contact with the monarch by means of a national council, it seems certain that a group of prejudiced and interested persons will continue to obstruct a reform whose onward progress it is not in the power of man to limit and say, 'Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther.' Until the Duma, or Great Council of the early Tsars, be revived, there is no prospect of Russia realising that grandeur and pre-eminence amongst the nations which is her heritage in the future; and whilst men whose knowledge of Russia goes little beyond the Nevski Prospekt and the fashionable life of the capital remain at the helm in considerable numbers, the real interests of the country will be little cared for. The artificial training which the Russian aristocracy has undergone since Peter's reign has produced a race incapable of taking the lead in the onward and

upward march of the nation. Mr. Barry asserts this in the most positive terms,* and M. Kosheleff coincides with his views :—

‘In St. Petersburg but little is known of Russia and her inhabitants. People pass through it on the railway; they sometimes visit Moscow, the so-called heart of Russia; they sometimes glance at its choice localities; but Russia properly speaking, its people, possessed of their peculiarities, tendencies, and necessities, and principally represented by persons living a secluded life in the interior—this Russia is to them literally a *terra incognita*, less known in St. Petersburg than in Germany, France, or even England. The so-called society of St. Petersburg, composed of civil and military generals,† staff-officers, &c., this is the Russia which is ever kept in view. By the intellect and collective wisdom of this section of society our government subsists, and from it our dignitaries are selected. Is it wonderful then, with such a partial and one-sided representation of interests, that objects are sought after which do not satisfy the wishes of the majority; that laws are made, never perhaps to be put into execution, which do not correspond to the national necessities; or that measures are adopted which, far from compassing the desired end, tend to produce effects of quite an opposite nature :—is it astonishing, I repeat, that under these circumstances “every pancake turns into a dumpling”?’

If the ultimate success of the nation in its struggle with an obstructive bureaucracy clinging vainly to its traditions is assured, it is none the less certain that, in the interim, a state of anarchy and confusion might ensue, dangerous alike to the interior tranquillity of Russia and to the general European equilibrium. The rapid spread of Nihilism is also an astonishing and alarming symptom. The true remedy for this is, as before pointed out, unrestricted liberty of discussion, both oral and also through the medium of the press, and the cultivation of a national and original literature which shall tend to destroy imitiveness and foster original thought. Russia is at present in a state of transition from the ancient order of things to the new, and it is of vast importance to European interests as a whole that this transformation should be effected peaceably and without social disorder, which might paralyze her influence abroad and disturb that balance of power which is so essential to the maintenance of peace. But all agree that it is through the agency of the people, the former serfs, that the ultimate regeneration of Russia will be effected. It is superfluous to adduce the opinions of the Russian author

on this head, but a few extracts from Mr. Barry's works will enforce his assertions.

Speaking of the nobility,* he thus expresses himself :—

‘The happiness and well-being of the millions of Russia have been for generations in their hands. Isolated by immense distances from external pressure, supreme and absolute in the midst of their ignorant serfs, they have had a great opportunity of elevating and promoting the happiness of the latter. That they have shamefully abused that opportunity is evident to the most unreflecting traveller in their country. The power is now taken from them—the accident of birth no longer makes each among them a petty monarch. They are brought out of their retirement to the light of public observation—and what are they? An effeminate, enervated race in which the habits which lead to ruin are apparent. And what are the people entrusted to them and their fathers? A long oppressed and down-trodden race, who, in nine years of liberty, have shown the world already the indications of what they might have become generations since in the hands of wise or unselfish masters.’

And of the peasant † thus :—

‘The time is at hand when he will compete in a fair struggle for existence with his former condescending master, and I am no judge of character if the contest do not prove in the end that the down-trodden serf was a better man than his master.’

We have written and quoted enough to prove that the present epoch is a decisive one in the annals of Russia, and one whose influences will mould, not only her own destinies, but indirectly those of all Europe. Her welfare should arouse deep interest in this country, since it is probable that on a good understanding between the two powers depends the future tranquillity of Europe, and it was perhaps owing to her being paralyzed by the Polish rebellion that, twelve years ago, the new principle of ‘*Macht vor Recht*’ was allowed to supersede the older one of respect for treaty obligations. The picture which we have endeavoured to draw may appear somewhat gloomy, but there is no ground for despondency. Everything may be hoped from time and the enlightened ruler who has known how to carry into execution his philanthropic projects. When we reflect that centuries were requisite for the gradual extinction of serfdom in Western Europe, can we wonder if the abrupt annihilation of a similar system in Russia has been productive of some social disturbance? The party of obstruction must in the end fade away before the newly aroused energy

* ‘Russia in 1870.’ Chap. iii. and *passim*.

† Civil officials hold military rank in Russia.

* ‘Russia in 1870,’ p. 115.

† ‘Russia in 1870,’ p. 123.

of a fresh and vigorous race. Much has been accomplished and much remains to be worked out in the future. It will not be the fault of the Tsar if the reforms he has initiated be not followed out to their rational conclusion. The Russian author whose work has chiefly occupied our attention whilst penning the foregoing pages, concludes by expressing the just conviction that all hope for the future is based on the known character of him 'who has so wisely and providentially executed the great reforms which will serve as stepping-stones to the complete and final regeneration of Russia.'

ART. IV.—'The Bible Educator.'

The Bible Educator. Edited by the Rev. E. H. PLUMPTRE, M.A., Vicar of Bickley, Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Professor of Exegesis of the New Testament, King's College, London. Four Vols. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin. 1875.

It augurs well for the progress of religious thought that the labours of the Biblical critic are beginning to find exponents in the popular press. Notwithstanding the rapid increase of facilities which late years have witnessed in almost every department of secular study, singularly little has yet been done by the recognised teachers of religion to bring the results of modern Biblical inquiry within the reach of the unlettered student. Until within recent times a certain lawyer-like familiarity with and aptness in handling the text of Scripture was all, or nearly all, that the public looked for in its religious instructors. Any discussion of the structure, any questioning of the statements, of Holy Writ was deprecated as indicative of unsoundness. But the times of this ignorance are passing away. The literary study of the Bible can no longer be regarded as unimportant to a right understanding of its contents; and though it is to be feared that in some quarters the critical investigation of the sacred books is still regarded with unreasoning suspicion, no one who steadily watches the advancing light of scientific truth can doubt that, if the Bible is to retain the reverence of a sceptical age, there must be no further shrinking on the part of those who would be its interpreters from free inquiry, or from a ready acceptance of many truths which are still popularly accounted heterodox. To a certain class of religious minds any criticism which seems to decry the blind reverence paid to the Bible must

necessarily savour of impiety;—yet, were it possible for one who holds the inspiration of its letter to place himself in the position of the devout Catholic at the commencement of the Reformation era, it would be seen that the severance 'from all beloved custom and believed tradition' caused by the emancipation of truth from Romish error, was no less bitter to the adherent of an infallible Church than that which the growth of knowledge is imposing in relation to the Bible upon his own day and generation. Never has a crisis occurred in the history of religious faith but the intellectual struggles of the human conscience have been taken for evidence of some malign force at work for the overthrow of the truth. It is not till the crust of prejudice has been broken up, and men begin to build and plant upon the new deposit, that the law of progress is recognised, and what was deprecated at the time as a catastrophe comes to be generally extolled as a renaissance. For many years the ground has quaked beneath us in this matter of Bible inspiration. From time to time dismay has been caused by the appearance of a sudden rift in the firm ground of tradition. The date of this Book or the authorship of that has been found to be at least an open question. New discoveries in science appear to contradict what simple minds take to be the authoritative meaning of the inspired writers. A more critical investigation of the record of Scripture proves that it lays no claim to immunity from imperfections and inconsistencies such as all human testimony is subject to. Infidelity perceives its advantage, and triumphantly announces the collapse of theology. And, truly, if the value of the written revelation were bound up with the literal inspiration of the writers, a speedy collapse of theology there must be: for the day is not far distant when the knowledge that no such written revelation has been vouchsafed to man as to dispense him from the use of his own mental and moral faculties, will no longer be exclusively confined to the learned student of Scripture.

Signs are visible that those who should be foremost in the investigation of truth but are too apt to be held back by some 'vague spiritual fear' from exploring the shrine, are beginning to awake to the duty of their calling, and to cast out the idols which an ignorant literalism has set up in the very seat of the Divine Witness. Assuredly, if Bible science is to commend itself to the rising generation, who are being initiated with the dawn of intelligence into the secrets of scientific method, theories must be abandoned which will not square

with demonstrated facts. Facts must be diligently collected, scrutinized, compared afresh, in order to arrive at more trustworthy generalisations than those which satisfied a less instructed age. When the field of knowledge is reconquered to theology, it will be found that there has been an advance all along the line. Meanwhile nothing can be more fatal to the interests of religious truth than that the main body of the army should lag behind in mistrustful apathy, while the courageous few are marching boldly into the enemy's country and endeavouring to establish themselves in the very positions which have rendered the old vantage-ground untenable.

In this belief we are glad to notice that a publishing firm, which has been unrivalled of late years in its efforts to diffuse and cheapen knowledge, has put forth, with the co-operation of a distinguished body of divines of various denominations, a Biblical 'Educator,' framed upon the model of other successful manuals, 'Popular,' 'Scientific,' and 'Technical,' which have already issued from the same press. How far the four volumes which comprise the twenty-four monthly parts in which the 'Bible Educator' was originally published represent 'the best that has been thought and said' upon the varied and important topics with which they deal, it will be our business to inquire presently, but it must be considered a distinct gain to English theology that a work of the kind should be advertised at all with the imprimatur of the two Archbishops and the approval of so staunchly Protestant an organ as the 'Record.' If it proves nothing more, it is at least a sign that old prejudices are dying out, and that a new era of Biblical interpretation is commencing in our midst.

The name of the Editor, Mr. Plumptre, is a sufficient guarantee for liberality of thought and treatment, while the range taken in inviting contributors secures the work from all suspicion of sectarian bias. The book is a medley—we use the word in no invidious sense—of Biblical lore. It would be difficult to name a subject growing out of, or connected with, the study of Scripture which is not treated with more or less fullness within the compass of these pages, and in a manner suited to the ordinary intelligence. Whatever judgment be formed as to any special series of papers, there can hardly be two opinions as to the excellence of the idea which underlies the whole, or to the pains which have been taken to carry it out in the completest manner possible. Of the thirty-nine contributors the majority are clergymen of the Church of England,

but the manual contains a considerable infusion of Nonconformist divinity as well as of lay learning, in which respect it has a decided advantage over its ecclesiastical contemporary, the 'Speaker's Commentary.' The editor has been specially fortunate in obtaining the help of Professor Rawlinson in the archæological department of the work, who, though he is not above an occasional lapse, as when he allows himself to speak of Gregory of Nazianzen,* or to describe the well-known procession of the *Aum* in the tomb at Beni Hassan as 'The arrival of Jacob's family in Egypt,'†—which, as the author of the mistake long since admitted, must have taken place not 'about the time of,' but long subsequently to, the age of the Osirtasens, to whose date it belongs—brings nevertheless a rich store of learned and accurate information to the volumes, which has hitherto been attainable only in expensive works. Mr. Plumptre may be congratulated also upon the chapters which deal with the Music of the Bible, by Dr. Stainer; with its Botany, by Mr. Carruthers; with its Weights, Measures, and Chronology, by Mr. F. R. Conder; and with its Geography, by Major Wilson, of Palestine exploration celebrity. Each of these writers is an adept in his special subject, and gives excellent proof of literary capability in the popular treatment of it. Mr. Houghton's papers on the Zoology of Scripture have less originality than those already named, but are replete with useful information. He has wisely availed himself largely of Canon Tristram's researches, to whom we are indebted for by far the most important additions to our knowledge of the natural history of Palestine which have been made in recent years. The descriptions of animals are illustrated by numerous plates, but upon what principle of selection, except that of ornament, it is not very easy to discover. More in some cases, *e. g.*, in those of the Fox and the Peacock, might have been left to the imagination of the reader, while a stricter regard to the truth of nature would have suggested a less leafy background for the denizens of the desert, *e. g.*, the Jerboa and the *Dháb* (the latter, by-the-by, depicted out of all proportion to his companion, the Crocodile (*Livyathan*)). The chapters by Mr. Birdwood, of the India Museum, upon the Perfumes, and by Dr. G. Deane, of Spring Hill College, upon the Minerals mentioned in Holy Writ, supply an excellent compendium of what is known or conjectured upon these obscure subjects. Dr. Moulton, of the Wesleyan College, Richmond, one of the Com-

* IV. p. 274.

† I. p. 104, illustration.

pany at present employed upon the Revision of the New Testament, contributes a History of the English Bible, commencing with the paraphrase of Cædmon and concluding with the resolution passed by Convocation in February, 1870. The author is under considerable obligations, as was natural, to Dr. Westcott's laborious essay; to which, however, he makes many valuable additions in the way both of illustration and supplement. The reader who expects to find in these articles a mere popular adaptation of the labours of others will be met, to his satisfaction, at every turn by the results of independent judgment and research.

Among the most important contributions to the manual is a series of papers, by the Rev. A. S. Aglen, upon the Poetry of the Bible, which not merely places before the reader with admirable lucidity the main results obtained in this field by the labours of Lowth, Ewald, Herder, and many others, but exhibits a high degree of poetical culture and critical perception in the compiler himself. As a brief popular treatise upon the structure and literary characteristics of a large portion of the Bible, it would not be easy to improve upon these articles. Excellent also, as far as it goes, is Canon Venables' glossary of Bible Words, though but a part of the plan sketched at the outset* has been carried out within the compass of the work. Dr. Ginsburg undertakes the Social Life of Judaism, a subject he has specially made his own. His treatment of it may be described in his own words:—

'In attempting to give a picture of the manners and customs of the Jews, we shall begin with the infant Hebrew. Having greeted his arrival, we shall watch him during his tender years, follow the different stages of his education, and examine his moral and social duties till he has reached the age of manhood. We shall then try to follow him through the successive experiences of his mature life, observe the manner in which he attempts to obtain a wife, attend his marriage, visit his domestic establishment, partake of his hospitality, . . . and, finally, follow him to the grave, when he is gathered to his people.†

This programme is efficiently carried out. When the writer steps beyond his own sphere he is apt to trip; as, for instance, when he tells us, in reference to the word *pastor*, that 'it is not to be found in the second (English) Bible, which goes by the pseudonym Matthews' (*sic*), in *Lord Cromwell's*, or the Great Bible.‡ The six last papers in this department are furnished by Dr. Edersheim.

Enough has been said to indicate the wide

range of subjects embraced in the 'Bible Educator.' In so far as it aspires to the character of a popular encyclopædia of Biblical knowledge, its merits can scarcely be overstated. So large an amount of various and valuable information in relation to the Bible has never been brought together before for the small sum of one guinea. And if the object of the editor and publishers had been solely, as stated in the preface to the first volume, 'to supply a large number of thoughtful readers with a book which, while it was neither dictionary nor commentary, should yet impart in a more attractive form the information which men seek for in such works,' it would have been unnecessary to qualify the praise already bestowed. But we remember that, in an interesting preface to the first number issued, a higher aim than this was claimed for the undertaking, which does not appear to have been abandoned by its promoters. After an enumeration of the special considerations which seemed to call for such a work at the present time, it was there said to have been projected 'in the spirit which seeks to help the honest doubter to a firmer faith, and to enlighten that ignorance which is easily misled.' It was no doubt with this end in view that contributions were invited from theologians of more or less eminence upon a variety of topics which admit of wider and more important differences of opinion than those to which reference has been already made. It is easy to see that no little tact was required in selecting writers of trustworthy tone—who should yet be fairly independent of theological bias—men who might be expected to work harmoniously with each other, and yet at the same time sufficiently imbued with the critical spirit to ensure for the work a genuinely educational character in regard to the problems which perplex the age. To say, then, that in its critical character the 'Bible Educator' does not wholly come up to our idea of what such a work should be, is to say no more than was perhaps inevitable from the nature of the design. But if some of the contributors are uncritical, and even retrograde, in their treatment of the sacred books, still it cannot be otherwise than advantageous to theological progress that their views should proceed from the same platform as those of more advanced teachers: that it should have been found possible, in short, for faith and criticism to join hands and work reverently together for a common object. Differing from those who are impatient of tentative processes, our belief is that more is accomplished for the emancipation of religious thought from its trammels by such works as the present, and we might name in the same

* III. p. 53. † I. p. 29. ‡ II. p. 268.

connection such a Life of Christ as Dr. Farrar's, than by writings of a more uncompromising character which make little allowance for those elements of uncertainty which must enter into all honest discussion of the grounds of faith. That the 'Bible Educator' will be superseded before long in much of its criticism it is hardly possible to doubt, but we readily add our belief to the hope of the Editor, that 'for many years to come it may take its place among the agencies by which the thoughts that widen with the years are being united to the faith that has been from the beginning.'

No one who peruses its pages will doubt the excellent intention of the writers, but the spirit which seeks to assist doubt varies naturally according to the estimate which different minds entertain of its reasonableness; and it is no exaggeration to say that in the minds of several of Mr. Plumptre's contributors there is but little appreciation of the nature of the difficulties which beset the faith of the present generation. What is conceded or insisted upon by one writer is not unfrequently retracted or deprecated by another, and that in relation sometimes to questions which lie at the very root of Bible education. The all-important subject of inspiration, for instance, is treated by Dr. Farrar in a series of papers remarkable for fair statement and lucid analysis; and the conclusion at which he arrives, after reviewing what he describes as 'the five well-marked theories held within the pale of the English Church,' shapes itself into an eloquent, if not perfectly consistent, protest against any view which implies the supersession of human faculties by divine agency. The same thought continually appears in the contributions of the Editor himself, as at the close of an interesting paper upon the coincidences between the Pentateuch and the Apostle John:—

'The gift and power of which we speak as inspiration works upon the natural character of the man inspired, but does not destroy. It appropriates and, so to speak, utilises all previous study, knowledge, trains of thought, co-operates with all gifts of insight, and leads them, without suspending or suppressing them, to a higher region.*

So, again, Professor Rawlinson, in his article upon the Book of Kings:—

'Divine inspiration did not in the case of the writers of Holy Scripture supersede the use of the ordinary methods of obtaining knowledge.†

After this it is difficult to understand how Mr. Spence should have been allowed to write, in reference to 2 Pet. i. 21:—

'The prophets while receiving the revelation were in a state unlike their ordinary condition. Their own agency ceased, and they became passive under an overpowering influence of the Spirit of God, which Peter tells us was the Spirit of Christ.*

We have noted several other instances of the same want of consistency, which detracts as much from the critical value of the work as it is perhaps calculated to gain in acceptability from the comprehensiveness of its teaching. For instance, we find the Dean of Canterbury, in his article on the Book of Genesis, cautiously deprecating all discussions as to the geography of the Garden of Eden, on the ground that 'we can never tell how much is simple fact and how much allegory.‡' And yet Mr. Phillpott has been suffered to insert, in his article upon the Flood,† 'a map to illustrate the geography of Palestine and the Deluge,' and to descend upon the localities of both in a manner that is, to say the least, exceedingly uncritical. Mr. Aglen's very just remarks in regard to the Alphabetical Psalms,§ should have prevented the astonishing statement of Mr. H. Deane 'that there is nothing in this style which indicates an author living at a late period; on the contrary, it would betoken an early state of literature, [and] may be a germ of that great ornament of assonance which is used so freely and with such beauty by the Prophet Isaiah.¶' Again, the very interesting and candid chapters of the Editor upon the Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes are in singular contrast to the rhapsody of the Bishop of Derry upon the Song of Solomon. Not content with pressing 'the short and easy method of settling a complicated question,' condemned by Mr. Plumptre,¶ Dr. Alexander finds a confirmation of the Solomonian authorship of 'The Preacher' in fact which by more critical minds has been considered one of the strongest arguments against it; the substitution, namely, of the word 'Elohim' for the name of the Almighty, ninety times repeated in the Book of Proverbs. 'Solomon,' the bishop tells us, 'had been highly favoured; yet he had fallen; his voice falters, he dare not use the covenant word "Jehovah." ** Special pleading of this kind is surely out of place in a Bible Educator: Once more we find, among the Editor's papers upon the Coincidences of Scripture, an able article upon the similarity of aim, which has long been a commonplace of criticism, between the writings of St. Luke and St. Paul.†† Without, of course, attaching any importance

* I. 171. † I. 51. ‡ I. 151, 234.

§ III. 112. ¶ III. 318. ¶ IV. 228.

** IV. 322. †† I. 145.

* I. 100.

† II. 1.

to the tradition which represents the Apostle as dictating to the Evangelist, he traces, with much subtlety of insight, the real parallelism in thought and feeling which exists between them. Mr. Eustace Conder, on the other hand, in his Introduction to the Gospel of St. Luke, which is hardly up to the requirements of the present time, not only despises the inferences of the early Christian Fathers, 'who were utterly untrained in that keen and accurate criticism which has become habitual with modern scholars,' but 'regarding this special tradition there is,' he writes, 'little or nothing in the Gospel itself to favour such an hypothesis and very much to contradict it.*' The only coincidence, in short, between the two writers which he considers worth notice, is that which may be discovered in their respective accounts of the institution of the Last Supper.

But enough has been said to point out what is a real, though, for reasons stated above, a not unpardonable defect in the volumes before us. Another unsatisfactory element is the exegesis of obscure texts, undertaken in chief measure by Mr. Spence and Mr. Elliott. 'It was found,' we are told, 'as the work went on, that to give explanations of passages that might be classed as difficult would unduly narrow the space required for the adequate treatment of other subjects, besides that these explanations were often given incidentally in other articles: in this respect, therefore, the work is less full than was originally contemplated.†' Possibly, too, the Editor may have found himself not seldom out of sympathy with the views it fell to his lot to edit under this head. The attempt to make the 'Bible Educator' do the work of a commentary seems to us the one mistake in its plan. Nothing has hitherto been more obstructive to the progress of Biblical enlightenment than the practice of approaching hard scriptures as though they were 'nuts,' to use Bunyan's phrase, 'whose shells do keep their kernels from the eaters.' Its danger is minimised, of course, where an acquaintance with the tenor and texture of the writings may be presumed, but its adoption in a work intended for the unlearned is as out of place as would be the attempt to assist a beginner in his study of Greek authors by introducing him to the 'Journal of Classical Philology.' Moreover, neither Mr. Elliott's nor Mr. Spence's theology is of a sufficiently robust type to make them safe 'educators' in the department that has been assigned them. Mr. Elliott, notwithstanding the painstaking research and pious intent which is manifest

in all he writes, is too apt to involve his reader in wordy combat with a great many shadows, and to leave him finally with the painful consciousness of having grasped nothing. Mr. Spence, on the other hand, while aiming to establish the student upon the ground of ancient tradition, not unfrequently commits himself to very precarious conclusions. The following are instances of the manner in which some of the most important questions with which theology can deal are occasionally begged in their papers with no apparent misgiving as to the soundness of the premises from which their opinions are inferred.

'The Holy Spirit here declares, by the pen of St. Matthew, what was in His own mind when the prophet was moved to give utterance to these words ("Out of Egypt have I called my Son"), and, as Bishop Wordsworth unanswerably asks, "Who shall venture to say that he knows the mind of the Spirit better than the Spirit Himself?"'—(Mr. Elliott, on Matt. ii. 14, 15).*

'"There is a sin unto death." We declare, without hesitation, "death" is used in its deepest and most awful signification. The reference is not merely to the physical death, to the death of the body, whatever that may be. It refers plainly to something utterly unconnected with this life and this world.'—(Mr. Spence, on 1 John v. 16. †

Sometimes, however, we find useful articles from the pen of Mr. Spence. Such is that upon 'The Three Heavenly Witnesses' (1 John v. 7, 8),† except that in summing up the evidence for and against the passage the writer lays stress upon the fact that Cyprian, before the middle of the third century, knew and quoted it as part of the Epistle of John; the truth being that there is no patristic evidence of the existence of the words till two hundred years later; the two passages in Cyprian, upon which he no doubt relies, being abandoned now by all the critics, together with the supposed reference in Tertullian.

A series of papers upon Biblical Psychology, by Mr. Heard, demands a passing notice. The author is one who has studied and thought upon his subject, but his reasonings are as deficient in logical precision as is his style of expressing himself in grammatical accuracy. The Bible will no more yield a 'psychological system' than a 'code of ethics' or a 'scientific cosmogony,' and Mr. Heard's failure to deduce the former from it would, we fear, land him in the very conclusion he deprecates, viz., that 'the Scriptures cannot retain anything like the authority which they lay claim to as an au-

* IV. p. 3.

† Preface, vol. iii.

* I. p. 363.

† II. p. 333.

‡ II. p. 118.

thentic and authoritative declaration of 'the will of God.* But we would suggest that Mr. Heard has misread the claim of Scripture. The secrets of man's nature are revealed through the written word adequately for the guidance of his religious aspirations, and yet with less definiteness than Mr. Heard supposes. It cannot be too emphatically insisted upon that the Bible is in no sense a scientific or a philosophical book. The statement that 'God made man in his own image' is no more a starting-point for the psychologist than is the declaration that 'in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth' a basis for the reasonings of the astronomer or the geologist. Both are 'literary expressions thrown out,' as Mr. Arnold well expresses it, 'at a not fully grasped object of the writer's consciousness; they are none the less instinct with truth, but it is the truth of inspiration, and not the truth of science. We have not space to follow Mr. Heard into his analysis of consciousness, but it is important to point out that those who would take refuge in a Biblical psychology against 'the rising tide of materialism,' are not trusting to Him who has borne witness to man's spiritual nature from the beginning, but to one more only of those specious *idola theatri* which have so often betrayed their worshippers.

It is pleasant to turn to a very different series of chapters by Dr. Milligan, of Aberdeen, somewhat misleadingly described under the title 'The Old Testament Fulfilled in the New' but which in reality aims at tracing the development of Christian ideas from their Old Testament germs. The popular idea of a type has no place in the writer's theology. He treats the sacred seasons and institutions of Judaism in a philosophical spirit, and with an expansiveness of view which are rare in the handling of this subject. His conclusions are interesting and often unexpected. Special reference may be made to a highly ingenious solution of the great difficulty of Heb. ix. 8, 4, in regard to the position of the Tabernacle furniture; but the following passage upon the Sabbath, in which, in place of the rigidity we are accustomed to expect from the North in relation to this subject, there is all the healthiness of the Scotch breeze, will give a good idea of Dr. Milligan's style:—

'We have seen that all the sacred seasons of Israel which have passed under our notice pointed onwards, not to institutions, but to ideas; that not one of them is fulfilled in any supposed corresponding ordinance of New Testament times. It is thus also in the case before us. Analogy alone might justify the

conclusion that we are not to find the fulfilment of the Jewish Sabbath in the Christian Sunday. But we are not left to analogy. We have the direct teaching of Scripture on the point, and that teaching is that the Sabbath is fulfilled in Christ Himself, and in His Church. . . . We fail to reach the meaning of that miracle at the pool of Bethesda . . . if we think of it only as a manifestation of Divine power and grace. . . . Its true language is, that Christ is the reality of which the Sabbath of Israel was the type; the substance, of which it was the shadow. What Christ does is the accomplishment of the Divine idea of work. The calmness, the rest, the oneness with the Father in which He does it is the accomplishment of the Divine idea of rest.'

It remains briefly to notice the Introductions which the manual furnishes to the several books of the Old and New Testaments. The field involved perhaps greater peril to the success of the work than any other; and, with certain reservations, the Editor may certainly be congratulated upon the labours of his associates. The Pentateuch, the Four Greater and several of the Minor Prophets have been undertaken by the Dean of Canterbury, whom nature never intended to be a critic, but who seems to have been forced into criticism, in spite of his natural proclivities, by a life of diligent study. Accordingly his papers present a singular mixture of what is valuable and what is trivial. The arguments he adduces for adhering, as he mainly does, to tradition are supported by very considerable learning, and marked by a candour which is the more to his credit that it not unfrequently discloses the real weakness of his own conclusions. Too much space is devoted in his papers, as in those of Mr. Eustace Conder on, the Gospels, to answering suspicions of forgery, which belong rather to the past, or, at any rate, are hardly likely to occur to the readers of the 'Bible Educator.' There is, on the other hand, too little direct grappling with questions that press, we will not say, for settlement, but, at any rate, for thorough discussion, such as the origin of the early documents contained in Genesis, the nature of the Books of Jonah and Daniel, the authorship of portions of Isaiah and Zechariah, &c. Useful as the Dean's chapter on the Book of Genesis is likely to be to many who have hitherto regarded it with unquestioning faith as a homogeneous history, its value is not a little diminished by the vacillating tone of his remarks upon the account of Creation. We are afraid, too, that scientific men would not have much difficulty in setting aside the following statement, if it rests upon no better support than Dr. Payne Smith's scientific reading of the first few verses of the Bible:—

'In the first chapter of Genesis there is a wonderful real agreement with our advancing knowledge of astronomy and geology, and especially with what is called the nebular hypothesis of creation.*

Our space will not permit us to point out the many real merits which these papers possess, notwithstanding their lack of critical consistency and their occasional inaccuracy. It may be as well to mention in passing that the 'tamarisk' and the 'acacia' do not 'produce a similar substance to the manna described in the Exodus,† but a substance unlike it in every respect; and that 'the Cimmerian Bosphorus, now the Strait of Yenikale,' is not, and never was, 'to be found at the foot of the Caucasus in the country of Iberia.‡

Mr. Stanley Leathes' papers on the Books of Joshua and Judges are of a different calibre, and have the great merit of advancing nothing that will have to be retracted in the course of a few years. Canon Rawlinson treats the Books of Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Esther in a manner that leaves nothing to be desired: the same may be said of the excellent papers upon the Acts, the Apocalypse, and the General Epistles, for which the Editor is responsible; though it would be hard to find a greater contrast than exists between the matter-of-fact style of the one professor and the imaginativeness of the other. Mr. Cox, of Nottingham, contributes several articles upon the Minor Prophets. His expansive treatment of Habbakuk, Joel, and Malachi is somewhat out of keeping with the general character of the work, and would have been the better for judicious pruning. His commentary too often runs into rhetoric, as, for instance, where he applies to the 'dim and dubious figure' of the Prophet Habbakuk the 'questionable shape'§ attributed by Hamlet to his father's ghost, apparently unconscious that Shakespeare uses the word in its sense of 'easy to be questioned.' The Introductions to the Pauline Epistles are from the pen of Dr. Green, of Rawdon College, Leeds, who makes able and accurate use of the best authorities upon his subject. The omission of any special Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews (promised, vol. iii. p. 269) is hardly justified by the allusions to it contained in Dr. Milligan's papers.|| No Epistle is more widely misunderstood or stands more in need of intelligent explication.

Several biographies of Old Testament saints are to be found interspersed in the course of the work, some of which, that of Elijah for instance, are treated with a fearless and

powerful hand, while the greater part hardly rise above the level of conventionality. Thus Canon Norris can reconcile it with Christian morality to write:—

'Nothing can be grander than the burning indignation of Moses on his return, dashing to the ground the tablets of the law which they (the people) had violated, grinding the accursed calf to powder, and, in holy vengeance, seeking to wipe out their shame in the blood of three thousand who persisted in their sin. Nothing can be grander than this, unless it be his deep yearning love for these sinful people which found utterance on the next day in his agony of intercession.*

And Canon Venables is not above attempting to bring the miracle of Joshua into harmony with science by suggesting that—

'We may safely rid ourselves of the notion of the suspension of the earth's rotation on its axis, which has been a stumbling-block to intelligent believers, as well as a fertile source of objection to the sceptic. An extension of the daylight by natural causes—increased refraction or the like—satisfies all the reasonable requirements of the passage.†

If, as the writer holds—contrary to the opinion of some of the most eminent of modern orthodox critics, who see in the passage a highly poetical figure quoted from another work, and no more to be taken literally than the statement that the stars in their courses fought against Sisera—a miracle of some kind was wrought in answer to Joshua's prayer, the idea of increased refraction removes no difficulty from the mind that is accustomed to regard the sun's rays as no less under the domain of invariable law than the earth's volume.

The present review may fitly be concluded with the quotation of two passages, by no means isolated specimens, of the interesting and instructive matter with which the 'Bible Educator' abounds. The first is from the ingenious pen of Mr. Plumptre. The suggestion it contains will be new to many.

'Why, it has been asked, if St. Luke was with St. Paul on his arrival at Rome, . . . is his name altogether absent from the Epistle to the Philippians? If he joined in salutations to Churches that he hardly knew, why is he silent when St. Paul writes to that with which he had been so closely and so long connected? I find the explanation of this in an hypothesis, which, if not capable of proof, has, at least, the merit of embracing all the phenomena. Assume that, shortly after their arrival at Rome, St. Luke, who had been absent from his beloved flock for more than three years, was glad to embrace this opportunity of being once more in Europe to revisit the Church committed to his charge, and started (it would

* I. 50. † I. 229. ‡ IV. 107.
§ I. 161. || Preface, vol. iii.

* I. 159.

† II. 166.

not take him more than three weeks to get there) on a journey to Philippi. Note how this not only explains the omission of his name, but furnishes also the key to other problems of the Epistle. Who so likely, if what we have sketched as to St. Luke's work and character be at all true, to have been addressed by St. Paul as his true "yoke-fellow"? What more characteristic charge could have been given to him, after St. Paul's own entreaty to Euodia and Syntyche, obviously two members of the Philippian sisterhood, that they "would be of the same mind in the Lord," than that he too would help them, . . . forasmuch as they had laboured with him in the Gospel? The theory in question serves to explain other phenomena of the Epistle. It strengthens the traditional belief that the Clement mentioned by St. Paul in Phil. iv. 3 was none other than the bishop of Rome of that name, of whom we have, at least, one genuine epistle to the Church of Corinth. The Evangelist would not be likely to start alone. Clement may have been his companion. The easiest and most natural route would be to go by sea to Corinth and thence to Macedonia. In this way we account not only for the message sent to him, through St. Luke as the true yoke-fellow, but for the connection between Clement and the Church of Corinth.*

Our second quotation is from Mr Aglen's 'Introduction to the Poetry of the Bible.'

'This poetic nature was doubtless given that Israel might the better perform the great functions committed to it by God. That it might fulfil this end, it needed to be subordinated to the great master truth by which the nation was possessed, and which made its glory and its strength. The poetry of the Hebrew was the handmaid of his religion; there is, therefore, in the poetry of the Bible something which elevates it above all other literature of the same kind. The transcendent nature of its inspiration seems to consecrate all other works of human genius to which we give the name *inspired*. Much that bears the name of poetry is degraded by unworthy associations, or by the subject on which it is employed. It is well known how the great Grecian philosopher planned to exclude from his ideal republic even the works of Homer and the great tragedians. Yet there were songs worthy as he deemed of entrance: "These two harmonies I ask you to leave, . . . the strain of courage and the strain of temperance,—these, I say, leave." What would have to be added to these to exhibit the supreme excellence of Hebrew poetry? It raises the strain, not of courage and virtue only, mighty as these are, but of truth and holiness, of faith and hope, of progress and perfection, of fidelity to God, and unbroken trust in His goodness and love. Ever since it was poured forth from the full hearts of the sweet singers of Israel, the world has been drinking deep draughts of life and strength

from its stream. Whatever dreams of future glory humanity shows for itself, the poetry of the Bible is not excluded, but is welcomed as the music of the kingdom of heaven.*

It remains only to express our acknowledgments to the compiler of the capital index with which the book is furnished, together with a hope that the volumes will obtain the wide circulation they deserve. Notwithstanding its defects, the work is a step in the right direction, and if a higher value should be communicated to a few sermons, a livelier interest to a few Sunday-school lessons, a wider profit to a few hours of home study, through our recommendation, the main object of the present article will have been accomplished.

ART. V.—*Disestablishment in New England.*

(Continued from the January Number.)

THE best reforms are apt somehow strangely to linger in this depraved world. Quite possibly it did not improve the temper of those who were in power to have their inconsistencies so sharply thrust home upon them. Certain it is that acts of grievous injustice continued to be perpetrated in the name of law. In 1774 eighteen residents of Warwick, belonging to the Baptist society in Royalston, notwithstanding that fact had been certified in accordance with the law to the assessors of Warwick, were seized for the minister's rate of Warwick, and, in default of payment, lodged in Northampton jail. Dr. Backus, as the appointed agent of the Baptist Churches, addressed a memorial to the General Court, then in session, asking that the men be set at liberty, that reparation be made, and that effectual prevention be provided against a repetition of such injuries. His effort was so far successful that an Act was framed which passed both Houses, but the political excitement of the times caused the Court to be prorogued so suddenly that it was not laid before the governor, so that no Act of Exemption at all was left in force. But Backus was able cheerfully to say, 'The more they stir about it, the more light gains; so that my hope of deliverance in due time increases.†

The next step was an appeal to the first Continental Congress. Warren Association deputed Dr. Backus to visit Philadelphia, for the purpose, in the first place, of assur-

* I. 150.

* L. 150.

† 'Letter to Rev. Benjamin Wallin.' London.

ing that body of the hearty concern felt by the Antipædobaptist Churches of New-England for the preservation and defence of the rights and privileges of the country, and their willingness to unite with their countrymen in the vigorous pursuit of every prudent measure for relief; but begging leave, in the second place, to add the expression of their firm conviction that, as a distinct denomination of Protestants, they had an equal claim to charter-rights with the rest of their fellow-subjects, rights which, as related to religious worship, had been from them persistently withheld. But on arriving at the city of William Penn, and having free conference with prominent Quakers and others, it was felt to be better not to address Congress as a body, but to seek first a conference with the Massachusetts delegates. This was done October 14th, 1774, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine being among those present. The interview was a long one, and in the course of it John Adams said 'that we might as well expect a change in the solar system as to expect the people of Massachusetts to give up their Establishment,' although both he and Samuel Adams declared it to be 'a very slender one, hardly to be called an Establishment.* As usual, nothing—except that indirect 'light' which comes from 'stir'—came of all this; and advantage was taken of the circumstances to excite prejudice against the Baptists and their agent, as if he and they had endeavoured to prevent the colonies from uniting in defence of their liberties.† To meet this, the Association's committee addressed to the Congress of the Massachusetts province, in the following December, a careful memorial, in which they once more insist on the incongruity of the treatment they were receiving:—

'It seems that the two main rights which all America are contending for at this day are—not to be taxed where they are not represented, and to have their causes tried by unbiassed judges. And the Baptist Churches in this province as heartily unite with their countrymen in this cause as any denomination in the land, and are as ready to exert all their abilities to defend it. Yet only because they have thought it to be their duty to claim an equal title to these rights with their neighbours, they have repeatedly been accused of evil attempts against the general welfare of the colony; therefore we have thought it expedient to lay a brief statement of the case before this assembly.†

They go on to urge that to impose reli-

gious taxes is as much out of the civil jurisdiction as for Britain to tax America; to recount the grievances they have suffered; and to notify the body that they are determined to submit to it no longer; that they claim, as a charter-right, liberty of conscience, and they end by saying: 'If any still deny it to us, they must answer it to Him who has said, "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."'* The question what to do with this paper embarrassed the Congress. The majority clearly desired to throw it out; but, on Mr. Adams's discreet suggestion that to do so might cause a division, which would be harmful at a time when union was imperative, it was referred to a committee, who reported that, as they were not an ecclesiastical court, they could do nothing about it, and the memorialists would better appeal to the General Court, a report which was adopted by the body in well-sounding phrase.† When the General Court assembled, September 20th, 1775, at Watertown, Dr. Backus sent in a petition, in which he reviewed very plainly the long injustice which had marked the treatment of the body of believers whom he represented by the colony and the province, and once more asked redress. It was received respectfully, referred to a committee of seven (three of whom were Baptists), and ended in a bill making some of the changes demanded, which was read once, but never reached further action by the House. Undismayed by this fresh failure, the indomitable Backus issued an 'Address to all Christian People in the American Colonies, and especially to those who are of the Baptist Denomination,' rearguing the case, and making a fresh appeal. In 1777 he again addressed the people of New-England, with the endorsement of the Association. That year a constitution was framed, to be adopted or rejected by the next General Court. It embraced no declaration of rights, but contained an article restoring some of the old Church laws. The Baptists circulated one hundred copies of a protest against that article, and a petition that it might be a fundamental principle of the government 'that ministers shall be supported only by Christ's authority, and not at all by assessment and secular force.' Many who were not Baptists—not, perhaps, Dissenters at all—signed these protests; but as the proposed constitution fell through, they were never presented. It well illustrates how easy it is for good people to fall into hallucinations upon a matter supposed to affect their interests, that in the Election

* Guild's 'Life and Times of James Manning,' 238; 'Works of John Adams,' ii. 399.

† Hovey's 'Life and Times of Backus,' 214.

† Ibid. 216.

* Hovey's 'Life and Times of Backus,' 221.

† Ibid. 223.

Sermon of 1778, Rev. Dr. Phillips Payson, of Chelsea, took it upon him to warn the government against any radical change in the ancient modes and usages of religion. 'Let,' he said, 'the restraints of religion once be broken down, *as they infallibly would be by leaving the subject of public worship to the humours of the multitude*, and we might well defy all human wisdom and power to support and preserve order and government in the State.* On the other hand, Dr. Backus came out that year with another little pamphlet of twenty pages, which states a few more plain facts, and sums all up once more in a few plain words:—

'It is not the *peace*, but the *power*, that alarms us. And since the legislature of this State passed an Act, no longer ago than last September, to continue a tax of *fourpence* a year upon the Baptists in every parish where they live,† as an acknowledgment of the *power* that they have long assumed over us in religious affairs, which we know has often been *terribly oppressive*, how can we be blamed for refusing to pay that acknowledgment, especially when it is considered that it is evident to us that God never allowed any civil State upon earth to impose religious taxes, but that He declared His vengeance against those in Israel who presumed to use force in such affairs') 1 Sam. ii. 16, 34; Micah iii. 5, 12).‡

Dr. Chauncy, of Boston, after the American retreat from Rhode Island on the night of August 30th, 1778, undertook next lecture-day to expound the providential reasons for such a disaster; and named, as one of the 'accursed things' which had caused God's judgment in this colonial defeat, the neglect of the government to make a new law to aid ministers suffering as to their salaries on account of the depreciation of the currency.§ The Congregationalists printed and commended the sermon, but history has preserved no Baptist encomiums thereon.

The years 1779 and 1780 were memorable in Massachusetts in connection with her new

* 'Election Sermon,' 1778, p. 20.

† The 'fourpence' was required to be paid for the certificate of exemption from the town assessors.

‡ 'Government and Liberty Described, and Ecclesiastical Tyranny Exposed,' &c. Boston, 1778. P. 18. Dr. Chandler had lately said that, if a general tax should be laid upon the country to support Bishops in America, fourpence in the hundred pounds would do it (Chandler's 'Appeal,' &c. 108); to which Chauncy had retorted: "If the country might be taxed fourpence in £100, it might, for the same reason, and with as much justice, if it was thought the support of bishops called for it, be taxed four shillings, or four pounds, and so on."—Chauncy's 'Answer,' &c. 194. Backus gets his allusion and his arguments from him.

§ 'Continental Journal,' Oct. 8, 1788.

constitution as a Republican State. Delegates assembled at Cambridge, Sept. 1 of the former year, and chose a large committee to draft the instrument, and reassembled October 28, to hear their report. The third article in the proposed Bill of Rights gave to the civil rulers power in religious matters, and was warmly debated. Referred, at last, to a special committee of seven—five of whom were distinguished politicians—a new draft was prepared, still preserving the obnoxious principle; and, after animated and extended discussion, it found favour with the majority. On the 5th January following, the convention met again, and early in March had finished their work. The Baptists drew up and circulated protests against the offensive article on five grounds, viz.: (1) Because it asserts a right in the people to give away a power they never had themselves, in giving the majority in each town and parish the right to covenant with religious teachers for the minority—since no man has the right to judge for others in matters of religion. (2) Because it gives this power into the hands of voters qualified by money, and not by membership in the Church of Christ. (3) Because it contradicts itself in promising equal protection to all sects, while a majority cannot govern in this thing unless the minority submit their rights. (4) Because the civil power is empowered to judge whether men can conveniently and conscientiously attend upon any teacher within their reach, and to oblige them to do it, in contradiction of the rights of conscience. (5) Because it authorizes the legislature to judge what may be 'suitable provision' for religious teachers, which, being 'power without restraint,' is tyranny. These protests were numerously signed, and by others beside Baptists, but when the General Court met in October it ignored them, and adopted the proposed instrument.

At the first hearing, the new Bill of Rights sounded remarkably well, inasmuch as it declared that 'no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law'; and that 'no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience.' But the countervailing force of this subtle and pestilent Third Article was enough to change its entire quality in the face of these fine words and this gracious emptiness. This is the process of it: 'As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government essentially depend on piety, religion, and morality, . . . the Legislature shall, from time to time, an-

thorise and *require* the several towns, parishes, and precincts . . . to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the institution of the publick worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of publick Protestant teachers of piety, religion, morality, &c.* And when, in 1786, an Act was passed defining how this provision should be carried out, and empowering the qualified voters of any place, at every annual town-meeting, to 'grant and vote such sums of money as they shall judge necessary for the settlement, maintenance, and support of the ministry, meeting-houses, &c., and other necessary charges arising within the same, to be assessed upon the polls and property within the same, as by law provided;† it dawned upon the dullest dotard that the Congregationalists had been playing the 'heads I win, tails you lose' game; and that, being almost everywhere the party in large numerical majority, they had, without appearing to have done so, managed to keep these matters about in the very (grievous) old spot where they had been so long. To be sure there was another provision of the old certificating kind: 'That all monies paid by the subject to the support of public worship, &c., shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of a public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he attends.‡ The practical operation of this must necessarily have been very odious, inasmuch as it required Dissenters to pay their full taxes for the support of religion, &c., like the members of the Standing Order, into the treasury; only they then had the right to draw that money out again to the use of their own ministers—if they could prove that they had any. But since, as a matter of fact, assessors, collectors, treasurers—and, if they were forced to the processes of the law to recover their money, judges and jurors—were apt to be prejudiced against them, and the money was, by statute, forfeited to the use of the parish if they could not regain it, it does not require much consideration to make us sure that the Bill of Rights, at least as interpreted and made operative by subsequent statute, was, to these long-suffering Baptists, a Bill of Wrongs.

Of course they protested. In 1791 a grievous case occurred in Barnstable, where Baptists were repeatedly taxed, and their property was distrained for the support of the minister of the majority, although they had

a minister of their own to maintain.* In 1797 public appeal was made by the Warren Association, on behalf of the Baptist Church and Society in the South Parish of Harwich, 'who have been taxed for several years past to the support of the Congregational minister, to the amount of several hundred dollars, and very considerable sums of it have been actually distrained from them, and, in attempting to recover it by law, they have expended near five hundred dollars more;† and other Baptist Churches were earnestly commended to give it some pecuniary aid.‡ The coming in of the present century found the matter in this, to them, unsatisfactory state, and Congregationalism still, to all intents and purposes, the established religion in Massachusetts.

We have dwelt thus long upon the aspect of the Bay Colony in this business, because it fairly samples the action of the others, with exceptions already noted in the Old Colony before it became merged in its more powerful neighbour; and we have paid so much attention to the Baptists, because the brunt of the controversy came upon them. We will now turn back to glance for a moment at any matters needing reference in the other New-England Colonies, in order to a fair understanding of the facts down to the date which we have reached, three-quarters of a century ago.

In Connecticut, which established a written constitution as early as Jan. 14, 1638, the original requisition for the becoming a freeman was to be admitted an inhabitant and take the oath of fidelity,† and this was subsequently explained to mean, 'admitted by a generall voate of ye major parte of the Towne that receiveth them.‡ § As finally settled (1662), the freemen were required to be 'persons of civill, peaceable, and honest conversation, and that they attain the age of twenty-one yeares, and have £20 estate; nothing being said about church-membership or religious faith.¶ And when catichised in 1665 by his Majesty's Commissioners, the Court was able to reply: 'We know not of any one that hath bin troubled by us for attending his conscience, provided he hath not disturbed the publique.‡ ¶ The New-Haven Colony started on the Massachusetts basis, agreeing 'that noe man of what degree or qualitie soever shall at any time be admitted to be a free burgess within this plantation, but such planters as are members of some or other of the approved Churches of New-England, nor shall any but such free

* 'Benedict,' i. 446.

† 'Laws of Mass.' i. 327.

‡ 'Backus,' 250.

* Hovey's 'Backus,' 256.

† Ibid. 262.

‡ 'Pub. Rec. Col. Conn.' i. 23.

§ Ibid. i. 96. ¶ Ibid. i. 380. ¶ Ibid. i. 439.

burgesses have any vote in any election.* When the two colonies were united in 1664, as the process of that union happened to be the absorption of that one which had the stricter rule in this respect by that one which had the more liberal one, there was no practical difficulty in declaring all the New Haven freemen to be free of the corporation of Connecticut—which was done.† The general legislation of the two colonies before the union, and their united policy thereafter, was essentially identical with that which we have considered in Massachusetts. All were by law obliged to attend upon Congregational worship, and support the same by rates, laid and collected like those for other civil charges.‡ No Church could be established without leave of the court.§ There were loopholes of retreat, but they were hard to find, and use.|| The first substantial abatement of the rigour of the rule was effected by the Act of Toleration, in 1708, by which Dissenters were exempted from punishment for failing to conform to the established religion, but not exempted from taxation for its support. By appearing before the County Court, and declaring there legally their 'sober dissent,' they could obtain permission to worship in their own way—still being obliged to contribute their share to the Congregational expenditures of their town. There was further relaxation in 1727 in the case of Episcopalians, and in the case of Quakers and Baptists in 1729—they being exempted from taxation by the Established Churches on legal evidence that they worshipped with a tolerated society of their own denomination.¶ In 1784 the Saybrook Platform, which since 1708 had been the legal platform of the Establishment, was abrogated, leaving all free to worship wherever they liked, but still requiring all to be taxed for the support of the Church of their choice. And this was as far as the opening of the nineteenth century found Connecticut advanced in the path of true religious liberty.

One ancient colony remains, exceptionable and remarkable, yet whose position on this great question of toleration might easily be overrated and overstated both in its relation to strictness and to license. When in the sweet summer of 1636 Roger Williams and his company of six rounded the headland of Tockwotton, and laid the foundations of what is now a flourishing and exceptionally beautiful town, bearing that devout name of

'Providence' with which he baptised it, they started with the fundamental dictum that no man should be molested for his conscience.* Yet, curiously enough, on almost [the first page of the ancient record of their corporate acts is this: 'It was agreed that Joshua Verin, upon the breach of a covenant for restraining the libertie of conscience, shall be withheld from the liberty of voting till he shall declare the contrarie;'] † which, as explained, appears in this odd guise. Verin's wife, on the plea of liberty of conscience, claimed the right to go to hear Williams and others exhort on weekdays, and so often as to interfere with Verin's domestic comfort and views of propriety, so that he restrained her. Whereupon the company proposed to dispose of Mrs. Verin to some other man, who would use her better; but, on the other hand, it was pleaded that, as Verin had acted conscientiously in restraining her, he could not be censured for his act.‡ When, in 1641, the affairs of the colony were revised and settled, it was ordered: 'That none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine; provided it be not directly repugnant to the government or lawes established.'§ When the charter government came to be in force a few years later, it reached the same result by prefixing the word 'civil' to the terms 'government' or 'laws,' wherever they occur.||

Here was, of course, a great advance in the matter of religious freedom over the other colonies; and it was natural that such a state of things should then draw to Rhode Island a good many persons—attracted by this particular feature of the colony—whose presence was not especially to be desired, and who might be very likely to abuse such license as they found. Late in 1654 some person undertook to advocate in Providence the doctrine that it is 'blood-guiltiness, and against the rule of the gospel to execute judgment upon transgressors against the public or private weal.' This brought out Williams to define what his doctrine of liberty of conscience really was, and to rescue it from the desecration of those who seek to level all moral distinctions in favour of unbridled and universal license. He wrote a letter to the town of Providence, in which he says—and we insert the paragraph that he may have the benefit of his own explanation upon a point so important ¶—

'That ever I should speak or write a tittle

* 'Records of Col. of Newhaven,' i. 191. [

† Hollister's 'Hist. Conn.' i. 231.

‡ 'Contributions to Eccles. Hist. of Conn.' 118.

§ 'Trumbull's Hist. of Conn.' 289.

|| 'First Code of Conn.' i. 22.

¶ 'Contributions,' &c. 119.

* 'Arnold's Hist. Rhode Island,' i. 102.

† 'Records of Col. of Rhode Island,' i. 16.

‡ 'Winthrop's Journal,' i. 340.

§ 'Arnold's Hist. of Rhode Island,' i. 149.

|| Ibid. i. 200.

¶ Publications of the Narragansett Club,' vi. 278.

that tends to such an infinite liberty of conscience, is a mistake, and which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I shall at present only propose this case: 'There goes many' a ship to sea, with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or a human combination or society. It hath fallen out sometimes that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked in one ship; upon which supposal I affirm that all the liberty of conscience that ever I pleaded for turns upon these two hinges—that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews, or Turks be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship, nor compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practise any. I further add that I never denied that, notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course, yea, and also command that justice, peace, and sobriety be kept and practised, both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their services, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help, in person or purse, towards the common charges or defence; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace or preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any should preach or write that there ought to be no commanders or officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters nor officers; no laws nor orders, nor corrections nor punishments; I say, I never denied but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel, and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits.'

The second charter of 1663 was very explicit upon this subject. It declared—

'That noe person within the sayd colonye, at any tyme hereafter, shall bee any wise molested punished, disquieted, or called in question for any difference in opinione in matters of religion which doe not actually disturbe the civill peace of our sayd colonye; but that all and everye person and persons may, from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter, freelye and fullye have and enjoye his and theire owne judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concerns, throughout the tract of lande hereafter mentioned; they behaving themselves peaceable and quietlie, and not using this libertie to licentiousnesse and profanenesse, nor to the civil injurye or outward disturbance of others.'

In 1657 the Commissioners of the United Colonies (Rhode Island, for her position on this subject, among other reasons, not being in that Union) wrote a letter to this colony, urging them to banish such Quakers as were already there, and to shut the door against

the coming in of others.* To which the plucky little government replied that there was no law in Rhode Island in virtue of which men could be punished for their opinions; that the Quakers were already immensely disgusted because they were not persecuted there; but that should any violent extravagances show themselves, a corrective would be provided—in the shape of complaint made against them to England.† In 1716, when elsewhere in New-England the precise opposite was taking place, Rhode Island passed an Act: 'That what maintenance or salary may be thought needful or necessary by any of the Churches, congregations, or societies of people now inhabiting, or that hereafter may inhabit, within any part of this Government, for the support of their, or either of their minister or ministers, may be raised by a free contribution, and no other ways.‡' Perhaps, in weighing the comparative attitude occupied in this respect by Rhode Island, in fairness it should be borne in mind that her central position, surrounded by the other colonies, made it possibly a little easier for her to have her own way; while the extreme smallness of her population reduced the importance of her action in all respects. Seventy-two years after the founding of the colony, when (December, 1708) her first general census was taken, there were only 7181 inhabitants.§ Nor did the other colonies believe that the Rhode Island way worked well for herself, in a moral and religious point of view. Cotton Mather, who had great powers of statement, expressed a feeling largely existent, when he said of it: 'I believe there never was held such a variety of religions together on so small a spot of ground as have been in that colony. It has been a *colluvies* of Antinomians, Familists, Anabaptists, Anti-Sabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters, everything in the world but Roman Catholics and real Christians—though of the latter I hope there have been more than of the former among them; so that if a man had lost his religion, he might find it at this general muster of opinionists.'

* 'Acts of Com. of Unit. Col.' ii. 181.

† 'Rec. Col. R. I.' i. 377-380.

‡ 'Rec. Col. R. I.' iv. 206.

§ Ibid. iv. 59. It is not possible to form an accurate estimate of the population at that time resident in the other colonies. Governor Dudley set Massachusetts at 56,000 in 1709. ['Coll. Amer. Statis. Assoc.' 584.] Dr. Humphreys estimated the total English-American colonies, in 1700, at about 262,000. [Holmes's 'Amer. Annals,' i. 480.]

¶ 'Magnalia,' bk. vii. ch. iii. sec. 12. Rev. John Callender, pastor of the first Baptist

* 'Arnold's Hist. Rhode Island,' i. 292.

It is, however, a very curious fact, which demands mention here, and which is suggested by what Mather says above of Papists, that in February, 1783, an Act was passed by the Rhode Island Assembly, *repealing a disabling clause affecting Romanists*, which it declares to have been placed upon the statute book of that colony as early as 1663.* Such an Act at that date would have seemed similarly alien to the spirit of affairs. Seventeen years later, as a matter of fact, there were no Papists among them.† One can find upon the colonial records of 1663, no trace of the ordinance to which reference is made. The disabling clause, it is said, first appears upon a manuscript copy of the laws made in 1705.‡ It crept in, no one can now tell when, or how. Arnold claims that it was always inoperative, and attributes it to 'the exigencies of English politics.'§ Still there is no denying that, for more than three-quarters of a century, Rhode Island did so far retreat from her original position as, on account of opinions conscientiously held by them, by law to deprive one class of religionists within her borders of civil rights. Say what you will, her claim to lead the world in the truest toleration suffers embarrassment from this stubborn fact. It may not amount to Horace's,

'Quod petiit, opernet; reptit, quod nuper omisit,'

but the story would read much better without it.

One further fact remains to be developed to make complete our glance at what the

Church in Newport, R. I., in his 'Century Sermon' (1738), admits 'some odd and whimsical opinions,' 'too great an indifference to any social worship,' a 'tincture of enthusiasm,' and 'not so many great and wise men among them, perhaps, as were in some of the other colonies;' but thinks there was 'manifestly an aim and endeavour to prevent or suppress all disorders and immoralities, and to promote universal peace, virtue, godliness, and charity.' ['R. I. Hist. Coll.' iv. 105, 106.]

* The statute reads 'Be it enacted, &c, that all the rights and privileges of the Protestant citizens of this State, as declared in and by an Act made and passed 1 March, 1663, be, and the same hereby are, *fully extended to Roman Catholic citizens*; and that they, being of competent estates and of civil conversation, and acknowledging and paying obedience to the civil magistrates, shall be admitted freemen, and shall have liberty to choose and be chosen civil or military officers within this State, *any exception in the said Act to the contrary notwithstanding*.' ['R. I. State Rec.' Feb. 1783, 412.]

† 'As for Papists, we know of none amongst us.' [Answer of Gov. Sanford, 8th May, 1680, to Board of Trade. Eng. State Paper Office, N. E. Papers, iii. 121.]

‡ 'Arnold's Hist. Rhode Island,' ii. 492.

§ Ibid.

religious establishment in New England really was, and how it worked. We have seen how it dealt with Anabaptists and Quakers, and various real and imagined heretics; it is needful to know also that it was in no degree less severe in its methods, or less exacting in its spirit, when it was orthodoxy itself which was judged to be out of place.

During the Great Awakening in the eighteenth century, there arose a class of Churches, for a time engrossing considerable public attention, which, though purely Congregational in their principles and practices, were not in fellowship with the Congregational Establishment, or, to use the old New-England phrase for it, the 'Standing Order.' Most numerous in Connecticut, they existed elsewhere. They insisted strongly on the fundamental necessity of clear evidence of regeneration, and an open confession of faith, with a public recital of the individual experience of the work of God in the soul. They scrupled the ordinary processes of the Churches, feeling that by the 'halfway covenant' which had been recommended by the Synod of 1665, persons were practically received into the Church who gave no satisfactory evidence of conversion; while they took a more earnest view of the necessity of a deep religious experience than was then common, and were led so highly to estimate zeal, as to feel that it was, at least, quite as important as knowledge in the pulpit; whence they came to advocate what they called 'lowly preaching,' that is, the warm harangues of unlettered men. Altogether, this movement in New England had a strong likeness to the rise of Methodism in England; and while those who were active in it ran into some extravagances both of views and practice, there can be no doubt that they were mainly evangelical in sentiment and devout in life.* The first Church of this description seems to have been formed at Canterbury, Conn., in 1744, whose pastor, Solomon Payne, was one of the chief apostles of this doctrine. Thirty or forty others followed. Their path proved to be a thorny one. The Canterbury 'Separates' were levied upon for the expenses of the council called to ordain the man whom they had refused to hear, for his regular support, and for the repairs of the house of worship they had left. Refusing to pay these rates, their cattle, goods, and household furniture were forcibly taken, and in default of these their

* 'Contributions to the Eccles. Hist. of Conn. 253. Hovey's 'Life and Times of Backus,' 44. For best minute information about these 'Separates,' see Larned's 'History of Windham County Conn.' (just issued) i. 392-485.

bodies were cast into prison.* They petitioned the Assembly, only to receive more stringent legislation, intended to hedge in the wild fire, so that it should not spread. The Toleration Act was repealed. It was further enacted that, 'If any ordained minister, or person licensed to preach, should preach or exhort in any parish not immediately under his charge, without express invitation from the minister, or lawful authority of such parish, he should forfeit the benefit of the colonial law made for the support of the gospel ministry;' and that 'any person whatsoever, not a settled and ordained minister, who should go into any parish, and without express invitation from the minister, or constituted authorities, publicly preach or exhort' should be bound over in £100 to keep the peace; while any 'stranger' presuming so to preach, teach or publicly exhort, should be sent 'as a vagrant person' out of the colony.† At Norwich, Conn., the 'Separates' became so numerous as to outvote their opponents in town meeting, and so refused to pay the rates of the Established Church. But the Assembly 'interfered, and taxed them by special Act for the support of the worship they abhorred. Refusing to pay this tax, they were imprisoned, as many as forty persons, men and women, in a single year.‡ There is no need to dwell upon these painful facts. But they surely demonstrate that there was nothing in the New-England air to give mellowness or mitigation to the iniquities and exasperations that are essentially inherent in any union between Church and State; let the Church on the one hand, and the State on the other, be of what quality they may.

The nineteenth century, then, found New-England thus situated in regard to the matter under consideration. Massachusetts, which had absorbed Plymouth and evolved New-Hampshire,§ still required every citizen to be attached to some Church organization, taking it for granted that it would be that so long by law defended; yet allowing him to establish his right to go elsewhere, and making it legal for town treasurers to omit to tax for the support of the Standing Order those who belonged to and usually attended other Churches

and authorizing the ministers of such 'other Churches' to recover by petition or suit, of the town treasurers, the sums paid into their hands for the support of the gospel. So carefully, however, did the dominant influences still guard the interests of Congregationalism—as they understood them—that in 1804 it was judicially decided that an itinerant Methodist minister could not be regarded as so far a 'settled' minister, in the intent of the law, as to enable him to recover under it.*

In Connecticut, the legal establishment of the Saybrook Platform having been repealed in 1784, its citizens were left free to worship with whatever denomination they preferred; but all were still taxed for some Church—the Church of their choice.† In New Hampshire a Dissenter could avoid taxation only by *proving* that he belonged to another sect, a kind of proof often difficult, and sometimes impossible.‡ In the district of Maine the laws of Massachusetts were in force, and there was no essential difference in the general condition of affairs, although its remoteness favored laxity.§ In Vermont also the inhabitants of every town or parish were by law assumed to be of the Standing Order, unless they were able to prove that they were of different views and supported the gospel elsewhere.|| Little Rhode Island alone had quietly cut the knot, and allowed all her people to believe as they pleased, and to adopt such measures as they liked for the furtherance of their faith, always provided that they behaved 'themselves peaceable and quietlie, and not using this libertie to lycentiousnesse and profanenesse, nor to the civil injurye, or outward disturbance of others.'¶

* Washburn. Springfield. 1 Mass. 32.

† 'Contributions to Eccles. Hist. Conn.' 122.

* Larned's 'Hist. Windham County,' i. 439.
 † Ibid., 399. ‡ Denison's 'Historical Notices.'
 § Plymouth Colony ceased its separate existence in the summer of 1692, its General Court exercising its power for the last time by appointing Wednesday, August 31, of that year, 'to be kept as a day of solemn fasting and humiliation.' (Baylies's 'Memoir of Plym. Col.' iv. 142.) Settled as early as 1623, and several times added to and taken from Massachusetts, New Hampshire became finally a separate province in 1741. (Barstow's 'Hist. New Hampshire,' 158.) Vermont was claimed by New York, and Maine did not finally separate from Massachusetts until 1820.

‡ 'When a suit was instituted against him for the tax and he was brought into court, he was met by able counsel, employed by the selectmen, well versed in law and ready to quibble at the slightest lack of proof, and vex him by nice legal distinctions. Mr. Smith and Mr. Mason, in one case, contended that the defendant, whose defence was that he was a Baptist, could not avoid the payment, because he had not *proved* that he had been *dipped*. "Neither is he a Congregationalist," replied Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Bartlett, because "he has not *proved* that he has been sprinkled." (Barstow's 'Hist. New Hampshire,' 427.)

§ It seems to have been objected to Maine that it was 'the receptacle of schismatics and excommunicants;' and tauntingly said of it, 'that when a man could find no religion to his taste, let him remove to Maine.' (Williamson's 'Hist. Maine,' ii. 281.)

|| Thompson's 'Hist. Vermont,' ii. 186.

¶ Language of the Charter of 1663. (Arnold's 'Hist. Rhode Island,' i. 292.)

It seems hardly possible that thousands and hundreds of thousands of people are still living who were born thus under Congregationalism as the established religion of New-England—with the exception of the 1050 square miles of the little State of Roger Williams—but such is the fact.*

Vermont seems to have been the first to follow the example of Rhode Island. Dissenters in considerable numbers had there risen to political power; and in 1807—a Baptist minister being Speaker of the House, and another Baptist minister being an influential member of the Council—after two years of struggle, the existing statute was repealed, and all laws regulating the support of religion were done away, and the whole matter left to the public conscience.† Connecticut came next. In that State the Dissenters had become disgusted with being treated as subordinate to the Standing Order. They were largely of the blood of the old first-comers; they had been born upon the soil, and had borne the heat and burden of the day; and they felt they had as good a right to the sunshine of the government as others. Taking advantage of the political commotion following the war of 1812, and the Hartford Convention, they so managed as to make themselves of consequence to the parties into which the State was divided. The Episcopalians, who numbered many of the first men at the bar and in the legislature, were especially active. A new party arose, bearing the name of 'Tolerationists,' which carried the elections of 1817, making Oliver Wolcott governor, and securing a majority in the Assembly. The rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, preached the election sermon—a more appalling event for that day and locality than if Messrs. Moody and Sankey were to be now invited by Dean Stanley to take a service in Westminster Abbey. And the new movement did not stop until in the next year the Constitution of the commonwealth was revised, the Standing Order severed from the State, the last legal restriction upon the consciences of men removed, and every denomination left, in perfect freedom, to itself.‡ New Hampshire followed quickly in the wake of Connecticut, the enemies of the old way being greatly quickened and stimulated by what had there

been accomplished. A Toleration Act was introduced into the New Hampshire legislature during its session of 1819. It was fiercely debated. Some of the rhetoric was remarkable. One pleader for the reform pictured the evils of the ancient way, 'where drowsy justice still nodded upon her rotten seat, intoxicated by the poisonous draught of bigotry prepared for her cup.* The other side retorted: 'Pass this bill, and the temples now consecrated to the worship of the Saviour of the world will soon be deserted and forsaken.† But the bill passed, to the grievous sorrow, at the time, of most of the good people who had not been oppressed by the old law; some of whom openly declared that the State had repealed the Christian religion and abolished the Bible; that 'the wicked ones outnumbered them, and religion is clean gone.‡

The final separation of Maine from maternal Massachusetts was effected March 15, 1820, when she was admitted into the Union as an independent State. She took advantage of the opportunity afforded in the shaping of her new constitution to adopt the Vermont and Connecticut improvements, which had just again been indorsed by New Hampshire. The State recognised the inviolable right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of conscience and choice, and placed all forms of faith and worship equally under the protection of the laws.§ A Parish Act was further passed by the legislature, allowing any number of persons to associate and incorporate themselves into a religious society, without legislative charter.||

Massachusetts alone held out, in part. For several years indeed there had been progress even upon her conservative soil, and statutes had been passed qualifying decisions which her courts had felt themselves obliged to make in applying the ancient policy to an age that was fast making itself incompatible with it. Early in the present century the Supreme Court had decided that ministers of unincorporated religious societies could claim nothing of the town treasurers who had received the taxes of their parishioners, because they were not the 'public teachers recognised by the Bill of Rights, but mere private teachers of piety, religion, and morality.'¶ The courts having several times before decided that such Acts of incorporation were

* It was an example of compensation more amusing to the Congregationalists than to Episcopalians, that when Churchmen—of whatever height—came from Old into New England, they became at once Dissenters, and could try how they liked it.

† Thompson's 'Hist. Vermont,' ii. 186.

‡ Hollister's 'Hist. Conn.' ii. 512-516; Dr. Bardsley's 'Hist. Epis. Church in Conn.' ii. 160-173.

* Barstow's 'Hist. New Hampshire,' 531.

† Ibid. 434.

‡ Ibid. 441.

§ Williamson's 'Hist. Maine,' ii. 691.

|| Ibid. ii. 678.

¶ Barnes v. Falmouth. 6 Mass. 401; Lovell v. Byfield. 7 Mass. 230; Turner v. Brookfield. 7 Mass. 60.

not needful, there were then very few Churches of any denomination which had secured such a charter, so that there were multitudes of applications immediately for the grant of such corporate powers;* while the Legislature of 1811 passed an Enabling Act, by the force of which one might leave a Church of the Standing Order and join an Episcopal, Baptist, Methodist, or Universalist Society, in the same town, whether he had scruples or not; and his tax filtered at last through the town treasury—however reluctant—into the hands of his own minister, however ordained and whether settled or itinerant, and whether his Society were incorporated or not. Still he was compelled to file with the town authorities a certificate that he did really belong to the abnormal Society, in this, paying tribute to the allegiance which he was still held to owe to the State and the Standing Order, in matters of religion.† This advance in freedom was extremely unwelcome to many excellent people, and the Chief Justice, in 1817, in giving a reluctant endorsement of the constitutionality of the new law, did not conceal his fear that it would be harmful 'to public morals and religion and tend to destroy the decency and regularity of public worship.'‡ And in 1820, so far were the people of Massachusetts from being moved by the then recent action of Vermont, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Maine, to take up the long-standing policy of Rhode Island, that an amendment to the Bill of Rights, designed to bring it toward the same results, was promptly rejected when put to the popular vote by more than 8,000 majority; while at the same time the proposition in the same direction so to enlarge the basis of Harvard College as to allow ministers of all denominations to be among its overseers was defeated by more than 12,000 majority against it.§ The Congregationalists then had 383 churches in the State, and they still preferred the ancient way. One of the ablest of the orthodox lawyers and leaders of opinion—Judge Hubbard—insisted in debate that the commonwealth ought to retain the power of compelling its citizens to go to church; for though the matter had little importance then, the progress of a generation might make it of vast consequence.¶

Troubles of an unprecedented and unexpected sort, however, soon modified the judgment of a great many Massachusetts

Congregationalists. The Socinian heresy began to manifest itself within the Congregational Churches; and in the struggle which followed, and the endeavour of Congregational Trinitarianism to free itself from Congregational Unitarianism, it became unpleasantly obvious that the connection of the Church with the State was made to play into the hands of the enemy; and when odious decisions followed, stripping orthodox Churches of their rights, and giving their property to the towns which were connected with them, or the parishes which had taken the place of the towns, it was not consoling to be told that the learned judges were guided in their decisions by the spirit of the old statutes uniting Church and State, and were carefully conserving the consistence of the ecclesiastical legislation of Massachusetts with itself. The orthodox minister of Brookfield seceded from the Socinian parish,* with a majority of his Church—in point of fact, but *two* male members of the Church were left in the old parish meeting-house with the parish; yet the courts decided that these two males (with the handful

* It is essential that an Englishman who desires to understand American ecclesiastical terminology and history, should remember that the word 'parish' has several senses, varying with the date, when it is used. Originally in New England a parish, as in England, signified a definite tract of land, with the dwellers on it, all of whom owed allegiance to the church in the parish. And inasmuch as for a long time there was but one parish in a town, the lines of the two being identical, the words 'town' and 'parish' were interchangeable and synonymous. As population increased so that it was needful to have more than one parish in a town, the General Court would 'set off' one part of the town into a new parish, the other remaining the 'first parish.' After the Revolution, another description of parish was made legal, including men with their lands, estates, and polls, *without reference to contiguity*, and these were styled 'poll' parishes. Subsequently a third form of parish grew up and was legalized, which consisted of men, without reference to their place of residence, lands, or estate, but simply regarding their religious preferences. These were often called 'religious societies.' As a Church, simply as such, is not known to New England law, it becomes needful to have some kind of a parish associated with every Church, to be the legal owner of the house of worship, with the parsonage and funds or other property which may exist for the support of the means of grace in connection with it. And by the existing statutes, any ten persons, being voters, who please to do so, by giving public notice in the manner designated, may incorporate themselves into such a parish, or religious society, thus acquiring all the needed powers and functions, taking care to record in the Registry of Deeds their corporate name, objects, and articles of association. ('General Statutes,' ch. xxx. sec. 4, 5; ch. xxxii. sec. 1. Buck's 'Massachusetts Ecclesiastical Law,' 17-19, 21, 120, 125, 130-32.)

* Some seventy special Acts of this sort were passed in the next five years, only one of which was for a Congregational Society.

† Buck's 'Mass. Eccles. Law,' 44.

‡ Adams v. Howe. 14 Mass. 344.

§ Buck's 'Mass. Eccles. Law,' 47.

¶ Debates, 352.

of females also remaining) were the old Church, because they did remain with the parish, and decreed to them the property, communion furniture, and church records.* And all this was because the Church was united still to the State. It was not strange that such an internal argument proved more convincing than all the external reasoning of the years, and that a revulsion of feeling took place within the Standing Order itself, generating a party there which proved to be of sufficient force to be soon able, acting with all other parties who desired the change, to secure a radical modification of the fundamental law. And so it came about that in 1834, a little more than two hundred years after the policy had been adopted in the Bay Colony, an Amendment to the Bill of Rights was carried, by the decisive vote of 32,234 ayes to 3273 noes,† which forever discharged the commonwealth of all special oversight of religious affairs, and absolutely abandoned the policy of union between the Church and State which New England had inherited from the mother country, and which the mother country three-quarters of a century later is beginning to suspect to be a more than questionable thing.

At the Plymouth General Court in October, 1658, Lieutenant Matthew Fuller had been fined fifty shillings for having said that 'the law enacted about minnesters' maintenance was a wicked and divellish law, and that the divell satt att the sterne when it was enacted;‡ but the drift of feeling on both sides of the sea is now very much with that mulcted officer; who, if in this respect in advance of his own generation, would find himself quite at home with that which is now on the stage. He was in advance of it, and of four or five more generations that followed it. It was not without terrible convulsions of feeling, and the most conscientious sorrow of many of the short-sighted good, that this great change was wrought. We cannot spare space to trace this as it might be traced, all along the successive stages of the struggle. But the story would be incomplete without a glance at its latest phase in the first half of the present century. We have already referred to the sad forebodings of some of the Christians of New Hampshire. The subject nowhere awakened a keener feeling than in Connecticut. And the autobiography of good old Lyman Beecher gives a hint of the views taken by the party represented by so truly

noble and catholic a soul as his own. He says:—

The habit of legislation from the beginning had been to favor the Congregational order and provide for it. Congregationalism was the established religion. All others were Dissenters, and complained of favoritism. The ambitious minority early began to make use of the minor sects on the ground of invidious distinctions, thus making them restive. So the democracy, as it rose, included nearly all the minor sects, besides the Sabbath-breakers, rum-selling tippling folk, infidels, and ruff-suff generally, and made a dead set at us of the Standing Order. It was a long time, however, before they could accomplish anything, so small were the sects, and so united the Federal phalanx. After defeat upon defeat, and while other State delegations in Congress divided, ours, for twenty years [having been] a unit, Pierrepont Edwards, a leader of the Democrats, exclaimed: "As well attempt to revolutionize the kingdom of heaven as the State of Connecticut!" But throwing Treadwell over in 1811 broke the charm and divided the party; persons of third-rate ability, on our side, who wanted to be somebody, deserted; all the infidels in the State had long been leading on that side; the minor sects had swollen, and complained of having to get a certificate to pay their tax where they liked; our efforts to enforce reformation of morals by law made us unpopular; they attacked the clergy unceasingly and myself in particular, in season and out of season, with all sorts of misrepresentation, ridicule, and abuse; and, finally, the Episcopalians, who had always been stanch Federalists, were disappointed of an appropriation for the Bishops' Fund, which they asked for, and went over to the Democrats. That overset us. They slung us out like a stone from a sling. It was a time of great depression and suffering. It was the worst attack I ever met in my life, except that which Wilson made.* I worked as hard as mortal man could, and at the same time preached for revivals with all my might, and with success; till at last, what with domestic afflictions and all, my health and spirits began to fail. It was as dark a day as ever I saw.† The odium thrown upon the ministry was inconceivable. The injury done to the cause of Christ, as we then supposed was irreparable.‡

As a specimen of the way in which the

* He refers here to his trial for heresy, before the Presbyterian tribunals, in 1835, which was instigated by the Rev. Dr. Joshua L. Wilson, of Cincinnati.

† His daughter Catherine says: "I remember seeing father, the day after the election, sitting on one of the old-fashioned rush-bottom kitchen chairs, his head drooping on his breast, and his arms hanging down. "Father," said, "what are you thinking of?" He answered solemnly, "THE CHURCH OF GOD." ("Autobiography," i. 344.)

‡ "Autobiography and Correspondence of Lyman Beecher," i. 342.

* Stebbins v. Jennings. 10 'Pickering,' 172. See Strong's able argument on the other side, in the 'Spirit of the Pilgrims,' v. 402-424.

† 'Senate Documents,' 1834. No. 3.

‡ 'Plym. Col. Rec.' iii. 150.

newspapers then handled the discussion, one might profitably read an article contributed by Dr. Beecher himself to one of them, entitled, 'The Toleration Dream,' which commenced with the following bit of doggerel, for which his pen seems to have been responsible :—

‘TOLERATION.

'This famed little word hath four syllables in it,
And a fal-de-ral Tol is the first to begin it;
Little e is put next—as a link it was done,
For those who cry TOL to tack to it RA-TION.

'There are tolerant freemen and tolerant slaves,
There are tolerant dunces and tolerant knaves,
There are tolerant bigots who constantly run,
And seek, through *In-tolerance*, TOLERATION.

'Some tolerate virtue, some tolerate vice,
Some tolerate truth, some tolerate lies,
Some tolerate religion, some tolerate none,
And the test of all faith is their TOLERATION.*

We can get no more graphic idea of the horror with which the good men of the Standing Order then contemplated the idea of disestablishment, as likely to result in the abolition of all religion, not merely, but in a general saturnalia of vice, than is afforded by an extract from the article which is prefaced by the lines just quoted, which is thrown into the similitude of a dream.

'I looked, and beheld a little tenement upon wheels moving slowly toward the place where I stood. Within and without, on every side, was a company of men with such blazing noses and burning breath that they seemed to add both to the light and heat of the sun. They were armed with jugs, and bottles, and tumblers, and wine-glasses, which they brandished with fearless courage and constancy, projecting as they passed the waving line of beauty, and drowning, as they shouted "TOLERATION," even the voice of the trumpet.

'I approached the door of the tenement, and, with a look of surprise, demanded of the man who dealt out the *inspiration*: "Friend, are you aware that you violate the laws of the State?" "Laws of the State!" he replied: "what have I to do with the laws of the State? Has not 'TOLERATION' gained the victory?" The falling tear answered, "Yes." "Well," said he, "you may whine, but I shall sell rum. I have news from headquarters, and have nothing to fear. Besides, the laws are soon to be repealed."

'I turned to the unhappy crowd around me, and inquired: "My dear fellow-men, what do you want?" "TOLERATION," they all bawled in my ear at once. "What is that?" said I. "Down with the laws against selling rum—down with the penalties against being merry," they all responded. "Alas!" I exclaimed. "Have you not liberty enough now? What harm do the laws do, when nobody executes them?" "Ay," said they, as

they reeled along, "but the *principle*; we cannot bear laws in the statute-book wrong in principle. We cannot,—in conscience we cannot,—for though *we* drink without fear or restraint, who knows whether our children may be allowed to do so when we are dead. We contend for the right of unborn generations to drink when they please, and as much as they please."

'As I stepped back from this atmosphere of rum, I perceived a number of fishermen in a wagon, mending their nets. "Where are you going?" I asked. "To Connecticut river; it is the Sabbath to-morrow, and we are getting ready." "For what?" I eagerly interrupted them. "To make money," they replied; "for now we have gained 'TOLERATION,' we have seven days to work instead of six." I said, "My friends, God has commanded you to keep the Sabbath holy, and He will punish you if you break it." "We will risk that," they replied. "But it is against the law of the State." "Law of the State!" said they sneeringly; "who will execute it? Besides, we have been told from ahead that it shall soon be repealed."

'While I was yet speaking, crack went a whip, and a stage full of people passed, shouting: "Down with the Sabbath! down with *deacon* justices!"

* * * * *

'As they passed on, a most miserable sight met mine eye, a procession, borne on wagons, consumptive, paralytic, asthmatic, and squalid. "Whence are you?" demanded I, as they drew near. "From the alms-house." "And whither do you go?" "To town meeting, to lay an *eight per cent. tax*. We live too poorly, but it's TOLERATION now; and since *we* too can vote, we shall have better times." As they passed, I perceived they had in the head wagon a banner floating, with this motto: "Let the farmers earn the money, and the worthless spend it!"*

When a man of so much good sense, piety, and foresight as Lyman Beecher, could think it was doing God (and man) service to write and print and feel after this fashion, it is easy to understand what must have been the sufferings of the average Christian mind over such a prospect as was afforded by the slow but sure advance of the rending of all ties between Church and State.

We find so clear-headed a publicist and liberal a statesman as Ex-President John Adams soon after expressing himself thus, in a letter of date Nov. 3, 1820, to a Connecticut friend who had sent him a copy of their new constitution :—

'The *cantilena sacerdotis* will be sung as long as priesthood shall exist. I mean not by this, however to condemn the article in our Declaration of Rights. I mean to keep my mind open to conviction upon this subject,

* 'Autobiography and Correspondence of Lyman Beecher,' i. 392.

* 'Autobiography and Correspondence of Lyman Beecher,' i. 402.

until I shall be called to give a vote.* An abolition of this law would have so great an effect in this State, that it seems hazardous to touch it. However, I am not about to discuss the question at present. In Rhode Island, I am informed, public preaching is supported by three or four wealthy men in the parish, who either have, or appear to have, a regard for religion, while all the others sneak away, and avoid payment of anything. And such, I believe, would be the effect in this State almost universally; yet this, I own, is not a decisive argument in favor of the law. *Sub judice lis est.*†

The very natural circumstance that all citizens of a loose religious faith, or of no faith, earnestly contended for a change in the law, had its effect in frightening believers from such advocacy, lest they should be found to play into the hands of evil men. Many also had a notion, which found expression in the plea of one of the delegates to the convention which made the final revision of the Constitution in Massachusetts, that 'it is necessary to make legal provision for the support of religious instruction, that there may be sufficient inducement to young men to qualify themselves for the office of public instructors.'‡ Between 1817-18, when Dr. Beecher was suffering such anguish in Litchfield, Conn., and 1883-84, when the last tie which bound the Church and State together in Massachusetts was severed, the world moved quite perceptibly; and while those who were very earnest in their convictions and just a little narrow in their minds felt the gloomiest forebodings lest the day of doom should dawn at once, if the old Bay State—for two centuries the special bulwark of the faith—should follow the ill example of her New England sisterhood,§ broader and

abler men in great numbers adopted a different view, until at last the chief organs of orthodox sentiment advocated the new policy.*

And great was the general joy when time enough had elapsed to enable even the doubting ones to find material for jubilation in the change. In his old age Dr. Beecher said, looking back to his sorrow before noted, 'I suffered what no tongue can tell for the best thing that ever happened to the State of Connecticut. It cut the Churches loose from dependence on State support. It threw them wholly on their own resources, and on God. They said ministers would lose their influence; the fact is they have gained. By voluntary efforts, societies, missions, and revivals, they exert a deeper influence than ever they could by queues, and shoe-buckles, and cocked hats, and gold-headed canes.'†

Not only did the event prove that religion was quickened, and infused with a healthier life, when its unnatural connection with the State had ceased, and that more money was given freely to the support of the gospel than had before been grudgingly paid for that purpose to the tax-gatherer, but the orthodox faith found itself relieved of some special disadvantages under which before it had laboured,‡ and was able to appeal, with-

revolution in pursuit of an inheritance not bequeathed to you, and which, when obtained, will not be deemed worth possessing. Do not prostrate your present edifice, until a better is erected.'—*Minutes Gen. Ass. Mass.* 1834, p. 24.

* The 'Spirit of the Pilgrims' (then the special mouthpiece of the Trinitarianism of Massachusetts), in its issue for December, 1881, said: 'The legal establishment of religion has been a curse to our Churches; not so great a curse as it was to the Churches in the days of Constantine, or as it has been to the Reformed Churches in Europe, but still an encumbrance and a curse. It has certainly been a source of almost continual contention and strife. It has stained the records of our courts and the pages of our history with numerous instances of oppression and cruelty, which no tears can wash away. It has palsied the energies of our Churches, and brought over them a spirit of coldness, worldly security, and slumber. In short, the result of our experience on this subject is that the gospel can be sustained among us, a religious establishment to the contrary notwithstanding! We have every reason to believe that it can be better sustained without such an establishment than with it, and consequently that what remains of our old establishment ought to be taken out of the way' (iv. 643.) The 'Boston Recorder' made no appeal against the action proposed.

† 'Autobiography,' &c. i. 344.

‡ 'The state of the laws which obliged all to pay for the support of some Church, but allowed them to choose which, was found to favour the laxer kinds of religion. Infidels and Nothings, compelled to support some kind of religion and allowed to choose which, of course chose the *least strict*, both as to orthodoxy and

* Mr. Adams, then just entered on his *eighty-sixth* year, had been chosen a member of the Convention called to consider the revision of the Constitution of Massachusetts.

† 'Life and Works of John Adams,' x. 392.

‡ 'Remarks of Mr. Flint; Journal,' &c. 170.

§ It seems to be significant that the General Association of Massachusetts, at its meeting at Lee, in June, 1834, a few months before the popular vote was taken on this subject, adopted the following language in its 'Pastoral Letter' to the Churches:—'At the present day, while the Christian world is aiming to reform existing abuses and errors, the enemy seizes the occasion to overturn the whole system of gospel order; and there is danger that, to a great extent, he will achieve his design. Religious order has, under God, been the glory and the preservation of this land of the Pilgrims, and it is an enemy of your best interests that would break down the established order which our forefathers transmitted to their posterity. A purer religion than theirs we cannot have, for it was the gospel of God. Their religious institutions were in accordance with His Word. Seek not, then, brethren, to pass through the desolations of

out apparent drawback, to a higher range of motive. And as to the very serious fear, which was felt by many, that the sparsely settled portions of the country would especially suffer if some legal power did not exist by which all taxable property should in some way be held responsible for the maintenance of the worship of God, the general experience was very well summed up by the Rev. Dr. Dutton, of New Haven, in his remarks before the General Association of Connecticut on the completion of its first one hundred and fifty years, when he said :—

‘It has been found, since religion has been put upon the voluntary principle and the free choice of men for support, that men generally have more interest in it, and are more active to extend it. And voluntary enterprise and generosity in the work of home missions have done far more to build up waste places, and to prevent places from becoming waste, than was ever done, or could be done, by force of law.’*

And perhaps no brief collocation of words could better express the manner in which, on the whole, the Churches and the people of New England now look back upon the severance of the Church from the State, than may be quoted from the eloquent address of Dr. Leonard Bacon upon the same interesting occasion, 23rd June, 1869 :—

‘He who leads the blind by a way which they know not, has led us in this way; and as we find ourselves brought out by no wisdom of our own from the chilling enclosure of high and strong division walls, into the warm sunshine of a new and brighter day,—

“The breath of heaven, fresh-blowing, pure and sweet,

With day-spring born,”

let us say to that guiding spirit of catholic freedom and fraternity which we have learned already to enjoy—nay, rather let us say to that Holy Spirit of God, who seals and sanctifies His elect not under our forms of ministrations only, but under many forms,—

“A little onward lend Thy guiding hand
To these dark steps—a little further on.”

practice. They practised on the principle of an infidel who attended Matthew Hale Smith's Church, when he was a Universalist minister in Hartford. Said he to Mr. Smith, “I go to hear you preach, but I don't believe your doctrine. I go to hear you *because your doctrine is nearest to nothing of any that I know of.*” This result, which I have described, was what might have been expected from such a state of the laws. And accordingly it has been found, in Massachusetts especially, that the repeal of the law for the compulsory support of religion has been a very severe blow to Unitarianism, so prevalent there, and to all the laxer forms of Christianity.’—Cont. to Eccl. Hist. Conn.' 128.

* ‘Cont. to Eccl. Hist. Conn.’ 124.

‘Our Churches, then, in recovering their original Congregationalism from an unfortunate complication with ideas and principles derived from other systems, have become, and are still becoming, not more sectarian, but less so.’*

Of all forms of spiritual organisation, Congregationalism probably has least fitness to be an established religion; so that the Congregationalists of New England had indeed special cause for joy when at last they had released themselves from a yoke which neither their fathers nor they were able to bear.

And now, upon the good work of the last forty years, and the great and gracious prosperity which has attended these enfranchised Churches and these disenthralled States, it is not needful that we should dwell at length, because they are known and read of all men. Forebodings have been transmuted into thankfulness, and the buds of apprehension have opened into blossoms of joy. The Churches of the Pilgrim type, which had been limping on the crutches of Cæsar so long that their limbs were stiffening with inaction, have developed a vigour unknown before; while those adherents of other politics who formerly felt that they had large occasion to complain of injustice and oppression at the hands of the Standing Order, now live in something more than peace—even in cordial fellowship—by their side. Local jealousies have died out with their occasion. The inherent vital energy of the gospel has demonstrated that, with the ordinary blessing of Him of whom extraordinary blessings may be confidently claimed by faith, it can be trusted to take care of itself in the world. And men of sense in New England no longer doubt that the public ordinances of religion can be maintained in the absence of legal compulsion; and at once more effectually and more usefully without its illogical, degrading, and disastrous aid.

Upon two or three specific points we may glance, in bringing this discussion to an end; because they are points as to which, in the present condition of England, English people may desire more light.

1. Disestablishment in New England has promoted a just catholicity between Christians of various shades of belief. Standing all as one before the law, all are thrown back upon the fundamental principles of their common Christianity, and the teaching of that Word of God equally acknowledged by all; and there being no element of felt injustice longer to force them apart, they drift naturally toward that position indicated by the wise and catholic principle: ‘In essen-

* ‘Historical Discourse,’ &c. p. 66.

tials, unity ; in non-essentials, diversity ; in all things, charity.' The motto of William Penn was : ' We must yield the liberty we demand.' Nowhere on the round earth, we are persuaded, has the practical union possible among Christians who differ as to minor principles been more beautifully, or more beneficently exhibited than during the last generation in New England.

2. A second result of total separation of the Churches from the State has been the deepening of the feeling of responsibility on the part of those Churches for the purity of their own faith, the efficiency of their discipline, and the perpetuity and enlargement of their influence. Left to themselves, they have felt that not to grow in grace and strength would be the most damaging of all possible confessions of radical defect in the underlying principles which each believes to contain the marrow of Scripture, and which each tenderly holds as the *Magna Charta* of its life. Thus each has been stimulated to missionary effort at home and abroad, while each has been careful in seeking to maintain the highest standard of purity in its pulpits, and the most efficient discipline among its membership.

3. Disestablishment has, more than anything else, proved a blessing in those very relations where it was apprehended that its ill effect would most be felt. It was said that the Congregational Churches especially would be stripped of their importance, and dwindle, if they did not die. But the event has proved that, instead, they entered upon a new era of unwonted prosperity. The year after the last strand which has held Church and State together in Massachusetts had been sundered (1835), she reported 387 Congregational (orthodox) Churches, having 49,089 communicants.* Every year has since been gainful to them, until, by the latest returns, she has 518 of these Churches, with but little short of 90,000 members.† And except as emigration to the West has modified the condition of some of the remoter country towns, essentially the same thing appears to be true of the other New England States.

With this growth has grown also an enlarging liberality. The Congregational pastors of New England probably to-day average the reception from the free contributions of their people of from three to four times the yearly salaries which were paid them when connected with the State ; while the amount of money annually given for church erection and maintenance, for Sabbath-schools, for

the poor, for theological schools and colleges for church extension, and for home and foreign missions,* is annually counted now by thousands, where it was counted by hundreds before.† Altogether, it would be impossible to-day to name a single aspect of the matter which would be seriously considered for one moment by the Congregationalism of New England as an inducement to return to its relations to the State.

And as to the fear which used to be so strongly felt, that if the State did not concern itself to punish infractions of the law of Christ, all manner of moral evil and blasphemy would abound, the result has proved the fear groundless, and the public morals and the cause of Christ safer if left to themselves without civil intermeddling.

So that, in all respects, one may write of these disestablished Congregational Churches, with slight modification, what Augustine wrote to Boniface about the Donatists :— ' Quorum si videas in Christi pace lætitiæ frequentias, alacritates, et ad hymnos audiendos et canendos, et ad verbum Dei percipiendum celebres hilaresque conventus, multorumque in eis cum dolore magno recordationem præteriti erroris, et cum gaudio considerationem cognitæ veritatis, et cum indignatione et detestatione mendacium magistrorum, quod modo cognoscant quam falsæ jactaverint tunc diceris nimis fuisse crudelitatis, si isti in hac servitutine relinquerentur.†

How much he may have owed to those who had gone before him, even back to Sir Thomas More and his 'Utopia,'§ we may

* In the matter of benevolent contributions it has been thus far found impossible to secure anything like that complete and exact return which is made in regard to all the other current facts of American Congregationalism. But the meagre statistics of the subject are sufficient to show that, during the last five years, notwithstanding the financial embarrassments arising from the debasement of the currency by the Rebellion and other causes, the Churches of Massachusetts have averaged about \$400,000 (or £80,000) in their annual benevolence to objects outside of themselves.—Minutes of Gen. Assoc. of Mass. for 1874, p. 129.

† In 1872, the five leading denominations in the United States raised for benevolent purposes as follows: Baptist, 3,891,276 dols.; Congregationalists, 4,000,000 dols.; Episcopalians, 6,304,608 dols.; Methodists, 17,427,184 dols.; Presbyterians, 11,070,325 dols. Total, 42,193,393 dols. Add to this the statistics of the Lutherans, the Reformed, &c. &c., and the sum expended for religious uses by the whole body of American Free Protestant Churches during 1872 would reach fifty millions.—Thompson's 'Church and State in U. S.,' 110.

‡ St. Augustine, 'Opera.' Ed. Le Clerc. ii. 499.

§ In the second book of 'Utopia' (Arber's re-

* 'Minutes of Gen. Assoc. of Mass. for 1874,' p. 129.

† Ibid. Corrected by later returns in the 'Congregational Quarterly' and elsewhere.

not now determine; but Roger Williams—restless, pragmatical, catholic, noble, and disagreeable—ought to be named in thankful parting recognition here, as, on the whole, the best apostle of his time of the new gospel of toleration. Had it been given to him to be prudent, as well as wise, our story might not have been so long. As it is, we may gratefully confess that Christian civilisation owes him a debt as yet unpaid; and may say to him—in his well-earned rest—what Whittier said:—

- ‘Take heart with us, O man of old,
Soul-freedom’s brave confessor,
So love of God and man wax strong,
Let sect and creed be lesser.
- ‘The jarring discords of thy day
In ours one hymn are swelling;
The wandering feet, the severed paths,
All seek our Father’s dwelling.
- ‘And slowly learns the world the truth
That makes us all thy debtor,—
That holy life is more than rite,
And spirit more than letter;
- ‘That they who differ pole-wide serve,
Perchance, the common Master,
And other sheep He hath than they
Who graze one narrow pasture!
- ‘For truth’s worst foe is he who claims
To act as God’s avenger,
And deems beyond his sentry-beat
The crystal walls in danger!
- ‘Who sets for heresy his traps
Of verbal quirk and quibble,
And weeds the garden of the Lord
With Satan’s borrowed dibble.
- * * * * *
- ‘Still echo in the hearts of men
The words that thou hast spoken;
No forge of hell can weld again
The fetters thou hast broken.’*

ART. VI.—*Poor-Law Relief in and out of the Workhouse.*

- (1.) *Reports of Poor-Law Inspectors.* 1867.
- (2.) *Provincial Workhouses.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. 1867.
- (3.) *Circular Letter to Guardians.* By ANDREW DOYLE, Esq., Poor-Law Inspector. Spottiswoode. 1873.
- (4.) *The Poor-Law Administration in the Aston Union.* By W. FOWLER, Esq., Chairman. Birmingham. 1873.

It has been truly asserted by Professor Fawcett that

‘The English are the only people who have

print, 147) is a noble passage, containing the true doctrine of toleration, a century before Roger Williams’s time.

* ‘A Spiritual Manifestation.’ Poems, 356.

ventured to incur the grave responsibility of proclaiming that every one possesses a legal right to be supported from the rates.’

No one who has studied the operation of this principle, as embodied in the Poor Laws of forty years ago, can doubt that it bore the evil fruit of so much improvidence and deterioration of English character. Some persons seem to be of the opinion that there ought to be no poverty in a nation so prosperous as ours. They attribute to the influence of the Poor Laws the premature marriages, the unthrifty habits, and the intemperance of many of the working men. But they forget and ignore the fact that our country has for many years been placed under exceptional circumstances. Never, at any period, were there so many artisans collected together in mills and crowded dwellings as in England of to-day. The steadiest operatives are not always able to make such provision for old age as will enable them to maintain themselves independently. There are so many great vicissitudes and fluctuations in foreign trade. The American civil war, for example, produced a dearth of cotton, which threw thousands of steady artisans into distress. There is more sickness in this class of people on the average, than among lords and ladies, induced for the most part by sedentary labour and defective ventilation. The debilitating influence of many employments has an appreciable effect upon the health and longevity of operatives. At Sheffield we hear of the ‘grinders’ rot.’ The average duration of the life of artisans in steel at that place, is from that of dry-grinders, who reach twenty-nine years, to that of saw-grinders, who attain thirty-eight. Again, if we take the case of colliers and miners, we learn that upwards of fifteen hundred lives have been lost annually for some years past from various mining casualties, and not less than ten thousand accidents have occurred from similar causes. We are all acquainted with casualties befalling married couples in humble walks of life before the bread-winner has had time to make a permanent provision, or to educate his children. Neither can the agricultural labourer, burdened with a family and receiving 11s. or 12s. per week, be obnoxious to blame if he fails to save under such difficult conditions. These are but samples of circumstances and cases in which actual want may suddenly come upon families like a flood. It is not practicable to trample out poverty in prosperous England. The very early fact of our prosperity induces early marriages and premature deaths, two main causes of pauperism. In England few, far too few, persons possess an acre of land, and

the multitude depend altogether upon their health and muscles. It seems as if we were to be witnesses of the truth of the saying, 'The poor ye have always with you,' though we might well have expected a steady and continuous decrease of pauperism after the great reform of the Poor Law in 1835. And for a few years there was a diminution of paupers and poor rates, but again the tide began to flow. The number of paupers rose from 851,620 in 1860 to 1,081,926 in 1871. It may be that this increase is not out of proportion to the increase of population, and of the rateable value of the property assessed. Indeed, the increase in the value of rated property since the early part of this century is simply astonishing. For the estimated annual value for 1803 was thirty-four millions and for 1868 one hundred and forty-three millions.* The increase of pauperism is not due to flatness of trade, for it occurred simultaneously with unprecedented prosperity. It is probably attributable to several causes: partly to laxity and negligence in the administration of out relief; partly to growing habits of intemperance; and also to the increase of casualties and accidents among our working people. Certainly some great organisation is required to meet the wants of the day. Benevolent societies, or *bureaux de bienveillance*, such as exist in some of the continental towns, have much to recommend them. They seem to emanate directly from the spirit of Christianity, and to be an essential department of the Church's work. Voluntary work of this kind is, of course, better than involuntary rates; for charity is a holy virtue, and to visit the fatherless and the widow in affliction is a work both of religion and civilisation. But a charitable organisation which is to meet the casualties of a nation of thirty millions of people, requires continuous personal exertions, which it is hard to obtain from a busy money-making population. Money can be had in abundance, but the personal administration of it is rare. If the management of a great bureau of charity fell into the hands of paid officials, then the work would be done by proxy in a cold and perfunctory manner, and the very life and spirit of charity would evaporate. Nor could a thorough organisation be expected to cover the whole country. Charity working by deputy is a very inefficient virtue. The city of Hamburgh, seventy years ago, had rich foundations, but no proper organisation. The result was a demoralised population, wasted funds, and much destitution. And, further, let those who would substitute charity for a

Poor Law, contemplate the self-imposed taxation of the benovolent, and the exemption of the rest from the discharge of a moral duty. Besides these objections to a reliance on charity, our English experience of the management of charitable institutions leads us to distrust them.

'There is nothing which charity, as in some places at present organised, so much resembles as the Order of the Garter. Merit has *nothing* whatever to do with it. Let no one delude himself that he has got into an asylum, say for the blind, because he happened to be blind and helpless. In fact the complaint has become almost universal, that under the present system, too many charitable institutions may be said to exist for the aggravation rather than the relief of distress. It is influence and wealth rather than deserts which secure admission.'

It would be simply chimerical to expect to find a good working administration of sufficient charitable funds in every district of the country, and yet everywhere the want of both would be more or less felt. The managers of public charities and the administrators of the poor rates may beneficially correspond and co-operate, and greatly assist each other; but we hold that under existing circumstances there is no hope of substituting charitable administration for legal relief.

Again, it is sometimes urged that instead of looking forward to the receipt of relief in case of emergencies, the labouring classes ought to have recourse to benefit and burial clubs and the post-office savings banks. As to the former, the chairman of one of the largest unions in the kingdom, and a man of great practical knowledge, says:—

'It may be questioned if the ordinary benefit clubs, holding their meetings at public-houses, and from time to time dividing bonuses, have not been the means of demoralising more men than they have permanently benefited. The advantage of burial clubs may also be much questioned.'

As to the post-office banks, the interest offered is too small to attract the investment of sums which might often be well spared. Far be it from us to depreciate these methods of insuring some provision against certain contingencies; but it is well known that many of these local clubs are not founded upon sound calculations, and fail in giving support when the pinch of life arrives. Widows, with young children and no income; orphans, sufferers from accidents, incurables, idiots, cases of friendless old age; these are classes of cases so numerous and so helpless that they can only be dealt with by a uni-

* 'Echo,' October, 1878.

† 'The Poor Law in the Aston Union.' By William Fowler, Esq., Chairman.

* Report on Local Taxation, 1871.

versal and personal charity, or by continuing the system of public relief. For these vicissitudes and strange inequalities of life there are no other remedies. The moral government of this world permits these inexplicable phenomena, and it is the business of statesmen and administrators to reduce them to a minimum by all available means: by the discouragement of idleness and apathy, and by giving facilities for making provision against the contingencies of life; and, further, to deal with the residue with a firm but humane hand. This may be done best by a perfect organisation of charities, or by a Poor Law and charity in alliance and co-operation. For the moment we are dealing with the Poor Law alone, and before we come to the details of administration, it may be well to recall to the mind the principle on which all poor-law legislation rests. Paley affirms that the claim of the poor is founded on the law of nature, because, all things having been originally common, the exclusive possession of property was and is permitted on the expectation that every one should have enough for subsistence or the means of procuring it. We may doubt whether this opinion is sound, but we cannot doubt that the Poor Law rests upon moral and political considerations of great weight. Statesmen cannot contemplate masses of population in a condition of semi-starvation without anxiety and fear. It is politically necessary to prevent such a state of things. And upon the owners of property in a given locality there rests a moral obligation to help those who own nothing. But the right of the poor, prior to legislation, is but an imperfect one, though *in foro conscientia* sufficiently cogent. It is imperfect, because the relative duty of contribution could not be enforced. For many centuries it so remained, while the blind eleemosynary spirit of the Latin Church* relieved and created poverty. The monastic foundations, standing at irregular intervals, could not dispense their doles on proper information as to the merits of the cases. At last, after many vain attempts to repress pauperism and beggary prior to the reign of Elizabeth, the statesmen of that day deemed it expedient that an imperfect should be converted into a perfect right, and their legislation did the work effectually. The State stepped in to enforce obedience to an admitted moral obligation, which otherwise would be recognised by the conscientious and disregarded by the selfish. *This is the principle of that Poor Law* which will certainly be continued for many years to come. Great law, 'With all thy faults I love thee still.'

It has thorns among its fruit, but can we reasonably doubt that the balance of good has greatly outweighed the evil? There is grandeur in a law, unprecedented in the history of the world, that there shall be bread, bed, and shelter for every soul in England who is in need of these things. There is also danger in the law, but it is a law of humanity and of Christianity.

The leading features of the Poor Law of Elizabeth are the same which modern legislation has assumed. To the honour of the Elizabethan statesmen, be it remembered that their work was the guide to poor-law reformers in 1834. It was founded on the true principle of public relief, that is, work for the destitute strong, and aid to the weak, sick, and infirm. The Elizabethan legislators were well aware of the abuses of charity: They sought to guard against their recurrence by constituting a local authority which should obtain fair proportionate contributions from all competent parishioners. The sums levied by the overseers were at first moderate, but under subsequent lax administration became oppressively heavy, and finally rose in some parishes to such an amount as to give cause for great discontent.

Parliament was convinced that some decided reformation must take place, and an Act was passed which has been known as 'The Poor Law.' Its chief purpose was the discouragement of out-door relief to able-bodied persons.

Unions were constituted under boards of guardians, who were empowered to erect union workhouses, and authorised to refuse grants of relief to the able-bodied, except on the condition of residence within the workhouse. As that residence 'was usually regarded as a kind of imprisonment, a most important check was thus given to voluntary pauperism.*' The general order of the commissioners, which permitted some exceptions, ran as follows:—

'Every able-bodied person shall be relieved wholly in the workhouse except in cases of sudden necessity, sickness, aid towards burial, and widows with legitimate child or children, being unable to maintain themselves.'

The effect of the measure was a rapid reduction of the poor rate. It had reached the great amount of £8,200,000 in 1832, and it fell to £5,200,000 in 1837. Since that period the rate has again gradually increased, until in 1870 it reached the sum of £7,673,000. The pauper population had also increased from 844,000 in 1860 to 1,032,000 in 1870. But since 1870 there has been a diminution of the number of pau-

* Hallam's 'Const. Hist.' chap. ii.

* Fawcett's 'Political Economy,' 518.

pers, and it is said that the recipients of out-door relief have decreased by twenty per cent. A vigorous effort is now being made to reduce pauperism and the poor rate still further. We desire to call the attention of our readers to the best means by which the desired end may be attained. There is, doubtless, much room for improvement. The condition of things prior to the great reform of 1834 was disclosed in the evidence taken by the commissioners, and that evidence throws much light upon the questions of the present day. One witness, a man of great experience, stated the results of it in these words :—

‘The greater number of out-door paupers are worthless people ; but still the number of decent people who ought to have made provision for themselves, and who come, is very great. I have stationed persons at well-known gin-shops, and from their evidence I have concluded that £80 out of every £100 of money given as out-door relief is spent in this way.’

It may be said that this evidence is old, and not applicable to present circumstances. We now offer the evidence of a parochial officer who has had twenty years’ experience in dealing with the poor. He says :—

‘There is a class of people who think union funds are common property, and that they have a right to it under all circumstances ; and my experience tells me that once a pauper, always a pauper.’

But the concrete is more impressive than the general. A friend of ours, who is a Staffordshire squire, had known a man in his village for years as a do-nothing out-door pauper. One day last year he saw him on the top of a house, thatching the roof. He inquired about this strange circumstance. ‘Why, I thought,’ said he, ‘Tom Perkins had an allowance because he couldn’t work.’ ‘Well, sir,’ was the answer, ‘he did not use to work, but they have stopped the pay, and now *he’s gone to work again*!’ Cases of this kind are, of course, exceptions, but it is to be feared they are not rare. Human nature is not changed, and the elevating power of education is very little extended. How can we expect the moral standard, the veracity, the candour of the poorest classes, to have been much altered since the time of the last royal commission. There is too much reason to believe that ratepayers are burdened with many claims to relief which are, sometimes unfounded and often exaggerated. Want of space prevents the accumulation of proofs of the grievances of ratepayers—often themselves in indigence—who have to contribute to the support of worthless incumbrancers of the rate. If, however, their grievances are well founded ; if the vast number of poor

who are relieved in their own houses or lodgings is considered ; the facilities for deception, and the imperfect means now in use for detecting imposition ; it is manifest that the time is come for some amendment of the system. The object of the new reform is identical with that of forty years ago. It is to reduce the recipients of relief from the rates to those who are able to work but cannot obtain employment, and those who are truly and honestly unable to work, or so partially disabled as to be incompetent without aid to obtain the necessaries of life for themselves and those dependent on them. With the first of these two classes we are not now concerned. As to them the Poor Law is inexorable. The able-bodied must, as a rule, submit to come into the workhouse and give that guarantee of genuine want.

This provision is necessary to prevent utter demoralisation from spreading like a plague. No sharper test need be applied than the discipline of the workhouse, the labour imposed, the deprivation of beer and tobacco, and the infrequency of the privileges of egress. No fresh reform can be brought forward with reference to this class. But can any alteration be made in dealing with that other great and formidable class who have received relief out of doors ? The leading official reformer is Mr. Andrew Doyle,* one of the poor-law inspectors, a gentleman of great experience and much ability. He has adopted as the basis of his proposals the view of the late Mr. Mill, expressed in these words :—

‘The State must act by general rules. It cannot undertake to discriminate between the deserving and the undeserving indigent. It owes no more than subsistence to the first, and can give no less to the last.’

‘That,’ said Mr. Doyle, at a recent conference, ‘is the principle on which the Poor Law ought to be administered. Give to every poor person the minimum of relief which will suffice for support. He knew this was an unpopular doctrine, but every board ought to keep it in mind. The principle was a sound one.’

The principle avowed by Mr. Doyle is in his opinion best developed in practice in the union of Atcham, in Shropshire, whose administrators have met with his cordial approbation. The ‘Atcham system’ is thus described by Sir Baldwin Leighton :—

‘We have few children on out relief. This shows the small number of young persons with young families who apply. When widows with families apply, we offer to take some of their children into the house. We give no permanent relief out of the work-

* Since this article was written Mr. Doyle has retired.

house to any who rent more than half an acre of land, or to orphan children, or to deserted wives or children."

In other words, the Atcham system is founded on the application of the workhouse test to as many cases as possible. The actual result is indicated in a table which has been prepared by Mr. Doyle, and to which he invites special attention as a proof of the success of this policy. In that union there were in one recent year 240 applicants for relief, whose families brought up the number to 674. Now the actual total number of persons admitted into the workhouse was 27 only! To all these applicants the workhouse had been offered. Undoubtedly the table is a startling one, and Mr. Doyle points to it as evidence of the power of the workhouse test in detecting fraud. Only eighteen applicants out of 240 entered the house and received relief! We intend to recur to these facts hereafter.

It is fair to assume that the tendency of a circular letter, recently addressed by this distinguished officer of the Local Government Board, enforced by his spoken addresses to conferences and guardians, and backed by tables and figures, was to impress upon them the expediency of withdrawing out-door relief, and applying the workhouse test more generally. There are also many guardians who hold opinions adverse to out-door relief. Their theory is that the receipt of relief even in old age and infirmity is a reproach to the recipients, and that a sharper and stricter administration will tend to elevate the character of the poor, force them to be more provident, and reduce the rate to very small proportions.

In examining these views and opinions, the great fundamental principles of the Poor Law ought never to be forgotten. The Act of Elizabeth involved two principles: first, that every destitute and needy person shall be relieved, or (what is equivalent) provided with work; and, secondly, that this shall be done parochially. There are only two ways of administering poor-law relief. Either the person must be supplied with money or goods at his lodging, or he must be lodged and fed by the local authority. The question is whether the grant of relief shall generally be accompanied by the condition that the applicant shall dwell in a union workhouse? In other words, is it expedient that out-door relief shall be discontinued as a general practice, and the workhouse test be more stringently applied? These are the only alternatives. The two systems are at present mixed in practice. Ought they to continue to be intermixed, or shall one absorb the other?

Considering that the workhouse of the union is thus regarded as of primary importance in the proposed reform, it is material to ascertain the original object and purpose of these establishments. When the new Poor Law of 1834 was carried, parishes were formed into unions, and union workhouses were to be provided at the common expense. The object was manifest. They were constructed for the purpose of testing able-bodied paupers, and discovering whether they were 'malingerers' and indolent shammers, or whether they were true but unfortunate men. The union workhouse was to scare away the abuses which had crept into parochial management. It was further intended that the union house should be a common centre of administration for the newly constituted boards. It was never contemplated for a moment by the commissioners, or the reforming party, that out-door relief should cease. The able-bodied could be most conveniently set to work within the walls of the house, and as, for the most part, they were improvident idlers, there was no good reason why they should not be employed, fed, and lodged at the lowest rate consistent with health. The commissioners decreed that 'every able-bodied person shall be relieved wholly in the workhouse,' subject to a few specified exceptions. It is perfectly clear that they never thought of prohibiting, nor even of discountenancing, out-door relief to the other classes of poor. They desired to make the receipt of relief as little agreeable as possible to able-bodied people. Their system was thus described:—

The manner of administering relief was so regulated by subjecting the applicants to the discipline of the workhouse, and to other restraints, that the condition of a pauper living on the rates was depressed in point of comfort below that of the laborer.*

For this there was ample justification. People without money who can work and will not work are useless drones, and must be stimulated to make themselves of some use. The system was justified also on the ground that it is almost impossible to get at the facts with respect to able-bodied applicants. Want of employment would generally be the result of bad temper, or indolence, or indifferent character, and the workhouse was designed to be a rough substitute for that accurate information as to the chance of getting work which it is so difficult to obtain. The guardians, therefore, rightly believing that shammers will rarely submit to the discipline of the union, justly apply this crucial test with a view to keep deceivers off the

* Report of Commissioners, 1840.

list. There is no doubt of the efficacy of this touchstone. It is true that even from this point of view the workhouse has its drawbacks. There are persons who enter it *bona fide*, and becoming gradually inured to and contented with its rules and customs, linger on year after year in semi-idleness, when, had they been temporarily relieved out of doors, they would easily have found some kind of employment. But, upon the whole, the place is fairly cleared from false pretences to poverty. But we now have to inquire whether, if the workhouse test were more generally applied to all sorts of cases, we should, in repelling shams, run the risk of repulsing honest, genuine, innocent poverty. Again and again let our readers recall to their minds the grand principle of the existing Poor Law, namely, that every one in case of need has a claim to relief. This principle was fully recognised by the royal commissioners; it is a legal principle; it exists in full force at the present day, and is of the very essence of the Poor Law. The reformers of forty years ago only sought to test poverty, they never suggested that it should be repelled. But the reformers of the Atcham Union, commended by Mr. Doyle, offered relief to 674 individuals on the express condition that they should enter and dwell within the union workhouse. It has been stated above that 27 only of the 674 accepted relief on the conditions imposed. This extraordinary result is referred to with much satisfaction. But is it reasonable, or even possible, to presume that the claims of 647 persons in a single union could have been *fraudulently* pressed upon the notice of the guardians? They were represented by 222 applicants. Either we must suppose that all those 222 persons were attempting to defraud the ratepayers by affecting want which they did not suffer, or we must conclude that a certain proportion, at least, of the number preferred the most pinching poverty, a life just raised above starvation, to a compliance with the condition annexed to relief. It is highly improbable that half the number were shamming. In that case can we contemplate the Atcham system with pleasure? Can it be said that relief was administered in this particular union in true harmony with the existing Poor Law? If conditions and incidents are annexed to relief, which cause persons in unfeigned distress to make any shift and endure any privation rather than comply with them, can that course be reconciled with justice and morality? Are not the interests of the ratepayers and the credit of reducing the rates made of prior importance to the duty which guardians owe to the poor?

But it may be fairly demanded, Is there any substantial objection to the workhouse? Is there any hardship imposed on the poor applicants in requiring them to come in and dwell in it? Is not their repugnance to it a mere sentimental dislike? We have already shown that the design of the union workhouse is to be a sharp test of *bona fides*. It is necessarily arranged for this special purpose. But as a place of residence for persons of moral and respectable habits, many English workhouses are far from satisfactory. Dr. Smith, a witness of great weight, stated to one of the inspectors, that the construction and arrangement of union houses ought to be improved, and he complained bitterly of the mixture of the vicious with the moral inmates, and confessed the difficulty of separating them in most rural workhouses. There are inmates whose indigence is the fruit of vice and gross negligence, pestilential in their talk and dirty in their habits. There are others whose destitution is the result of misfortune, people of pure and blameless lives, to whom foul language, immorality, and unchastity would be as repulsive as to the wives of any of our readers. These two classes cannot be associated together without inflicting grievous injury upon the latter. *Have we a moral right to annex such an incident to relief?* Such persons shrink from the union with terror. Take the case of a young woman, the widow of an industrious young gardener of unblemished character; a woman as good and virtuous as any that can be found, and left with five or six young children. She is now helped to live and educate her children by a little relief received in her own small cottage. Would it be just or consistent with the spirit of the Poor Law to offer the workhouse to such a woman as this? By working early and late, by the help of one or two good friends, and with the four shillings a week which she receives from the guardians, she manages to live and send her children to school. If she had been obliged to reside in the workhouse, distant from her home and her associations, she would have to associate with women whose habits and language would be disagreeable and sometimes shocking. She would find herself miles away from every old friend of her husband's. In former times the parish had its 'poor-house,' and, bad as it was, it had this merit, that its inmates were not separated from their local associations. Think of the M—— Union, with its thirty parishes, and the consequent deprivation of the last and only pleasure in life, that of local sights and talk and circumstances. When the old home is four, five or eight miles from the union house, it becomes

practically a prison. It is hard to impose both a separation from home associations and the company of the lowest men and women upon the decent poor.

'Who can, when here, the social neighbour meet ?

Who learn the story current in the street ?

Who to the long known intimate impart

Facts they have known, or feelings of the heart ?

I own it grieves me to behold them sent

From their old homes, 'tis pain, 'tis punishment.'

It is true that the workhouses may be so improved as to be capable of insuring moral classification. They may then be offered to good and moral people under more favourable conditions than at present. But we earnestly contend that before 'the house' is offered as a *general* test of destitution, there ought to be such improvements as will enable the guardians to shelter the decent from the contamination of the indecent, and to furnish them with the ordinary appliances of a good labourer's cottage. The opponents of out-door relief are beginning at the wrong end. They should commence with the reform of our workhouses. Let us have in every union a workhouse certified by two inspectors, at least, that they are adequate in all respects to the exigencies of the district, and capable of *moral* as well as other ordinary classification. When this is done it will be time enough to press for the cessation of out relief and the reception of all paupers into the houses. We have already said that there is abundant evidence in blue books that such a reform has not yet been effected. Within a few days from the time when these lines were written the writer visited a small neighbouring workhouse, and found in it nine young women with illegitimate children; two about to be confined with the same; no infectious wards; no real separation for special cases of the worst description; no separate infirmary. Whoever will take the trouble to examine the reports of poor-law inspectors of 1867 will find, *passim*, proofs of the need of workhouse reformation. We turn accidentally to the report of a northern union, in which we are told that

'The male patients are left mainly to the care of pauper nurses. Some of the men cannot read at all, yet they are entrusted to give medicines to the sick. The nursing of the male patients is inadequate in every way: children and adults are to be seen in the same ward together. There is a day room for men used as a convalescent ward. With the men and in this room is an *idiot*, whose habits by day and by night are highly offensive. The beds in the infirmary are some of them

flocks—some were certainly neither dry nor clean. The means for washing are defective—there is *but one* towel a week for use in each ward. There are no cupboards, and uncleanliness and confusion all around make these sick wards thoroughly comfortless in every way. The workhouse is intended for the reception of all classes of inmates. Each class may be divided, but the separation is not effectual. The school-girls could by climbing a wall obtain access to the infirmary. There are no detached and separate fever wards.'

And Mr. Graves, a late inspector of great ability, said:—

'The guardians would never have consented to erect less imperfect buildings, and the question in many cases has been, of things useful and convenient, How many may be sacrificed with the least detriment? There is still a prevailing disposition to reject some changes, not so much on the ground that they would be expensive, or would not be useful, as because they are associated with ideas of refinement which are deemed incongruous in character with the position of a pauper.*

In the thick folio from which these words are extracted there is an immense mass of facts and animadversions of a similar nature. There are, doubtless, many well-conducted houses, and these are probably the majority. But, after all, admission into a union workhouse can only be a coarse and unsatisfactory system of administering relief to the greater part of the needy applicants. If they are *truly* in distress and want, and wish to be relieved out of the house, it is a needless aggravation of misery to compel them to come in. Considered as a test of destitution, it is a *rough substitute for accurate information*, and that information can be obtained in almost every case, if the guardians are determined to have it. The true and proper use of a union-house is to test by its discipline the good faith of able-bodied applicants; to be a hospital for sick poor who have no friends to tend them; a refuge for harmless imbeciles, and for destitute persons of all kinds who have no other place to go to. Whenever these classes are collected under its roof it is a difficult place to manage without adding to its population. The concentration of large masses of poor does incalculable mischief, while *dispersion* mitigates the evil and increases the chances of cure. Put a thousand sick people into a hospital, and we find the very air impregnated with disease. Place a thousand paupers in one house, and moral mischief will run riot in spite of all restraint. Let that same thousand be *dispersed* over the district, and the fresh air of virtue and decency will overpower and sweeten the taint. It is on this,

* Report, 1867, pp. 227, 230.

principle of *dispersion*, as opposed to concentration, that the 'boarding-out' system for pauper children is so valuable; that hospitals and lunatic asylums are now broken up into blocks; and that criminals with good-conduct passes are allowed to be dispersed and to mix with the honest population, even before the expiration of their sentences. Workhouses are necessary, and of great use within proper limits, but it may well be doubted whether those limits should be extended.

It may be said, Are we then to be content to let the acknowledged evils incident to out relief be perpetuated? We answer that, so long as the present Poor Law is continued, the system of out relief is just, humane, and in harmony with the old and the amended law. The principal objection to it is the facility it affords for frauds. No doubt it is impossible to eliminate shams altogether from out-door relief, but it may be reduced to such small dimensions as to do no appreciable harm to the ratepayers. The operation of a few practical rules and tests would quickly exterminate the ordinary trickery of applicants. The present system is this: The poor person goes to a relieving officer, states the circumstances of the case, obtains a ticket to go before the guardians at their next meeting, and there makes a formal application. A few questions are put to him by the chairman, and the officer is also heard. Upon the simple statement of the two relief is generally granted, and it rests with that officer whether he will use special diligence to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the home and history of the pauper. But what says Mr. Doyle?

'Looking to the acreage, population, pauperism,' &c., in the districts he alludes to, 'it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the duty imposed on the officers is, in the majority of cases, so onerous that no man, however active and intelligent, can satisfactorily discharge them.'

It appears that there are districts in which the number of paupers under the charge of one relieving officer exceeds a thousand.

'It is simply impossible that he can visit at short intervals the several cases, or make himself acquainted with the varying circumstances of them. Rarely are they able to inform the board of the exact circumstances of the family and relations—the information afforded is of little value—thus a very large number of persons are in receipt of relief who are not without resources, or who have relations able to maintain them.'

Consequently, the relief districts ought to be reduced in size, and a superior officer

ought to be appointed for every union or parts of unions, of superior rank and education to the average relieving officer, and remunerated with such a salary as would secure the services of thoroughly good men. Besides this measure, the boards of guardians ought to be divided into active visiting committees, each committee undertaking to visit and become personally acquainted with a certain number of cases in the course of a half-year. At present the boards see and hear for the most part through the eyes and ears of their relieving officers, some of whom are neither steady or clever enough to be exclusively relied upon, even if they had time to inform themselves fully. What the boards want is accurate knowledge, which, under the present system, is not fully supplied. The salary of a paid assistant guardian would ultimately promote economy by preventing fraud. Another simple arrangement might be adopted in the interest of truth. Every applicant for relief should be required by law to answer a set of printed questions, comprising every material circumstance in connection with the case, and on the discovery of a false answer wilfully made, he should be liable to summary conviction and some period of imprisonment. Such an enactment would at once check fraud, and in time almost prevent it. There is no hardship in this requirement. Soldiers and militia-men are expected to answer printed questions, false answers to which make them liable to sharp punishment. So also persons seeking to insure their lives have to answer printed questions, and forfeit their policies if they answer fraudulently. Again, as a further precaution, every fresh resident applicant might be required to bring a certificate from some householder of the parish, stating his personal knowledge of the main fact on which the application for relief happens to rest. The combined operation of these practical measures, namely, the increase of the number of relieving officers; the appointment of assistant guardians, to be wholly employed in the investigation of cases; the annexation of summary punishment to false answers by applicants; and the production of certificates; would substantially put an end to frauds, and reduce the recipients of out relief to cases of unfeigned want.

It may be objected that the continuation of out relief is calculated to prevent a diminution of poor rates. It is possible that, to some extent, such may be the case. But it is not improbable, on the other hand, that the administration of relief outside of the union-houses—upon full and reliable information, and with every practicable guarantee for its necessity and its

proper amount—would itself reduce our rates. In many cases the relief would be economically given in kind, and not in cash; work may be given out to women; and money advanced on loan in cases of temporary difficulty, and recovered by instalments. The example of the Aston Union, which comprises part of the population of Birmingham, shows how much may be done by careful though humane administration. The excellent chairman of that union says, in a recent pamphlet:—

‘It is, to my mind, simply a crime for a board of guardians, *where relief is obviously needed*, to offer the house, not really as a test of destitution, but in the hope of staving off the application.’

It is not possible to stamp out pauperism any more than poverty, and the most stringent mode of administering relief can only have an infinitesimal influence in making the poor self-reliant; that is, in the sense of

‘Inducing them to make the first object of life the provision of comfort and competence for old age. Whatever theories may be advanced to the contrary, parish relief has been, now is, and must continue to be, the normal provision for the old age and infirmity and the premature death of a large section of the community. It is education only, and that not of an entirely secular character, that can work such a change on the mind and habits of the poor as to make them generally careful and provident; and, after all, it is only a comparatively small proportion of them who can save if they would.’

Now, it may be conjectured by some of our readers that in the district where the holder of these sentiments administers the rates they would be large in amount, and out relief would far exceed the relief in the house. The reverse of this, however, is the case. In the year ending at Lady-day, 1871, the out relief amounted to £2,225, the in-door relief to £3,725; the population was 146,818; the area, 29,000 acres; and the total number of persons receiving relief exactly one per cent. of the population; a proportion probably without parallel throughout the kingdom. The secret of this successful administration is to be found in patient inquiry into the merits of each case, and the requirement of complete information being furnished to the board. Want of space forbids us from alluding in detail to the signal example of the town of Elberfeld as a proof of the value of personal inquiry, organisation, and close supervision of all cases of destitution and poverty. It harmonizes with the evidence afforded by Aston, and leads to the conclusion that *lax, perfunctory, and ill-informed administration*, and not *out-door relief*, is

the real cause of wasted and exorbitant rates. At all events, the diminution of poor rates is not the sole object to be kept in view. Our real purpose is the stern repulse of sham pauperism, the careful and moderate relief of genuine want, out of doors if practicable, in doors on sufficient reason, and all decisions founded on personal, accurate, and reliable intelligence. We trust it has been proved that the workhouse test, which would grievously affect hundreds of thousands of our people, and is merely a rough and ready substitute for trouble and knowledge, need not be more extensively applied. We value the union house for its proper special uses. It has been the means of abolishing abuses which have become intolerable. But we depreciate that official zeal which would inaugurate a new era of poor-law policy, in which the union workhouse will be the salient feature.

‘That giant building, that high bounding wall,
Those bare worn walks, that lofty thundering hall;
That large loud clock which tolls each dreaded hour,
Those gates and locks, and all those signs of power;
It is a prison with a milder name,
Which few inhabit without dread or shame.’ *

ART. VII.—*The Atonement.*

The Atonement. The Congregational Lecture for 1875. By R. W. DALE, Birmingham. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

THE theology of the English pulpit has undergone a great change. If some of the fathers could return to hear what is now preached, they would be greatly puzzled and profoundly grieved. Preachers, by no means few and far between, now glory, not so much in the Cross as in the Cradle of Christ—not so much in the Redemption as in the Incarnation of the Son of God. This change is due to the influence of Schleiermacher, who, about fifty years ago, adopted a new starting-point in theology, and was the means of initiating a great reaction against the rationalism, or, rather, the infidelity, which had swept in a desolating torrent over his native land. But although the new theology did good service to the cause of religion, it is in itself scarcely anything else than a new and embellished form of Socinianism. The conspicuous and all-absorbing point in this sys-

* Crabbe's ‘Borough.’

tem is the incarnation of God in Christ; but this incarnation means something very different from what is commonly understood by it. According to Schleiermacher this great fact is not peculiar to the Lord Jesus Christ, but takes place in every good man, the only difference being one of degree and not of kind. It is true that he speaks of the Divinity of Christ, but what he means by His Divinity is that He was sinless and infallible. In short according to him, Christ was a mere man, but distinguished from other men by His miraculous origin, His sinless character, and perfect intelligence. He not only dilutes the Divinity of Christ, but denies His great redemptive act, the Atonement. He holds that the mission of the great Author of our faith was to elevate humanity not so much by doing anything for us, as by simply living in our nature and originating an influence, which, like the leaven in the meal, works and ferments, and diffuses itself in the hearts and lives of the human race. He further holds that Christ could not do what He did without suffering—suffering, however, not of a penal, but of a providential kind, such as every good man must encounter, in a greater or less degree, while living in a corrupt and sinful world. The influence of these views is easily recognised in the modern pulpit. There are some conspicuous men who owe not a little of their reputation for intellect and originality to a more or less intimate acquaintance with the great German divine; while there are many more, innocent alike of the name and writings of their great master, who have learnt the shibboleth of his school, and show its influence in what they preach, and especially in what they omit preach. Their discourses lack the old evangelical flavour. Christ and His cross, as we have been accustomed to understand it, is not all their theme. We look in vain for the 'rich atoning blood,' without which there is no remission. If referred to at all, it has no other value as set forth by them than that of the Prince of Martyrs or the Chief of Philanthropists. We therefore hail with joy and thankfulness Mr. Dale's brilliant and able volume on the Atonement, which we hope will help to arrest the downward tendency of the English pulpit, and bring about the restoration of the 'faith once delivered to the saints.' 'Though this venerable doctrine has been fiercely assailed from age to age, yea, though it has been cast away and trampled upon, by irreverent mockeries, it has never yet been able to die; and we believe never will, for it has in it the power of a Divine life.'

The author has divided his subject into two parts: the first being the fact of Atonement;

the second, the theory of the Atonement. This division has, at first view, a suspicious look; for there are some who, under the pretense of distinguishing between the fact and the theory of the Atonement, get rid of the doctrine altogether. But this, it is needless to say, is not the case with the author of this book. What he means by the fact of the Atonement is the doctrine in its more general form and expression—the principle in which all the methods of conceiving of the doctrine agree and harmonise. That essential and universal principle, as laid down in these lectures, is that the death of the Lord Jesus Christ has a direct relation to the remission of sins, or, in other words, that it is the objective ground upon which we obtain forgiveness. This is contradictory of every view of the death of Christ which limits its nature and value merely to the influence it is fitted to exert upon the human heart. It has an influence upon God as well as upon man, or, to put it more guardedly, it has an influence upon God's attitude towards man as well as upon man's attitude towards God. It is not merely the death of a martyr, however glorious, who sealed and certified with his blood the great truths which he taught; nor of a model man, however exalted, who came to show us how we ought to live and how we ought to die; nor of a Divine Being, however literally affirmed, who, by sympathy and self-denial, has come to manifest how God loves us, vile and unworthy though we be. It is all this, but it has in it something else above, and beyond all this—something that makes it a ground and a reason why God should abolish guilt and receive the prodigal back to His family.

Mr. Dale's method of proving the fact of the Atonement does not consist in a mere appeal to single passages where the doctrine is categorically affirmed—the stereotyped method among English divines—but in a more comprehensive use of the Scriptures, in which attention is paid to the general course of thought and the underlying assumption of the sacred writers—a method recommended by Schleiermacher, although not exemplified by him, except in a manner to be shunned rather than imitated. This idea the author has carried out with great ability and power, and the discussion occupies nearly two-thirds of the volume. It is in our judgment the most valuable and effective part of the book. We do not see how it is possible to read the lucid and cogent reasonings of the Lecturer, without accepting the conclusion that Christ taught and the apostles believed the great fact of the Atonement.

The Lecturer, having established the fact, proceeds to construct a theory of the Atonement. By the theory is meant an explanation of the reasons why the death of Christ is the objective ground of the pardon of sin. The author shows very clearly that, although we have the materials of a distinct and definite theory in the Scriptures, we have not a categorical and scientific statement of the doctrine. Indeed, this is the case not of the Atonement alone, but of all the other truths of revelation.

We now enter upon the most difficult, and, in some respects, the least satisfactory part of the volume. While it contains a great deal of what is fresh and striking and sound, there is a German air about some of it, which deprives it of English clearness and palpability. Mr. Dale is naturally perspicacious and definite in his mode of thinking, but even he cannot make the amorphous dreamy thoughts of mysticism into well-defined and luminous concepts. With all his independence and self-reliance as a thinker, which is beyond all doubt, he has not quite escaped the fog which rises from the sea of German speculation.

There are two great questions which Mr. Dale discusses at some length, and which in his view furnish the links of connection between the death of Christ and the forgiveness of sinful man. These questions are: '1st. The original relation existing between the Lord Jesus Christ and the eternal Law of Righteousness, of which sin is the transgression. 2nd. The original relation existing between the Lord Jesus Christ and the race whose sins needed remission.' Under the first head the author confronts the *questio vexata* of the origin of moral distinctions. He very soon gives its quietus to the theory that the boundary between right and wrong is the creation of the Divine Will, from which it receives all its force and all its validity. Not less conclusively does he overthrow the idea, very generally entertained by orthodox theologians, that the moral standard has its origin in the Divine nature, or, as Dr. Chalmers somewhat anthropomorphically terms it in 'The Constitution of the Godhead,' an idea which inverts the natural order of thought, and leaves the Divine character in an undetermined condition. His own view is that the eternal Law of Righteousness is co-ordinate, or, as he calls it, 'identical' with the Divine Will and with the Divine Nature; and this, in our judgment, is the right position to take upon the subject. But he here starts a question which lands him, in what seems to us, a doubtful conclusion. The question is, Whether God Himself is subject to the au-

thority of the eternal Law of Righteousness even as we are? He takes the negative view. He affirms that we instinctively reject it, because even in idea nothing can be higher than God. He says that the relation between God and the eternal law is unique—that it is a relation not of subjection but of identity. Here we are at issue with the author, if we understand him. We admit that there is *seemingly* something harsh and irreverent in speaking of God's obligation to do or not to do certain things, but this is because we associate with obligation the idea of a person *ab extra* who has power to reward and to punish; but if 'obligation' is purified from this heteronomical idea, and is made to express nothing more than the idea of fitness or propriety, we do not see anything irreverent in ascribing moral obligation to God in such a sense. Surely we are not guilty of irreverence in saying that God has in mind the ideas of right and wrong, and that it would be wrong if He were to disregard these ideas in His conduct towards His creatures. We are unable to see any disparagement to the Divine Majesty in the conception that the standard of righteousness has ever existed in the Divine mind, and that this standard is not only a *Rule* but a *Law* of the Divine conduct.

The author, having discussed the subject of the Law in general, takes up next the question of its penalty, which he handles in a lucid and masterly manner. Here he investigates the idea of punishment. Upon this subject he passes in review various theories. There is the theory of correction, or that punishment is intended to reform the offender. There is the theory of prevention, or that punishment is inflicted for the purpose of restraining men from breaking the law. There is the theory of vindication, or that punishment is meant to defend the personal rights of the Ruler. Finally, there is the theory of retribution, or that punishment is inflicted because it is deserved. The latter is the theory which the author accepts. He holds that the fundamental idea of punishment is that of retribution, although he does not hold this exclusively. His view is that sin is punished for various reasons: viz., because it deserves punishment; then because it is fitted to protect the welfare of the universe; and finally because it vindicates the rights of God as the supreme Ruler. The essential and leading idea is that punishment is an end in itself—that the sinner is punished because he deserves to be punished.

This brings the author face to face with a question of formidable difficulty, and which from his standpoint is intimately connected

not only with the *nature* but with the *possibility* of the Atonement. The question is whether justice absolutely requires the punishment of the *sinner*. The author's conception of punishment seems to imply this. But if justice requires the punishment of the *sinner*, the possibility of atonement seems to be excluded; for if an atonement is admitted the *sinner* is not punished, but *some one else who takes his place*. How does the Lecturer meet this difficulty? His solution is, according to our conception of his meaning, that it is not absolutely necessary to punish the *sinner*, but it is absolutely necessary to punish *sin*. His own language is as follows:—

'The heart of the whole problem lies here. The eternal Law of Righteousness declares that sin deserves to be punished. The will of God is identified both by the conscience and the religious intuitions of man with the eternal Law of Righteousness. . . . The whole Law, the authority of its precepts, the justice of its penalties, must be asserted in the Divine acts, or else the Divine Will cannot be perfectly identified with the eternal Law of Righteousness. If God does not assert the principle that sin deserves punishment by punishing it, He must assert that principle in some other way. Some Divine act is required which shall have all the moral worth and significance of the act by which the penalties of sin would have been inflicted on the sinner.

'The Christian Atonement is the fulfilment of that necessity. The principle that suffering—suffering of the most terrible kind—is the just desert of sin, is not suppressed. It would have been adequately asserted had God inflicted on man the penalties of transgression. It is asserted in a still grander form and by a Divine act which in its awful sublimity and unique glory infinitely transcends the mere infliction of suffering on those who have sinned, &c. It belonged to Him (i.e., to God in the person of His Son) to assert by His own act that suffering is the just result of sin. He asserts it not by inflicting suffering on the sinner, but by enduring suffering himself' (pp. 391, 2).

If we discuss this question on metaphysical grounds we get into an impenetrable fog. It is by no means clear, if we look upon it as a matter of rational speculation, that the principle of justice is what Mr. Dale holds it to be. When he lays it down as an absolute principle of intelligence that the Law of Righteousness does not imperatively require the punishment of the transgressor, but simply affirms his desert of punishment, we feel as if he were running counter to something not unlike a moral instinct of our nature. The ordinary idea of justice is that God should give to every one his due—punishment to whom punishment is due, and reward to

whom reward is due. The language of justice, as commonly understood, is not, 'The soul that sinneth *deserves* to die;' but, 'The soul that sinneth it *shall* die.' Besides, the desert of punishment on the part of the sinner seems to imply the obligation of punishment on the part of the Ruler. To deserve punishment is to deserve punishment from some one—from Him whose function it is to punish; and to deserve punishment from some one, is the same thing as saying that it is fit or proper that some one should inflict punishment. The desert of punishment simply expresses the congruity and connection which exists between sin and suffering. And yet however we may differ with Mr. Dale when looking at the subject as a metaphysical speculation, we must agree with him in the result at which he has arrived, viz., that the claims of justice may be satisfied in some other way than the punishment of the sinner himself; for otherwise there could be no atonement and no forgiveness.

Our view is that we should, on this question, eschew metaphysics, and follow the guidance of holy Scripture. We there find that the language of God's Law is, 'The soul that sinneth it shall die.' Hence it would seem necessary, from God's own declaration, that the sinner himself should be punished; and inasmuch as the Law is, in a certain sense, the transcript of God's own nature, it seems that the Divine justice as well as the Divine veracity requires not simply the punishment of *sin*, but of the *sinner himself*. But if this be true, it proves too much, for it proves the inadmissibility of atonement and the irremissibility of sin. This shows the necessity of great care in dealing with the question of Divine justice, for many, in their eagerness to establish the necessity of the Atonement, have overshot the mark and involved themselves in point-blank contradiction. Mr. Dale has avoided this extreme by avowing, on grounds of reason, as we understand him, and altogether apart from Scripture, that justice only requires the punishment of *sin in some way*, and not absolutely the punishment of the sinner. This is another extreme. Not that we think him wrong in the principle which he advocates, but wrong in the method by which he arrives at it. We deny that his principle is a principle of reason: it is a principle of revelation—a principle that we owe in its definite and certain form to the light of the glorious gospel of the blessed God.

We think another method of stating the relation of justice to the Atonement is more in accordance with our limited knowledge, and with the facts of the case. Some of our

ablest divines * would put the case thus:—If we had no source of knowledge but the eternal Law of Righteousness, the only reasonable conclusion we could reach would be, that the punishment of the offender was inevitable, and we should despairingly ask, 'How can man be just with God?' Nevertheless, if assured by competent authority that God had resolved on the exercise of mercy, we should expect more than a bare amnesty—we should expect some extraordinary provision to indemnify the Divine law and to manifest the Divine justice; and, when made fully acquainted with the Christian redemption, we should feel impressed with its adaptation to give peace to our conscience and to bring glory to God. This comes to the same thing in the result as the view of our author, but it has been arrived at, as we think, in a more legitimate way—the way of faith, not that of reason. Whatever view we may take of *a priori* speculations bearing on the necessity of the Atonement, one thing is certain, that there is a want in the human mind which nothing but the Atonement can satisfy, though it may be a stumbling-block to the Jew and foolishness to the Greek. In the language of Henry Rogers: 'It is adapted to human nature, as a bitter medicine may be to a patient. Those who have taken it, tried its efficacy, and recovered spiritual health, gladly proclaim its value. But, to those who have not, and will not try it, it is an unpalatable potion still.'

The questions of law and justice in the foregoing discussions have been viewed in their relation to the Godhead in general, and not in their relation to the Lord Jesus Christ. But the Lecturer holds that there is a special and original relation existing between Christ and the eternal Law of Righteousness. He has laid it down as one of the pillars of his theory of the Atonement, that Christ, by virtue of His Sonship in the ineffable mystery of the Trinity, is the Representative of the Law and the Guardian of its Majesty; or, in Mr. Dale's own words, the moral Ruler and the final Judge of the human race. This he shows by quoting such familiar passages as the following: 'The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son.' 'God hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness by that Man whom he hath ordained.' 'God hath given him a name which is above every name: that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in

earth, and things under the earth. 'He must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet.' These passages certainly prove that Christ, by virtue of the redemptive arrangement, and on the ground of what He did and suffered as the Saviour of the world, does sustain the function of the moral Ruler of the human race. But they certainly do not prove that his was a function which *originally* belonged to Him as the *second Person* in the Trinity. We need not, by referring to the context of the cited passages, labour to show that the rulership spoken of is the Mediatorial Rulership of Christ, founded expressly upon His Incarnation and Atonement. Besides, we are explicitly told that this sublime relation is so far from being original, that at the consummation of all things it is destined to terminate. 'When all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.' Is it not inverting the natural order of things to convert the result of the Atonement into the ground and rationale of it?

We cannot think that Mr. Dale, with his clear and logical head, has fallen into such a patent paralogism as this. He must have had something else in his mind which he has omitted to state. It is possible that he might have been thinking of Christ's present Rulership as implying His proper and supreme Divinity, and of His Divinity as implying an original relationship to the law *in common* with the Father and the Spirit; but *not in contradistinction* from them. As God, each of the three Persons in the Triune Mystery is, in a certain sense, Supreme Ruler in the kingdom of spirits. The Father is Ruler, the Son is Ruler, and the Holy Spirit is Ruler, each by virtue of His own Deity. But it is one thing to possess a *homousian* rulership—quite another to possess a *hypostatical* rulership. (The terminology may be pardoned for the sake of brevity.) In the *homousian* sense we might affirm that the threefold existence became incarnate, but in the *hypostatical* sense it was the *Son alone* who became incarnate. Hence if it be Mr. Dale's object to ascribe no more to Christ than a *homousian* prerogative in relation to government, it is not enough for his purpose, unless we hold that we may with propriety ascribe the Atonement not only to the Son, but also to the Father and to the Holy Ghost. This is a great mystery, the deepest mystery of the Divine nature; and therefore, it behooves us that our words should be few, lest we deserve the rebuke that 'fools rush in where angels fear to tread.'

* *Vide* Dr. Cunningham's 'Historical Theology,' vol. II. p. 260.

According to the Scripture method of representation, the Father is set forth as the Lawgiver, whose authority has been desecrated, and the Son as the Mediator, 'who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins.' But Mr. Dale ignores the personal distinctions in the Godhead, in so far as the Atonement is concerned, and proceeds upon the principle of Monarchianism. The language of Scripture is, 'The Lord hath laid upon him the iniquities of us all.' The language of Mr. Dale is, The Lawgiver punished Himself instead of punishing us. It used to be one of the objections brought against the Atonement, that it represented God as making atonement to Himself. But our author, instead of replying to the objection, adopts it as a correct statement of the doctrine. For our own part, we prefer the old-fashioned method which we have learnt from the Scriptures. It is more human, more intelligible, and quite as free from objection. Indeed, to confess the truth, Mr. Dale's mode of representation on this subject 'confounds our mind instead of helping our ideas, or making them more easy and intelligible.'

The next general topic taken up by the author with a view to a theory of the Atonement, is the relation of our Lord Jesus Christ to the human race. He says:—

'Although the redemption of mankind is spoken of both by Christ Himself and by His apostles as originating in the love and righteousness of God, the language of the New Testament seems to imply that in some sense Christ died in the name of the human race. It is not God alone who has part in the great mystery. Christ was a sacrifice and propitiation for us, though not by our own choice and appointment. His death is described as an appeal to God's infinite mercy coming from the human race itself, or from one who has a right to speak, and act, and suffer as its Representative. This aspect of the death of Christ has no place in the partial conception of it which we have reached by considering the relation of Christ to the eternal Law of Righteousness. Again; this partial conception of it leaves the impression on the mind that the death of Christ had something of a dramatic character, and that its value lies in its dramatic effect. The theory, if I may so speak, seems to be in the air. If it can be shown that the original and ideal relation of the Lord Jesus Christ to the human race constitutes a reason why He should become a sacrifice and propitiation for our sins, the conception of His death illustrated in the preceding lecture will rest on more solid and secure foundations' (pp. 401, 2).

He then proceeds to say that this relation has never yet been clearly understood by the

Church, and he candidly confesses that he himself has not very definite views on the subject. He affirms, however, that in *some sense* Christ is the Head and Representative of Mankind—that this conception of Him is wrought into the very structure of apostolic doctrine, that it has been insisted on by Mr. Maurice and his disciples in this country, and since the days of Schelling has occupied a conspicuous place in German theology. Dr. Watts, by the way, had a very definite and intelligible theory upon this subject. He held that the human soul of Christ existed before the world began, in personal union with his Divine nature, so that He was a theanthropic Person before He was born of the Virgin. He held that it is on this account that He is called the *image* of the invisible God; for, as he contends, the Divine nature cannot be the image of itself. That term can only apply to the human factor in his complex personality. He also founds his theory upon the fact that the Covenant of Redemption betwixt God the Father and his Son was *made before the foundation of the world*—a fact which seems to imply 'the *man* Christ Jesus, who is most properly the Mediator, according to 1 Tim. ii. 5, to be also *present* before the world was made; to be chosen and appointed as the Redeemer or Reconciler of mankind; to be then ordained the Head of His future people; to receive promises, grace, and blessings in their name; and to accept the solemn and weighty trust from the hand of His Father, that is, to take care of millions of souls.'*

Mr. Dale's view, whatever it may be, seems to have more affinity with the realistic theory of the late Professor Maurice. That theory, so far as we are able to understand the dreamy thoughts of that erratic theologian, is, in substance, as follows:—That humanity was chronologically prior to individual men—that this humanity was created by Christ in His own image, and existed in Him before time began; so that Christ was God and man before the Incarnation, and the Incarnation was only the manifestation of an eternal reality. Hence there is a twofold union between Christ and our race, by original constitution. 1st. He is the natural Representative of the race. *He*, not *Adam*, is our original Head. We are collectively included in His original humanity. We are parts of Him as the original and ideal man. Hence what Christ did and suffered, we did and suffered. That Mr. Dale has a tendency towards the realistic theory in some form or other, is evident

* Watt's Works, vol. vi. p. 820.

from the following passage of the Rev. Stopford Brooke, which, in Appendix F, he quotes with approbation:—

‘There in Christ all humanity was concentrated; there all humanity suffered and sacrificed itself; there all humanity reconciled itself to God; there God saw all humanity die to sin, and reconciled Himself to it; there all humanity conquered death in a last struggle with it; there the whole race united itself in the life of God, for Christ was not only a man, He *was* humanity’ (p. 474).

2nd. Christ’s original relation to mankind also includes that He is the natural source of our life, both physical and spiritual. ‘All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made.’ He made us in his own image, and He upholds us, and until we sinned He was the fountain of our higher life. There was, it is alleged, the same vital union between Christ and unfallen man as there is between Christ and believers under the gospel dispensation—a union explained by our Saviour’s own beautiful words: ‘I am the vine, ye are the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for apart from me ye can do nothing.’ Now for the application of this twofold relationship to the subject in hand. The fact that Christ is our natural Head enables Him (Mr. Dale would say) to make reconciliation for our iniquities, and this reconciliation unseals the fountain of Divine influences and restores the vital relation which He originally sustained to us, *potentially* in the case of all men, and *actually* in the case of believers. We do not deny that Christ was the agent in the creation of man; nor do we deny that He was the model according to which man was made; nor are we concerned to deny that He was the source of man’s original righteousness; but we do deny the realistic idea, whether held by Mr. Dale or not, that He created the species before the individual—that He united humanity to Himself before all time—and that, as such, He was the original Head of the human race. We believe that when Moses says that ‘God made man in his own image,’ he means not a generic but an individual creation; and that when Paul says, ‘The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit. Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual’—his meaning is that Adam, and not Christ, was the original head of the human family. There are other expressions in conflict with the view that Christ was the original Head of the race—such as ‘The Word was made flesh’—‘He

was made in the likeness of men’ which imply that He *became* what He was not before in any sense of the word—that is to say, a human being.

All admit that the Atonement to be valid implies some sort of *union* between the Substitute and the sinner. The following quotation from a work entitled ‘Primeval Man Unveiled,’ contains the view of an able writer:—

‘But the Scriptures do not represent the efficacy of the Atonement as a mere substitution, although in our theological systems the idea of substitution is generally placed in the foreground. In Scripture the grand idea presented is not so much substitution as union; and for every passage in which substitution is presented as the theory of salvation, there are ten which represent it under the idea of a union. In fact, without union there could be no substitution according to law.

‘There is a story told of a lady who was given up by her physicians, and when the fond husband asked them if there was really nothing that could by possibility save her life, they replied that she was dying for want of blood, but if that could be supplied, it was possible that she might live. The husband in a moment bared his arm, and bade them take from his veins whatever quantity was necessary for the purpose. We are told that the communication was formed, the blood was transfused from the strong body of the husband, and made to flow gently into the veins of his wife. The consequence was that she revived and lived. Here there was no miracle—no violation of the physical laws. The lady would have died but for the transfusion, and, in that case, the laws of nature would have been satisfied; but these laws were equally satisfied when the blood flowed into her body, and she revived.

‘In this incident we have an illustration of the mode of salvation by Christ, in which the law is satisfied and the sinner saved. There is, indeed, in the Atonement a *substitution*, because, in reality, the just suffers for the unjust, and the innocent Jesus becomes the substitute of the guilty sinner. But there must be more than substitution; there must also be union; for without union there could be no substitution according to law. In the case of the lady, union without substitution would have been useless, because the mere forming of the communication without the transfusion of the blood would not have been enough: the husband must be weakened that the wife might be strengthened, and the blood which was gained by the one must be lost by the other. But, on the other hand, substitution without union would have been equally impossible, because the death of the husband would have been as contrary to law as the recovery of the wife, unless the transfusion had taken place by means of the union.

‘The objection which has been raised to the doctrine of the Atonement, as opposed to our instinctive sense of justice, is founded on the

misapprehension of its nature ; and the moment we introduce the idea of union, the objection ceases to have force. In so far as there is no union there can be no substitution according to law, or consistent with justice ; and if the Scripture had represented the Atonement as a substitution without union, it might not have been very easy to reply to the objection. But Scripture does not represent the gospel as a substitution without union : there is union ; and unless it can be shown that the union is not such as to satisfy law—that is to say, unless it can be shown that the union is not a real and personal, but only a theoretical and ideal union—the objection cannot be held to have any force. Now the Scripture asserts that the union between the Saviour and the saved is not only a real and personal union, but a union so complete that it is described not as being a *union* so much as a *unity*. The unity which exists between Christ and His people is spoken of in the most absolute terms. He is the Vine, they are the branches ; He is the Head, they are the members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones ; they are one with Him, He being in them and they in Him. Such references might be multiplied to any extent, because the Scripture is full of them both in type and doctrine. If this then be the nature of the Atonement, and if this union be real and personal, and not merely legal and metaphorical, the death of Christ must necessarily be a complete satisfaction to justice, not in theory only, but in fact. When the Head was crucified the members must be reckoned as having died ; when the Head rose from the dead, the members could no longer be held as prisoners ; and when Christ ascended to heaven, every member of His body was entitled to regard it as his home. If the Head be in heaven, the members may for a time be on earth ; but they cannot remain there, far less can they ever be in hell.

Such is another view of the union which is considered necessary to the existence of the Christian Atonement. We admit and rejoice in the union described between Christ and His people, and our heart has been touched and moved by the earnest and forcible exhibition of it in the eloquent citation just given ; but we fail to perceive its application to the point in hand. It accounts for the subjective effect of the Atonement, but not for the objective validity of the Atonement. It answers the question why we become partakers of the benefits of the Atonement, but it does not answer the question why the death of Christ, any more than the death of other beings, constitutes the atonement for our sins.

Dr. Crawford, in his able and elaborate work on the Atonement, contends that—

‘The difficulty to be solved is not how it comes to pass that both the Saviour and the

redeemed sinner are treated otherwise than they deserve, but how it comes to pass that the unmerited sufferings of the one are deemed, in the judgment of God, a sufficient ground for the bestowal of unmerited blessings—in other words, for the *application* of redemption to them? Where this is the question, the union of believers with Christ is a most relevant consideration to be taken into the account. That which we are looking for is *some bond of connection* between the Redeemer and those whom He redeems, which may help us to apprehend on what principle it is that His obedience unto death should be applicable for their advantage. And surely we have made a considerable approximation towards discovering the desideratum, when we find that believers are represented in the Word of God as intimately and vitally united to the Saviour.’

This is a patent *ignoratio elenchi*, for the thing to be accounted for is the *objective* redemption accomplished on the cross, and not the *subjective* redemption experienced in the heart. The application of redemption implies the existence of a redemption that could be applied. The union between believers and Christ is not creative but *conductive*. The pipes which bring water to our houses do not originate the supply of water in the reservoir—they simply convey the water if there be any to convey. The mystical union of believers with their Head explains how they receive the benefits of the Atonement, but it does not explain how or why the unmerited sufferings of the Redeemer acquire an atoning value or significance and become a propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world.

The union which is implied in the substitution of Christ must be *anterior* to the substitution itself ; but the mystical union of believers with Him is *posterior* to it, not only in the order of *time*, but in the order of *thought*. It therefore avails nothing to bring in the doctrine of election, and to say that the union in question was predetermined before the foundation of the world, and was a fact in the Divine mind before it is actually realised in the case of believers. The *substitution* of the Saviour, as well as the *conversion* of the sinner, was a fact in the Divine mind before time began. Hence, nothing is got by penetrating into the Divine purposes, for the question is, which of the two things is first in the order of thought, in their necessary relation to one another. It is clear that the union referred to is founded upon the Atonement, and not the Atonement on the union. The Atonement is the cause and the union the effect, which even Dr. Crawford virtually admits when he says that the impetration of redemption *secures* the application of it.’

The view combated is liable to another objection—a serious one from our standpoint. It is, that it necessarily limits the extent of the Atonement. If there be no expiation of guilt without a real and personal union between the substitute and the offender, then there is no sacrifice for sin except for a limited number of the human race, viz., those who shall actually be brought to believe in Christ. We believe that Christ, 'by the grace of God, tasted death for every man,' 'that he gave himself a ransom for all,' and that 'no mortal has a just pretence to perish in despair.'

It now remains that we should give our own view of the relation of Christ to mankind, which qualifies Him to be their Representative in the great work of redemption. That relation we consider to be His *assumption of our nature*. He became bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, and blood of our blood. 'As the children were partakers of flesh and blood, he himself took part of the same.' He became our kinsman, our brother, our elder brother. He not only became a man, but *the* man, and therefore had a more intimate relation to the human race than any other member of the great family. He is the pattern man, in whom the complete idea of humanity is projected into time and space. Hence 'His individuality is related to that of every other human being, as the centre of the circle to every point of the periphery.' We often speak of representative men—men who pre-eminently exhibit the mental and moral characteristics of the nations to which they belong. History records the names of many such representative personages. Christ upon far higher and truer grounds is the representative of *all* mankind, for He possessed our nature in its most comprehensive and consummate form. He was neither Greek nor Jew, barbarian, Scythian, bond, or free; but he was humanity in its most unrestricted, enlarged, and ideal manifestation. 'He was the chief among ten thousand, the altogether lovely.' So that, on the ground of His humanity alone, none else could have been chosen with equal propriety to be the new Head of the human race. But He is more than man. He is God as well as man in one mysterious Person, and thus He is qualified not only to represent the human race, but to do so in such a manner as to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to restore man to his original intercourse with God.

Mr. Dale is not alone amongst orthodox divines in challenging the Incarnation as an adequate explanation of the efficacy of the death of Christ. Dr. Crawford makes use of the following language:—

'It cannot be said, however, that the Saviour's incarnation furnishes a complete and satisfactory explanation of the efficacy of His sufferings and obedience in securing the remission of our sins. It may indeed be viewed as a *sine qua non*, or an indispensable requisite to that efficacy, by making Him to be in such a sense akin to us, that the sufferings He endured, and the obedience He rendered, were the *same in kind* with those which are required of us. But it does not so identify him as a personal agent with those whom He redeemed, that all He did and all He suffered may be properly and righteously considered as done and suffered by *them*, irrespective of anything that brings them as individual and personal agents into union or communion with Him.*

It seems to us that there is here a demand for a relation so intimate and complete between the Redeemer and the redeemed, that nothing short of absolute identity can satisfy the demand. It may be always said to be a fiction and a technicality, to consider that what was done and suffered by the Son of God on the cross was done and suffered by us. This can never be literally and really true except upon the assumption that there is no distinction between the Saviour and the sinner—that in fact the one *is* the other. But we can never believe this paradox unless, with Hegel, we are able to soar into the empyrean far above the laws of ordinary logic, and acquire the wondrous power of perceiving that a thing is not only *what it is*, but also and at the same time *what it is not*.

Shall we then accept the realistic view of Christ, in order to make the apostle's statement literally true, viz., 'That if one died for all, then all died'? This seems to us like going from Scylla to Charybdis; for to say that the humanity of Christ includes all the individuals of the human race is quite as confounding to the intellect as to say that Christ and the human race are literally and reciprocally identical. We reject it, however, not because of its inherent difficulty, but because of its purely gratuitous and speculative character, having no foundation whatever but in the vain imagination that would be wise above what is written.

Nor do we think that the fact of the mystical union of Christ and His people (held by Dr. Crawford, as well as by many of the older divines, to be a satisfactory explanation of the atoning efficacy of the death of Christ) at all meets the objection of those who are violently opposed to the idea of *imputation*. If it be alleged that believers are regarded by God as if they had lived the life of Christ, and died the death of Christ,

* Crawford on the Atonement, p. 444.

upon the ground of their spiritual union with Him, the adversary will reply, they *did not* live His life nor die his death, and therefore why should they be considered as having done and suffered what they have *not* done and suffered. Let us have done with *nisi prius*. Away with all technical fictions, and let us have nothing but realities in the domain of religion. All that can be said by Dr. Crawford by way of rejoinder, as we suppose, is that the union of believers with Christ makes it a fit and proper thing that He should be dealt with as if He had been a sinner, and that His people should be dealt with as if they had been righteous. 'He who knew no sin was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.' We have already stated our objection to making the mystical union the ground of the Atonement. It is reversing the natural order of things, and making the effect to change places with the cause. We believe with Dr. Crawford that faith has to do with the imputation of righteousness to us, but we do not believe that our faith has anything to do with the imputation of sin to Christ. We hold that the Incarnation qualified Him to be the Representative of the human race, and His own voluntary offer to take their place, and the acceptance of Him by the Father, *actually* made Him their Representative and Redeemer. What He did and suffered was in the *name* and in the *room* of fallen man. It may be objected that He was not appointed by the race for whom He acted. But parents often represent children for their benefit without their consent. Besides, the first Adam represented his posterity without their consent, to their terrible injury. If so, why may not the second Adam assume a similar function, without their consent, to their unspeakable advantage? 'As by the offence of one, judgement came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life.'

The most serious objection to the view we have taken, viz., that the assumption of our nature furnishes the explanation of the death of Christ for our redemption, is, either that it implies the *ultimate salvation of all men* without exception, or that it has done no more than to make the salvation of men a *mere possibility*. We take an intermediate view. We do not believe that the effect of the Atonement will be to secure the salvation of the whole world, nor do we believe that the effect of the Atonement is reduced to the bare possibility of salvation. We do not see that the *universality* of the Atonement need dilute the *nature*, or impair the *proximate*

effect, of it. We hold that the immediate effect of the Atonement was not redemptibility, but redemption. 'We are justified by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.' 'In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace.' 'By his own blood he obtained eternal redemption for us.' There is a difference between *objective* and *subjective* redemption. For example, a philanthropist purchases the liberty of a slave. He is *objectively* redeemed as soon as the price is paid, but he is not *subjectively* redeemed until he is actually set at liberty. We may be objectively redeemed without ever being subjectively redeemed. The objective redemption depends upon the *atonement* of Christ, but subjective redemption depends upon our *faith* in Christ. Faith does not *impetrate* redemption, but simply *appropriates* redemption. 'Faith does not make the fact of our redemption, but rests upon it as previously existing; and that without the previous existence of it, our faith would be unmeaning and false.' Upon any other hypothesis faith becomes a *ground*, and not a mere *instrument* of salvation; a *proper condition*, and not a mere *appropriation* of eternal life. In the quaint language of one writer it makes our faith into a *Jesus*. It turns the eye inward upon something of our own, instead of fixing its steadfast gaze upon the great redemptive work of the Son of God. All our favourite hymns proceed upon the objective view of redemption and the receptive view of faith. Take the following examples:—

'In my hand no price I bring,
Simply to Thy cross I cling.'

'The best obedience of my hands
Dares not appear before Thy throne;
But faith can answer Thy demands,
By pleading what my Lord has done.'

All our best hymns are objective in their character, and lead our minds away from ourselves to what Christ has done for us, and thus frequently fill our minds with peace and joy without the help of a laborious and fruitless introspection. Was not this the meaning of the Reformers when they affirmed that *assurance* was of the *essence of faith*? They did not mean by it the assurance that we are Christians, but that Christ had expiated our guilt and that God was propitious to us. Nor, with this limitation, did they mean that the Christian was free from doubts; but only that, when their faith was in exercise, they trusted in Christ and were not afraid. There is great confusion in the

minds of modern divines upon this subject. They do not seem to know that assurance has three meanings: one, that which identifies it with faith, and is founded upon a direct view of the redemption which is in Christ Jesus; another, that which results from a process of self-examination, and whose object is our own Christian character; the third is a supernatural attestation of our adoption, the Spirit bearing witness with our spirit that we are the children of God. This latter view is held by the Wesleys, who affirm that it is the common privilege of all who are born again. There are others, John Howe for example, who hold the supernatural assurance, but limit it to a select and favoured few, who have it as the reward of eminent piety. With regard to the first, or objective assurance, Sir W. Hamilton maintains that it is essential to the Reformers' doctrine of justification by faith; for faith deprived of its appropriative character is converted into a work. He quotes Luther as saying that 'he who hath not assurance spews faith out;' and Melancthon, that 'assurance is the discriminating line of Christianity from heathenism.' Sir William winds up his views on this subject in the following passage:—

'This dogma, with its fortune past and present, affords indeed a series of the most curious contrasts. For it is curious that this cardinal point of Luther's doctrine should, without exception, have been constituted into the fundamental principle of all the Churches of the Reformation, and as their common and uncatholic doctrine have been explicitly condemned at Trent. Again, it is curious that this common and differential doctrine of the Churches of the Reformation should now be abandoned virtually in, or formally by, all these Churches themselves. Again, it is curious that Protestants should now generally profess the counter doctrine, asserted at Trent in condemnation of their peculiar principle. . . . Finally, it is curious that, though now fully developed, this central approximation of Protestantism to Catholicity should not, as far as I know, have been signified by any theologian, Protestant or Catholic; whilst the Protestant symbol (*Fides sola justificat*—Faith alone justifies), though now eviscerated of its real import, and only manifesting an unimportant difference of expression, is still supposed to mark the discrimination of the two religious denominations. For both agree that the three heavenly virtues must all concur to salvation; and they only differ whether faith, as a word, does or does not involve hope and charity. This misprision would have been avoided had Luther and Calvin only said, *Fiducia sola justificat*—Assurance alone justifies; for on their doctrine assurance was convertible with true faith, and true faith implied the other Christian graces. But this primary and peculiar doctrine of the Reforma-

tion is now harmoniously condemned by Catholics and Protestants in unison.*

We are persuaded that the pupil has lost a great deal of its power through the neglect or imperfect statement of this doctrine; for what after all does it mean but a simple and direct trust in God as our reconciled Father, through the atonement of His Son. Whenever the cross of Christ has been held up as the immediate ground of assurance, the instant source of peace, there has been a stir amongst the dry bones, there has been a flocking to the standard of the Cross. Does not this account for the success of Wesley and Whitefield and of Moody, the American evangelist, whose fruitful labours are still fresh in the memory of us. Many are afraid that such an easy method of assurance,—such a free method of justification—will lead to Antinomianism. Such was the objection of many to the preaching of Paul, the great Gentile apostle, but the objection is perfectly groundless. On this subject we cannot resist the temptation of quoting the crushing reply of the late Dr. William Anderson, of Glasgow:—

'I read in books, and they tell me in conversation, that there once existed a species of mankind who seemed to enjoy undoubting confidence in God's love, as secured for them by the work of Christ, who were yet selfish, fraudulent, sensual, and extensively immoral in their conduct. . . . I, for one, know not, and never knew such men. Those that I know, of whom I am persuaded that they have an abiding, joyous trust in God's paternal love, are all as obedient as they are confiding (I would that some were as confiding as they are obedient); and there is no preaching, I am persuaded, which makes such a waste of words as that which exerts itself in the exposure and rebuke of the man who indulges an Antinomian confidence. It is a mere beating of the air—there is no one to represent the character. It is not only a moral, it is a kind of physical, impossibility, that a soul which has "entered into the holiest by the blood of Jesus," to hold filial intercourse with the Father of spirits, should fail of being transformed into the Divine moral likeness.†

Having discussed the leading questions in-

* Sir W. Hamilton's 'Discussions on Philosophy,' &c., p. 509. We do not forget the able article of Dr. Cunningham, in reply to Hamilton, in the 'British and Foreign Evangelical Review,' October, 1856. But we adhere substantially to the views of Hamilton, although some of his statements require modification; and venture to question whether the great Scotch divine had a clear idea of what was meant by the doctrine 'that faith is of the nature of assurance.' Dr. Chalmers had a far better idea of this.

† 'Filial Honour of God,' pp. 12, 13.

volved in a theory of the Atonement, we come now to the theory itself—the theory as constructed by the author whose book is under review. While the theory under consideration, in one important respect, keeps within the strict lines of orthodoxy—in fact, more so than the volume in the old Congregational Series on the same subject—yet it contains some things hard to be understood, and harder still to be received as part and parcel of the Atonement. The general outlines of the theory are contained in the four following propositions:—

‘1. The death of Christ is the objective ground on which the sins of men are remitted, because it was an act of submission to the righteous authority of the law by which the human race was condemned, &c.; and because, in consequence of the relation between Him and us—His life being our own—His submission is the expression of ours, and carries ours with it, &c. This submission was made for us, on our behalf, in our name. But we have a part in it. In a real, and not merely a technical sense, the act is ours’ (pp. 430, 1).

This means, in brief, that the death of Christ is the ground of pardon, because it is a *real* expression of our submission to the outraged authority of the Divine Law. But how can it be called a real expression of ours, if we were not present to give our assent and consent to the sublime self-surrender of the Son of God? Is it because it was predetermined in the Divine mind that we should be brought into spiritual union with Him, and hence to give our hearty response to what He did in our name on the cross? In addition to the objection already made, that this is transposing the order of cause and effect, and making what seems to us to be the result of the Atonement into its rationale or antecedent ground, it is liable to the further objection that, viewed in relation to Mr. Dale’s standpoint, it is an *ignoratio elenchi*. Mr. Dale has elaborately sought to show that there is an *aboriginal* relationship between Christ and mankind, and therefore we should naturally expect that this aboriginal relationship would be constituted into one of the grounds of the Atonement. But what do we find? Why, that he altogether *ignores* the relationship which he labored so earnestly to prove, and *substitutes* for it another relationship, which only comes into existence *after* the deicide accomplished at Jerusalem, when men from age to age are converted to the knowledge of the truth. This is not all. The relationship on which he founds the Atonement bears reference *not* to the *whole* human race, but to a *limited* portion only—those who shall be *actually* saved. How will

Mr. Dale be able to harmonise this particularism with the unrestricted extent of the Atonement? We presume that he believes that Christ is not only the propitiation for our sins, but for the sins of the whole world. But this cannot possibly be held by *him* except upon the assumption of the ultimate salvation of all men, a view which, so far as we know, he does not favour.

We believe that the self-surrender of Christ was made for us, on our behalf, in our name; but we do not believe that we had a part in it, in any *real* or *literal* sense. We believe that the validity of His representation does not depend upon *our* consent to the appointment, but upon the command of the Divine Father and the concurrence of the Divine Son.

‘2. The death of Christ is the objective ground on which the sins of men are remitted, because it rendered possible the retention (!) or the recovery of our original and ideal relation to God through Christ which sin had dissolved and the loss of which was the supreme penalty of transgression.’

What is meant by this original and ideal relation to God which is recovered by the death of Christ? In so far as we are able to make out, it means the relation of trustful, loving, and obedient children.

It is affirmed that the death of Christ renders the recovery of this relation possible. But why? We want to know, in a theory of the Atonement, not the *what*, but the *why*. Let us see if we can find the missing link in some other part of the book. Perhaps the following passage, although obscurely expressed, may help us out of our difficulty:—

‘Through his death the relation of Christ to the Father is no longer of a kind to render it untrue to our relation to God. Sin had introduced an element into our life which rendered it impossible, except on the hypothesis of an amazing and incredible fiction, for the original relation of Christ to the Father to continue to be the ideal of the relation of the human race to God, and in the region to which the spiritual life of man belongs, fictions can have no place. If, therefore, we were still to be related to God through Christ, it would seem to be necessary that there should be included in His actual relation to the Father an expression of the truth of that relation into which we had come through sin. That expression is found in His death’ (pp. 423, 4).

If we have penetrated into the meaning of this obscure passage, it signifies that man in consequence of the Fall needed a new moral exemplar. The exemplar for man in his original condition was not suitable to man in his condition of guilt. A new feature must

be added, viz., that of submission to the authority of the violated law. Hence it was necessary, upon the assumption that Christ should continue to be the Exemplar of the human race, that He should surrender Himself to the penalty of the law, and thus give us an example of submission to outraged authority. If our investigation has been successful, the second proposition means that the death of Christ is the ground of forgiveness *because it contains a sublime example of submission to authority.* With this result before us, we cannot help feeling that the idea has been considerably disguised and mystified, and that simpler forms of speech would have saved much trouble. We grant that the cross of Christ contains an example of submission to authority, and forms some part, though only a *subordinate* part, of the value of that great sacrifice which was offered on the Tree. But we shall have to include a great many things in the Atonement, if we are to comprehend all the aspects which the death of Christ may assume to thoughtful minds; for it was not only an example of submission, but of patience, of moral heroism, and of the sublimest self-sacrifice, and we know not how many things beside.

'3. The death of Christ is the objective ground on which the sins of men are remitted, because it involves the actual destruction of sin in all those who through faith recover their union with Him.'

Does this mean that the death of Christ is fitted to exert a great moral influence upon the heart and life of the believer? No; for the author expressly avows that he means something more and something else. This is clearly expressed in the following passage:—

'St. Paul, in his second Epistle to the Corinthians has these remarkable words, "We thus judge that if one died for all, then all died." These words, if they stood alone, might perhaps be fairly regarded as a strong rhetorical statement of the effect which ought to be produced on our hearts by the infinite love of Christ in dying for us. It might be said that since He died for us, the greatness of His love ought to dissolve all our relations to this present evil world, and bind us in perfect and eternal loyalty to Himself; that we ought to live as though death had already separated us from the common excitements and sorrows and triumphs of mankind. But in several other of his epistles he speaks of Christ's death as though it were a real event in our own history, &c. In his Epistle to the Galatians he affirms that he himself had thus died in Christ. "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." And many Christian persons have declared that they are conscious that in

the death of Christ their old and evil life perished, &c. I accept this relation between the death of Christ and the death of our own evil self as a fact, though I may be unable to offer any explanation of it' (pp. 425, 6).

It is clear that Mr. Dale in this passage seeks to include in his explanation of the Atonement, not what is called the moral influence theory of the death of Christ, but some form of the mystical theory. He seems to hold that there is some sort of physical connection between Christ and His people; that Christ is not the federal or the moral Head of His people, but their natural Head, so that a common life grows between them. Christ is in His people just 'as the root of the tree is in its stem and branches, in its leaves and fruit.' Taking this view by itself, we have no objection to it, if it simply means that God, by the working of His Spirit, makes the death of Christ effectual to the salvation of every one that believes. There can be no doubt that the Scriptures clearly teach that there is a spiritual union between the Saviour and those who believe; but is there not a danger of exaggerating and mystifying it by investing it with the form and color of the philosophic doctrine of realism. We have already given our reasons for refusing this union, however conceived or expressed, as a legitimate explanation of the expiatory effect of the death of Christ, and therefore it is unnecessary to say anything more upon the subject in this place.

'4. The death of Christ is the objective ground on which the sins of men are remitted, because in His submission to the awful penalty of sin, &c., there was a revelation of the righteousness of God which must otherwise have been revealed in the infliction of the penalties of sin on the human race. He endured the penalty instead of inflicting it.'

This is the supreme and fundamental idea of the Atonement, because it bears reference to an immanent principle in the Divine nature—the sacred and inviolable principle of righteousness. We rejoice that Mr. Dale holds, with no feeble grasp, this grand essential in a proper and real atonement for guilt; and that while many have wandered 'in endless mazes lost,' he is 'faithful amongst the faithless found.' This, although the chief ground of the Atonement, is not the only and exclusive ground. We hold that the Atonement has reference to God, to the universe, and to the pardoned sinner, and that a complete explanation of the Atonement must combine what theologians designate the satisfaction theory, the governmental theory, and the moral influence theory. All these ideas may be found in one form or another in Mr. Dale's theory of the Atonement.

ment, and, therefore, so far he has travelled in the beaten track. But his realistic or quasi-realistic speculations about the original relation of Christ to the human race, seem to invest a part of his teaching with a questionable appearance. To be plain, we do not see any room for the old idea of *imputation* in his theory of the Atonement. He is so anxious to abolish from theology what he calls fiction and technicality, that we have some sort of realism made very conspicuous—humanity in Christ, and Christ in humanity. It seems as if he held that the benefits of the Atonement came to us by *infusion*, and not by *imputation*—that the spiritual life which flows to us from our Divine Head is the *immediate ground* of justification in the sight of God. This we should consider a *serious* deflection from the theology of the Reformers. It is possible, however, that we may have misapprehended his meaning.

There is another point which deserves a passing notice; that point is the aspect under which the Lord Jesus Christ became the substitute of sinners. Our author considers that it was as the Supreme Ruler that He took upon Him the penalties of sin. It is to the fact of His supreme Rulership, and not to His Divinity, that he ascribes the validity and value of His atonement. He expresses this view clearly in an article by him in this Periodical on the expiatory theory of the Atonement. His words are: 'Not the dignity of Christ, but *His position as the Ruler of our race*, invests His agony and death with all their atoning efficacy.' According to our judgment this is not the way in which the substitution of Christ is set forth in the Scriptures. We nowhere read that Christ the Supreme Ruler took upon Himself our penalties, that He might not inflict them upon us. What we read is, 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son.' 'Being justified freely by this grace through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, whom *God hath set forth* to be a propitiation,' &c. 'I have power to lay down (my life), and I have power to take it again. This commandment have I received of my Father.' 'When the fulness of the time was come, *God sent forth his Son*, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.' It is evident that the biblical method is to exhibit the Father as the Ruler whose authority has been violated, and the Son as the Divine Person who, in obedience to His Father's will as well as to His own compassion, undertook the sinner's cause, and put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself.

We believe, moreover, that the Scriptures

expressly attribute the value of the sufferings of Christ to His Divine dignity. In Acts xx. 28 we read of 'the church of God which he (God) has purchased with *his own blood*.*' Elsewhere (Col. i. 14, 15) we read that we have 'redemption through his blood, who is the image of the invisible God.' Also that 'the *Lord of glory* had been crucified.' Take especially the following passage: 'If the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh: how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through (or with) the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?' (Heb. ix. 13, 14.) It is clear that the inspired writers consider the superior worth of the blood of Christ to be due to His superior nature. Nor is the teaching in conflict with the common sentiments of mankind. Some of our readers will remember the effect upon the unsophisticated minds of the American Indians of an apt illustration used by the missionary Brainerd. They asked him how the death of the one Substitute could be equivalent to the death of the human race. He replied, 'One sovereign is equal in value to 960 farthings. Why? Because the sovereign is gold and the farthings copper. So Christ, because of the dignity of His person, is of more value than all mankind, and hence His death is equivalent, and more than equivalent, to the dying of the whole world. This solved the difficulty, and gave complete satisfaction to these untutored savages. In all ages men have estimated the value of sacrifices in proportion to the excellence of the creature laid upon the altar, and hence, in great emergencies, men have even shed human blood. We therefore see no reason to abandon the time-honored idea that the force and value of the Christian sacrifice depends upon the Divine dignity of our Lord's person.'

There is one thing of great practical importance which ought not to be omitted in this review—we say of practical importance, because the view we take of it will vitally influence the whole style of our preaching and the efficiency of our labors in the kingdom of God. Mr. Dale teaches that, while the *Atonement itself* is necessary to salvation, *faith* in the Atonement is *not absolutely* necessary, even under the dispensation of the gospel. The following citation conveys that idea:—

'It is not the theory of the death of Christ that constitutes the ground on which sins are forgiven, but the death itself; and the faith

* This reading is a subject of controversy.

which is the condition on our side of receiving redemption through His blood is trust in Christ Himself as the Son of God, and Saviour of Men, not the acceptance of any doctrine which explains how it is that salvation comes to us through Him. For this trust it is not necessary that men should acknowledge even the fact that the death of Christ is the propitiation for the sins of the world, much less is it necessary that they should receive from others, or elaborate for themselves, a theory of propitiation. It is enough that the authority and love have been so revealed to them that they rely on Him for eternal salvation' (p. 314).

This is broad enough to take in all who call themselves Christians, however inadequate their views of the glory of Christ, and however erroneous their views of the way of life. To be broad and charitable is good, but not when it comes into conflict with the glorious gospel of the blessed God. Such was the idea of an inspired apostle, for he said, 'Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.' We quite agree with Mr. Dale that it is not the *theory* of the death of Christ, but the *death itself* that constitutes the ground of forgiveness. We also agree with him that the faith which is necessary to salvation is *trust in Christ Himself*, and not the acceptance of any particular doctrine or theory of the Atonement. But we seriously disagree with him when he says that for this trust it is not necessary that we should acknowledge even the *fact* that the death of Christ is the propitiation for the sin of the world. We consider the Atonement, in its essential principle, to be the sum and substance of the gospel. An apostle says: 'Moreover, brethren, I declare to you the *gospel* which I preached unto you, which also ye have received, and wherein ye stand; *by which also ye are saved*, if ye keep in memory what I preached unto you; unless ye have believed in vain. For I delivered unto you, first of all, that which I also received, *how that Christ died for our sins*, according to the Scriptures' (1 Cor. xv. 1-3). Can a man be saved without believing the gospel (excluding of course from our consideration the cases of infants and of the heathen)? But the gospel, according to the teaching of the inspired apostle, is that Christ died for our sins. It sounds all right to say that if we trust in Christ we shall be saved; but there can be no trust without knowledge. 'They that know thy name will put their trust in thee.' We must therefore determine what knowledge is necessarily implied in this trust. It is evident from the Scriptures that there can be no recognised trust in Him

without some acquaintance with His Divine dignity and His great redemptive act. What is the meaning of our Saviour's words, 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you'? (John vi. 53.) They can mean no less than that faith in His atonement is the imperative and indispensable condition of eternal life. Can any one intelligently and worthily partake of the Lord's Supper without believing that His body was broken for us, and His blood shed for the remission of sins? If we ignore the Atonement as the ground of our trust in the Son of God, our preaching will soon lose its evangelical tone and flavour, and become stale, flat, and unprofitable; and from ignoring we shall proceed, if God in mercy hinder not, to repudiating this all-important and all-pervading truth. We have often wondered that the Cross has occupied so insignificant a place in the ministry of some men, but the fact is accounted for if the idea prevails that the knowledge of the Atonement is not necessary to the faith that bringeth salvation. We believe that the Cross is the tree of life, that 'the life is in the blood'—'the blood that speaketh better things than that of Abel;' and if we would recover and rehabilitate poor fallen humanity, we must preach Christ and Him crucified—Christ 'bearing our load of sins, to save our souls from hell.'

In coming to the close, we beg to say that we have found in the book much to approve and admire, some things to question and dissent from, and a point or two to combat and to condemn. We have honestly sought to understand the author's views and to do them justice; but if, as it is possible, we have misconceived or misrepresented his meaning, we crave the indulgence which is due to an honest but fallible critic. We thank Mr. Dale most heartily for his able and eloquent lectures, and, with the exceptions made, commend them to the favourable consideration of all who take an interest in theological subjects, hoping that they may awaken fresh interest in a subject of unrivalled importance, and help to attain a more scientific statement and a more effectual vindication of this ground and pillar of our faith.

ART. VIII.—*The Present Aspects of the Church Question.*

Disestablishment. Twelve Addresses by Mr. R. W. DALE, M.A., of Birmingham, and the Rev. J. GUINNESS ROGERS, B.A.,

of London. Society for the Liberation of Religion, &c. London.

THE prophecies of far-seeing Liberals, uttered when the Conservative reaction burst upon us, are already beginning to give signs of fulfilment. As in the winter vegetable life shows itself mainly in the roots, so in the depression of the Liberal party the chief symptoms of its indestructible political life are felt in the further development and the clearer apprehension of certain great fundamental principles, out of which all its legislative activity has ever sprung. In a singularly inconclusive article contributed to the 'Fortnightly Review,' of February, by the Hon. G. C. Brodrick, those principles are not unfairly described, though certain possible issues which mainly concern us here are desperately evaded. 'The unreserved recognition of progress as the appointed law of all human institutions, civil or religious;' 'an imperishable love of freedom;' 'equality before the law;' 'respect for human nature as such;' 'habitual regard for political justice;' and 'the deliberate preference of national interests over all minor interests, whether of classes, of sects, of professions, or of individuals:' such is Mr. Brodrick's summary of Liberal principles, a summary which we quote not as an individual discovery, but simply as a convenient confession of a common political faith. It is very possible, indeed, that most Conservatives also would formally subscribe such a creed. But without imputing to them the non-natural interpretations fostered by the easy morality of ecclesiastical confessions at the present day, we must hold that these principles have for Liberals an expanding significance and a vital, aggressive, constraining force, altogether wanting to the Conservative apprehension of them.

The question of most absorbing interest to all who care to look beyond the present and the following parliamentary session, or whose feelings for the political drift of the times goes deeper than the possible contingencies of mere office-hunting strategy, is, In what fresh direction are these fundamental principles likely next to break out? What will be the next decisive movement of progress in our political institutions? Where, in our social system is equality before the law most glaringly violated? What parts of our ancient legislation are most incongruous with political justice? How will our growing 'respect for human nature as such' assert itself anew against the invidious distinctions of the past? To these questions we affirm that one answer is unanimously given by all the intellectual and moral forces likely to

dominate the immediately coming political future. There is no insult to the principle of progress so flagrant as the stolid persistence of a national ecclesiasticism, of which the vital development was suddenly and hopelessly arrested at a period when the spiritual energies of the nation had just begun to germinate afresh. There is no inequality before the law so monstrous as the contrast of favour and contempt, approval and invective, shown in the attitude of our national ecclesiastical constitution towards the equally conscientious, and, so far as human authority is concerned, the equally legitimate, varieties of religious opinion that abound and flourish amongst a hopelessly divided people. There is no failure in political justice amongst us now so generally oppressive as the system which, in all attempts at social and educational reform, puts the Nonconformist half of the nation at an enormous disadvantage as compared with the Conforming half, and makes 'watchful jealousy' a hateful sectarian necessity of both. And, finally, our old-world laws cherish no disrespect for human nature so deep and vile as that which, in the interests of theological exclusiveness, outrages the sanctities of death, and nourishes the clerical temper that curses the 'carion of dissent.' It is not any creed, nor is it any class of men, who are denounced by the general voice that condemns this state of things. Neither the clergy, nor the squirearchy, nor the peerage are touched by the growing discontent. What is really condemned and also inevitably doomed is the system which formally and legally identifies the religious life of the nation with the ecclesiastical inventions of Henry VIII.

The general feeling of which we speak has recently received a signal expression in the interest and enthusiasm excited by the mission of Mr. R. W. Dale and the Rev. J. G. Rogers to some of the chief centres of population. We are well aware that it is quite possible to exaggerate the importance of the crowds that are always attracted by eloquence. The United Kingdom Alliance, for instance, can always throng the greatest halls in the country with applauding multitudes, not one-tenth of whom regard the Permissive Bill as a permissible speculation in politics. But even the agitation aroused by Sir Wilfred Lawson is proof demonstrative of a resolve swiftly ripening in the bosom of the nation to rebuke the bullying arrogance of the liquor traffic. And there is this difference between the interest excited by the Alliance meetings and by those of the Liberation Society—that 'whereas by common consent an eager attendance at the former is consid-

ered indicative only of zeal against drunkenness, no man can show any active sympathy with the promoters of the latter without committing himself to the definite measure of legislation announced. Besides, the prominent appearance of local Liberal politicians at these gatherings, and the eager enthusiasm of the rank and file of the party, prove demonstratively that in the centres where the germs of all great reforms have been hitherto ripened, the ecclesiastical constitution of this country is most prominent in men's thoughts. But if the meetings themselves have been signs of a rapid development in public opinion, the speeches delivered have assuredly done much to stimulate the movement. For ability, force, and statesmanlike grasp of the subject, they are comparable to some of the best oratorical utterances of the Anti-Corn Law agitation. There was, indeed, in the speeches of Mr. Bright's palmiest days, a sonorous ring and a passionate rhythm which no living man can pretend to rival. But for straight hitting and impervious argument, not even Mr. Bright's published speeches excel some of those in the collection before us.

One most gratifying feature is the evident determination of the speakers once for all to divest the agitation of every vestige of sectarian spirit. They have made no attack upon Episcopalianism as a religion. They have denounced neither creeds nor articles. And while always maintaining the right of Nonconformists to urge their conscientious objections to Erastianism, they have evidently preferred such broader political arguments as spring from the fundamental principles of Liberalism, and seem likely, therefore, ultimately to unite the whole party. They have urged the equal wrong and absurdity of employing the whole resources of the State in support of what are, humanly speaking, at the best only sectarian opinions. They insisted upon the odious inequality of the law, according to which some twenty thousand paid functionaries are bound to condemn fully half the religious people of the country as schismatics and heretics, besides occasionally launching solemn curses against them, as in the Athanasian Creed. Another more ordinary point of argument was the futility of the attempt to obtain from Parliament ecclesiastical reforms, the discussion of which is alien to its temper, and the consequent waste of parliamentary time, which blocks the progress of legislation. In these speeches no such assumptions will be found as those which have provoked the wrath of Mr. E. A. Freeman. Plainly neither Mr. Dale nor Mr. Rogers ever dreamed that at some particular juncture of history

an episcopal denomination was established by the State, or that out of a chaos of sects one in particular was at some historical period selected for approval and patronage. Indeed, Mr. Freeman's lucid exposition of the real state of the case will best enable any student of the question to master the argument that marches throughout the whole series of these speeches. In them the National Establishment is not a sect, 'not a religious body,' as it was erroneously termed in a moment of oblivion by Mr. Cross in the debate on the Burials Bill. It is simply a branch of the British Constitution, the growth of which has been arrested precisely when all other parts have given evidence of increased vitality; a phase of the national life which is manifestly incongruous with the age, and the inconsistency of which with the whole tendency of modern legislation is rapidly becoming intolerable. Lastly, the finishing stroke has been given to this special effort of popular instruction by Mr. Dale's article in the 'Fortnightly Review' for March, which may be regarded as the highest tide-mark of public opinion on the subject.

In commenting on this remarkable series of meetings, some of the leading organs of the daily press have adopted a style of criticism which, while professedly intended to show the hopelessness of the movement, seems to be of ominous significance as to the future line of defence. Thus the 'Pall Mall Gazette' commented on the supposed unwillingness of the speakers to 'approach the question from its practical aspect.' The opportune appearance, on the very morning after the Exeter Hall meeting, of Lord Hampton's returns, giving the amounts raised for Church building and restoration during the last thirty-five years, seemed to give much point to such a remark. And 'The Times' anticipated its evening rival in arguing that the real question is not the abstract justice or desirability of Church establishments in themselves, but the possibility, or otherwise, of disturbing an institution which has driven its roots so deep into our national life. We are far from denying that there is much truth in such observations. We cannot indeed allow that they detract anything from the value of a mission undertaken mainly to inform the public mind, and to excite public opinion. But we not the less gladly acknowledge that the question is passing beyond the stage of theoretical discussion, and demands a more practical mode of treatment than it has hitherto usually received. This is the reason why we have called the criticisms of the daily press ominous of the future. It seems as though by common consent amongst practical politicians the case of

the Establishment were to be surrendered on its merits, and defended only on the ground of insuperable difficulties in touching it. It is precisely this practical view of the matter which we propose here to consider.

Now, first of all, it would appear that by agreement of all classes, from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Primitive Methodist preacher, and from extreme Ritualists to the school of Mr. Voysey, the really practical question is not whether *anything* is to be done, but, rather, *what* it is to be. With the present condition of our ecclesiastical constitution no one is satisfied. Not Convocation, for, fretting under the isolation of our national communion, it is stretching out wistful arms to the Greek Church on the one hand and the Old Catholics on the other; not the Archbishop of Canterbury, for, with honest English feeling, he indignantly urges the claims of excluded Christians at home to prior consideration; not the Bishop of Peterborough, for, with vigorous eloquence, he denounces the whole system of patronage; not the Evangelicals, for they have got one Act of Parliament to stamp out ritualistic practice, and would gladly get another to persecute ritualistic doctrine; not common-sense Churchmen, for, as represented by Mr. Salt, they would put an end to the spiritual despotism by which every rector of a parish is enabled to exclude from his domain all Church teaching except his own; not moderate High Churchmen, for, as represented by Mr. Beresford Hope, they insist upon a comprehensive scheme for the increase of the episcopate; not the Broad Churchmen, for, failing to obtain the repeal of the Act of Uniformity, they do the next best thing, by setting it at defiance; not the Ritualists, for, with a violence of language, compared with which the invectives of Liberationalists are 'as moonshine unto sunshine, and as water unto wine,' they abuse the bishops, and the parliament, and the court of ecclesiastical appeal, and even the very crown itself. It is needless to prolong the list by adding the discontent of the great Nonconformist bodies; the recently aggravated feelings of the Wesleyans; the claims of Mr. Martineau on the one hand, and Mr. Voysey on the other, for 'comprehension'; or the silent contempt of philosophical Radicals, which they have recently shown a tendency to exchange for fiery denunciation. There is no class of Englishmen, absolutely none, with the doubtful exception, perhaps, of the scarcely surviving school of high and dry opinions, tempered by a love of old port, which is satisfied with our ecclesiastical constitution as it stands. And that it stands at all is only owing to the circumstance, that

while the wind blows from all points of the compass at once, it does not know which way to fall. The utmost that anyone interested can say is, that he hopes it will last his time. And the equilibrium has come to be so very precarious, that, according to the continual lamentations of bishops, the class of young men whom they would most gladly ordain is standing out of the way, apparently lest in their mid-career the whole structure should come down upon their heads.

By these observations we do not intend in the least to prejudice the question as to the course which ecclesiastical reform should take. We only insist upon the universal consent of opinion that it must take *some* form. The truth is, that though Mr. Freeman's account of the Church Establishment is indisputably correct, both in history and law, yet the effect of innumerable changes in opinion and society has been such, that the Church has come to be, for all practical purposes, just what is most repugnant to his historical conscience, a nationally endowed and privileged sect. No doubt the sect is a very large one. It could not, as 'The Times' truly observes, be put inside Exeter Hall in the sense in which the Congregational Union might. And if the sect were agreed within itself, its very size might for the remainder of this century be a guarantee of impregnable power. But it is not agreed within itself. Very far from it. Its creeds, formularies, and laws are definite enough to exclude all who with a wide divergence of opinion preserve a scrupulous conscience. But they are not definite enough to secure oneness of spiritual sympathy, and they are absolutely powerless against unscrupulosity of conscience. The result is that the language used above is scarcely accurate. Instead of being one endowed and privileged sect, the Anglican communion is a group of such sects, united together, not as the Wesleyans, by unity of opinion; not even as the Congregationalists, by sympathy and charity, amidst avowed divergence of opinion; but rather by a common entanglement of political with religious aims, by agreement on the advantages of legal prestige, and by a general facility of conscience in regard to creeds and formulas.

But though all parties are agreed on the pressing necessity for immediate ecclesiastical reform, the various policies recommended are of a widely diverse character. They may all, however, be reduced under three general heads, which may be termed respectively, conservative, liberal, and radical. We do not use these words here in their technically political meaning, but rather in their ordinary English sense, though it is undeniable that in general the divisions of opinion

on ecclesiastical subjects will be found to run along the lines that separate political parties. This, however, is not necessarily the case, and is rather to be deprecated than desired. Certainly there are a large number of political Liberals who, in regard to the Churches of England and Scotland, are, like Mr. Gladstone himself, distinctly conservative; and Mr. Brodrick's previously mentioned article in the 'Fortnightly Review,' though nothing short of radical in its general tendency, winds up with an almost scornful repudiation of disestablishment. The different meanings of conservative, liberal, and radical, in their application to the subject in hand may be thus described. Conservative projects of ecclesiastical reform seek to accommodate the law to the actual facts of Church life and opinion as they exist at the present day. By such means they hope to reunite and consolidate the distracted Anglican communion so as to ensure a prolongation of its political privileges. Liberal schemes of reform take the direction of comprehension, and seek to remove all legal hindrances to the development of an ideal national Church, to embrace within as yet undetermined extremes all possible varieties of theological opinion. And, lastly, radical reformers insist on reconciling constitutional forms with the facts of national life, by forcing the State to adopt an attitude, not of equal favour, but of impartial neutrality towards all forms of belief or unbelief, and to leave the interests of religion to the voluntary devotion of religious men. If we are right in our review of the position of ecclesiastical affairs, some one of these schemes of reform must very speedily prevail over the deadlock that now exists. And the question that more immediately concerns us is, Which of them is the most practicable? For in this practical nation it is most surely true that, whatever may be said in favour of abstract principles, all reforms are certain to move along the line of least resistance.

At first sight it would certainly appear that this English characteristic must inevitably favour conservative reform. For whatever may be the truth as to the perplexing statistics of religious worship, it is indisputable that the Anglican communion not only enjoys the proverbially solid rights of possession, but almost entirely monopolises the revived religious devotion manifested of late years amongst the socially highest and politically most influential ranks of society. We quite agree with the great organs of the passing day's opinion, that the facts brought out by Lord Hampton's returns reveal an unsuspected amount of enthusiasm in favour of the Anglican Church. Still farther, the

telling argument in favour of Christianity, that it must be Divine or it could not have survived its corruptions, is applicable also in a minor degree to the vitality of the English Establishment. An institution which, under the shameless auction of its sacred offices, burial scandals, senilities of Convocation, inanities of episcopal allocution, coquettings with superstitions abroad and outrages on our common Christianity at home, can shoot up its thousands of new steeples throughout the land, and jingle its new purse of £26,000,000 in our ears, must be blessed with a very tough constitution indeed. Surely nothing ought to be easier than such trivial modifications in ecclesiastical law as are imperiously required by its present necessities.

When, however, we look at the facts of recent legal and parliamentary history, our first impressions are seriously modified. The aim of conservative reform being the maintenance of Anglicanism, nominally as the national religion, but really as an endowed and privileged denomination, the means to be adopted must be the consolidation of its strength, the improvement of its machinery, and such relaxation of the conditions of communion, or, at any rate, of office, as may relieve devoted adherents, while giving no facilities for inward schism. The measures advocated by conservative reformers, therefore, strike at ritualism on the one hand and rationalism on the other. The love of Anglicanism for the *via media* is well known, and shows a true instinct of self-preservation. But this *via media* is almost as shifting as the navigable channels at the mouth of the Mersey or the Thames. It is always needing to be marked and buoyed afresh. Its line under Henry VIII. was not the same as under Elizabeth. Under Charles II. it was altered anew, and it has certainly very greatly changed since then. It is absolutely necessary for the purposes of conservative reform that this *via media* should be again mapped out amongst the new shoals that have arisen. And if this cannot be done by an amended Act of Uniformity, it must be accomplished by piecemeal legislation, such as the Public Worship Regulation Act.

This measure affords an excellent illustration of the methods of conservative reform, and, we must add, of their futility. Its purpose was to consolidate the Anglican Communion by excluding eccentricities of ceremony. True it introduced no new principles or definitions, it only gave additional facilities for setting the law in motion in the interest of average Church opinion. It is, however, clearly an attempt to discover the new *via media* by the clumsy method of an appeal to irate churchwardens or aggrieved

parishioners. But, as was frankly acknowledged by Mr. Gurney, it is but a half measure and absolutely requires for its completion similar facilities for prosecution in cases of false doctrine. It is not of the least use to prosecute a clergyman for elevating the cup above his head, if, after submission in the matter of ceremony, he is still free to explain from the pulpit that the cup *ought* to be elevated, because it is an object of adoration. Doctrine is the root of ceremony, not ceremony of doctrine; and a law that forbids the ceremony which is the legitimate fruit, while it allows the doctrine, which is the irrepressible germ, only accumulates irritation by the inconsistency of its action. The truth of this is well known to conservative reformers, and it was as their representative that Mr. Gurney promised to bring in a supplementary measure, dealing in a similar manner with faults of doctrine. It is needless to say that the perplexities of the subject were found to interpose insuperable difficulties, and that the promised measure was quietly dropped. Meanwhile the futility of the new law is publicly illustrated by the ceremonial of many churches, in which, what with incense, and genuflexions, and prostrations, and bells, and priestly mumbling of the Queen's English, it is impossible for an occasional visitor to tell whether he is assisting at an Anglican Communion or a Romish Mass. The Act is utterly incommensurate with the facts of the case. It does not cut deep enough to reach the seat of disease; but, like the lancet of a fumbling surgeon, it is irritating beyond endurance. The offended Ritualists will neither submit nor secede. But in the mean time they are nourishing a very important reinforcement of the party of radical reform.

Space will not allow us to do more than allude to the grief felt by conscientious churchmen at the growing laxity of clerical feeling on the subject of subscription. And it is a most serious matter, not for the Church only but for the nation at large, that owing to the nature of our ecclesiastical constitution, a charitable tolerance of varied opinions is inevitably blended with laxity of moral feeling. It is one thing to honour and admire a Unitarian like Mr. Martineau; it is altogether another thing to keep up respect for a man who in private conversation shows himself a Unitarian, but whose public creeds, solemnly professed at the very throne of God, are the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian. It is one thing to sympathize with the conscientious difficulties felt by many cultivated minds and generous hearts as to the evidences for supernatural religion; it is altogether another, and a very ruinous thing, to

have nothing but polite platitudes or a knowing smile for men who sign the Articles, and recite the Litany, and celebrate the Communion Office, while they regard the Gospel miracles as old-world fables, and prefer the teaching of Comte to that of St. Paul. It is of no use to say that this is exaggerated language. Such cases may be extreme, but they are not infrequent; and a man must know little indeed of the world of letters, who is not aware that to publish the real personal opinions of many clergymen, together with their names, would be to expose himself to an action for slander. It is high time that the plain truth were spoken on this subject. It is intolerable that 'God's great gift of speech' should be abused by respectable hypocrites at His very altar. It is monstrous that the morality of this country should be refined away by the jesuitical subtleties of the very men who are its paid official defenders. Conservative Church reformers are fully alive to this evil, and would gladly find a remedy. The best of them are not bigoted. They would make any reasonable concession to the acknowledged progress of opinion. But they would take means to ensure that men who profess to be successors of the Apostles should speak in the Church only what they believe. Now Mr. Gurney's prudent abandonment of an impossible enterprise is only one illustration of the insuperable barriers that frown down every attempt at reform in this direction. The very notion of Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone, Mr. W. H. Smith and Mr. Bright, Mr. Whalley and The O'Donoghue, Mr. Hughes and Professor Fawcett, Dr. Kenealy and Major O'Gorman, sitting down to devise means for securing a reasonable amount of sincerity in the clergy is obviously absurd. Nevertheless, the case is pressing; and if some such measure of conservative reform cannot be carried, another of a very different kind is sure to take its place.

Nor are the prospects of reform in the machinery of the Church much more hopeful. As the population has multiplied six times while the number of bishops has remained the same, Mr. Beresford Hope and his friends have obviously very good ground for demanding an increase of the episcopate, especially as they do not propose to ask for any money from the State. But if the truth were known, the political position and social grandeur of the existing bench interpose difficulties which only the strenuous effort of a strong Government could hope to overcome. And even the present ministry seems very loath to risk its reputation in such a cause. In years gone by Lord Sandon has very ably explained how the cause of the Church

would be strengthened by the creation of parochial councils. Apparently, however, his official position offers no facilities for the furtherance of his views. The scandals of mercenary patronage find absolutely no defenders; and their remedy has been the passionate desire of perhaps the most vigorous-minded, and certainly the most eloquent, bishop of the day. But he has been baffled as completely as though he had run his head against a stone wall. Even the Archbishop of Canterbury's modest desire to remedy the abuses of sinecure offices and extortionate fees is the issue of a long conflict of twenty years, during which four ineffectual bills have been brought forward on the subject, only to be dropped. In a word, even a Tory Parliament is half-hearted and indifferent. Or, perhaps, it fears that any attempt to adapt the old machinery to modern steam power would result in an explosion.

Again, conservative reformers, while anxious to secure a reasonable consistency of doctrine, would gladly provide relief for tender consciences, which are as yet unseared, by obtaining some improvements, such as an alternative burial service or the permissive abandonment of the Athanasian Creed. If Parliament cannot do the business itself, surely it might be induced to adopt the resolutions of Convocation. But, unfortunately, Convocation does not know its own mind; or when it does it is always opposed to the mind of the age. In a word, the prestige, the political power, the dignity, the wealth, and the popularity of the Anglican communion, however they may impose on the imagination and the eye, are proved by unanswerable facts to fall under the spell of a tantalizing paralysis whenever any attempt is made to use them for the purpose of conservative reform.

Yes, say the advocates of liberal reform, such peddling attempts at legislation stand self-condemned, because they are made in the interest of a sect, and are wholly incongruous with the true idea of a National Church. Such a Church ought to be, not in name only, but in actual fact, coextensive with the nation, or, at any rate, with its religious life. The nonconforming adherents of our national Christianity have clearly a grievance so long as the State imposes conditions of communion or Church office which can only have the effect of perpetuating schism. But surely that is a short-sighted policy, symptomatic of an acrimonious temper, which, in vexation at past wrongs, would abandon the saintly dream of catholicity, and sacrifice the Divine relations of the State to imitations arising out of earthly squabbles. A nobler aim would be to sink sectarian

differences in devotion to our common Christianity; to recognise all existing forms of Church government, and all forms of Christian belief, as so many phases of our national religion, with a right to a due share of our ancient ecclesiastical funds for the decent support of their worship, and for the encouragement of learning amongst their ministers. In a word, the school of liberal ecclesiastical reformers would correct acknowledged incongruities by accommodating our ecclesiastical laws to an ideal dream.

Such propositions need only one comment—a reference to the history of the Burials Bill. When a prelate of reputation and learning tells us that the parochial graveyards are the *peculium* of the Almighty, and that therefore the permission, within the sacred precincts, of prayers and praises by other children of the common Father than those approved by right reverend bishops, would be an unpardonable sacrilege; when leading Churchmen have so little trust in any national religious feeling, that they predict scenes of riot and blasphemy in our churchyards if the obnoxious bill be passed; when the utmost concession, of which there is any hope with clerical consent, is the permission of a silence at the grave, which would be more eloquent of national dissidence than any petulance of sectaries; is it not a waste of time to discuss even for a moment the possibility of any organised scheme for comprehension? The thing is simply impossible, and therefore it seems needless to add any reasons for considering it undesirable. Yet those who mark the danger threatening our national fame for individuality of character, through the gradual extension of administrative compulsion with its attendant evil of centralization, over all works of benevolence and public instruction, will feel the importance of not only maintaining, but enlarging the one sphere of voluntary effort and moral enthusiasm which remains to us. Such a comprehensive Church, for instance, as that advocated by Mr. Voysey—and short of it we do not see how comprehension would have any meaning—would necessarily involve a central ministry of public worship. And what religion is under such a ministry, let Germany and France bear witness.

But if both conservative and liberal reform are impossible, radical reform is assuredly inevitable. By this we understand the reconciliation of our ecclesiastical laws, not with the demand of a sect, nor with the suggestions of ideal dreamers, but with the actual facts of our national life. Englishmen are hopelessly disagreed on matters of Church government and doctrine. Then let

the State cease from the hypocritical pretence that they are united. Abundant experience proves that it is not by State patronage and support, but by voluntary devotion, that religion wins its triumphs. For evidence of this we are content to appeal to the agricultural districts, where, according to the confession of S. G. O., made some years ago in 'The Times,' it is not the 'cultivated gentleman' sustained by the State in every parish, but the Primitive Methodist preacher, or the Home Mission agent, who stimulates and guides whatever religious life there is amongst the poor. Whatever aggressions the State Church itself has recently made on the vice and heathenism of the land, have been in the great centres of population, where ancient endowments are miserably inadequate, and where the appeal to the voluntary principle has been most nobly answered. Then let our laws be accommodated to facts, and let religion depend, in form as well as in reality, on its own irrepressible life. We often hear of the advantages possessed by the American States through the wise reserve of public lands for the support of the common schools. But this country, no less than America, has its reserves of national resources in the form either of tithes or lands, which in old times were kept back from the competition of commerce, that they might serve the common weal. The purposes to which these reserves were consecrated are no longer held to serve the common weal, and the application of the funds has been diverted accordingly. The modern use made, however, of these funds, has diverged more and more from the growth of our national needs. We do not want Masses for the dead, or chantries, or monasteries; and it is only one quarter of us who want to worship according to the rites of reformed Anglicanism. But we all of us want common schools, and we all of us groan under the burden they add to the rates. We all of us want to bring the universities within the reach of promising talent in every class. We all of us want to lessen the national debt. Why, in the name of justice, then, should our national reserve funds continue to be diverted from all objects which we unanimously consider to serve the common weal, and remain devoted to sectarian purposes, for which only a fraction of the nation cares? Let this cease, say radical reformers; let our ecclesiastical laws in this respect also be reconciled with the actual facts of modern life. In other and more familiar words, radical reform would consist in the disestablishment and disendowment of all forms of religion.

But what distinguishes the present aspect

of the Church question is this: that disestablishment and disendowment are urged not in the interests of any sectarian triumph of one set of religionists over another, not as the logical issue of any pet theory of Church and State held by worshippers of abstractions, but simply as the common-sense method of dealing with a chaos of incongruities, which people of all opinions alike feel to be intolerable. As Mr. Dale says, 'The question has become one of practical politics, and has passed to the positive stage.' The only elements in political calculation henceforward will be the forces arrayed on either hand—tradition, prejudice, inertia, and vested interests on the one side, with growing opinion and command of the ballot-box on the other.

No doubt the difficulties of radical reform are great. But if we are right in believing any other mode of reform to be impossible, the line of least resistance must be looked for in this direction. The real perplexities of the question are not to be estimated by looking at one set of difficulties alone. The inferences recently drawn from Lord Hampton's returns, as to the powerful social influences arrayed on the side of the Establishment, are legitimate enough. But they overlook the equal or superior forces ranged on the other side. £26,000,000 in thirty-five years is, after all, not a very amazing sum for a nation which last year paid £27,000,000 in excise alone. And while the Episcopalians have thus been exerting themselves, the Nonconformists have not been idle. Statistics, published in the 'Nonconformist' newspaper three years ago, showed that in the twenty years from 1851 to 1872, there had been built in 119 towns, exclusive of London, 1514 Dissenting places of worship, against 611 Episcopalian churches. And if a complete return on the subject could be obtained, it is certain that the money raised during the present generation by the Free Churches would very considerably dim the glitter of Lord Hampton's £26,000,000. In truth it must be frankly confessed that if the decision of the question rested wholly with the denominations, the issue must certainly hang in suspense for a long time to come. But that is not the case. The newly enfranchised masses of the people have not as yet realised their power, nor have they hitherto interested themselves much in questions of ecclesiastical polity. They have looked upon the disestablishment movement, not, perhaps, without some justification, as merely a struggle between hostile sects, and therefore they have preferred to shout for manhood suffrage, annual parliaments, and payment of members. Meantime under all

difficulties, popular education is making way. Such speeches as those of Messrs. Dale and Rogers are amongst the most powerful educational influences of the time. And when once the new voters come to understand how far the principles of progress, of freedom, of equality before the law, of respect for human nature as such, of political justice, and of the supremacy of national interests, are involved in this Church question, their weight will descend like a steam-hammer upon the wedge that is already inserted between Church and State.

Note to the Review of Mr. Forster's 'Swift.'

SINCE the review of Mr. Forster's 'Life of Swift' passed through the press, the death of the author has made an empty place in the ranks of contemporary literature, and has ended the hopes of seeing completed by his hand that work whose foundations he had so securely laid, and whose superstructure he had so well begun. It was a fitting close to a life whose labours had taught us familiarity with so many paths of English literature, and made real to us some of those names with whose memories that literature is rich, that the last days should have been spent in removing the rank growth of scandal and falsehood which had till now obscured the genius that stood first in that age, whose wit and wisdom gave to Mr. Forster, as to so many amongst his contemporaries, a congenial field of study. He has cleared the dust from the monument, and traced the lines that are to restore it. Another hand must carry on this work, utilising the materials gathered with so much industry, and completing the 'Life' so worthily begun.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVELS.

The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America. By H. H. BANCROFT. Vol. V. —Primitive History. Longmans and Co.

In this fifth volume Mr. Bancroft concludes what he has to say regarding the native races of the Pacific States, and it worthily fulfils the promise of the earlier volumes. Here is a mass of information regarding the history of tribes which, advancing from rude beginnings, founded empires and dynasties and instituted civilisations of no inconsiderable pretensions in America, such as will not be found anywhere else that we are aware of. The author has, in fact, tapped new mines of historical and archæo-

logical facts which are of the very greatest importance in the present condition of the sciences of comparative history, comparative philology, and comparative religion. He has brought into prominence problems which at one time excited the curious and gave rise to many wild guesses and theories, but which it was impossible to solve when they were first brought forward, and which have since fallen into neglect. Amongst these the most difficult, and yet one of profound interest, is the origin of the so-called aboriginal inhabitants of the American continent. When the discoveries of Columbus unsettled the traditional views of the Middle Ages, it was natural that all sorts of conjectural theories should be indulged in by the champions of the dominant theology of the time; for it was usually in a theological interest that such inquiries were pursued. The theories of origin, as we are shown in this volume, were legion; but none of them have any intrinsic value to us now. The darkness indeed is still unbroken, the obscurity of the primitive history of America is unpierced, and the solution of the problem, if it ever should be solved, will be one of the grandest achievements of modern thought. Mr. Bancroft has gathered together all available materials that may help in this work; but he is forced to confess that, 'while the darkness may be occasionally lighted up here and there by dim rays of conjecture, these only become fixed lights of fact in the eyes of antiquarians, whose lively imagination enables them to see best in the dark, and whose researches are but a sifting out of supports to a preconceived opinion.' The only authorities from which we have any knowledge of American primitive history are the oral native traditions, the Aztec picture-writings, the works of the Spanish writers who came in contact with the natives immediately after the conquest, and those of converted native writers. The information thus obtained is illustrated, corrected, or confirmed by what we know of the institutions, habits, and beliefs of the nations at the conquest, and their monuments, which have been dealt with in previous volumes. The comparatively scanty results obtained after all this labor are indicated by Mr. Bancroft's modest estimate of his own achievements, when he tells us 'he has found no new bright sun to illumine whatever has been dark. He has followed with discrimination those who have gone before,—the Spanish writers and the antiquarians,—striving always to separate between the historical and the mythical, yet never able to flatter himself that he is treading dryshod on a wide, solid, and well-lighted highway.' This may be disappointing to readers whose interest has been aroused and hopes quickened by the wide generalisations with which we met in some of the preceding volumes; but science is more likely to be advanced by faithful work done in this humbler tentative fashion than could have been accomplished through the indulgence in fantastic imaginings and theories of wide scope and seeming comprehensiveness. Starting with the earliest gleams

of information obtainable regarding the aborigines, the author leads us onward through the pre-Toltec period of aboriginal history, the Toltec and the protracted Chichimec periods, to the Aztec periods, till the time when the Aztec career of conquest was suddenly arrested by the advent of the Spaniards under Cortes, early in the sixteenth century. 'The power known as Aztec, since the formation of the tripartite alliance, not quite a century before, under the Acolhua, Mexican, and Tepanec kings, had gradually extended its iron grasp from its centre about the lakes to the shores of either ocean; and this it had accomplished wholly by the force of arms, receiving no voluntary allegiance.' Cortes, with a handful of Spanish soldiers, secured wonderful and swift success, and was soon the instrument of establishing a priestly tyranny a thousand times more oppressive and destructive than any to which the Nahuas were subjected even under Aztec rule. The remaining chapters of the volume are occupied with the history of the eastern plateau, the Quiché-Cakchiquel empire in Guatemala, miscellaneous tribes of Central America, and the history of the Mayas in Yucatan. We congratulate Mr. Bancroft on the completion of a work of so valuable a character, so extensive in its scope and so replete with information of a varied and important description. It will remain a quarry of materials for future inquiries, and no tribute can be too great to the industry and research of the author. He has added an elaborate and comprehensive index, which will be of value to the student.

The Constitutional History of England in its Origin and Development. By WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A. Vol. II. Clarendon Press.

Mr. Stubbs's second volume begins with the eighty years' struggle to secure practically the popular liberties of the great charter, which followed the death of John in 1216, and it closes with the deposition of Richard II. in 1399. Mr. Stubbs is essentially critical. His narrative is plain, unimaginative, unexciting. He paints no pictures, tells no stories. He is antiquarian, legal, and analytical, and we may add conspicuously impartial. His summaries of different periods, and the short contrasts of different monarchs to which he, Plutarch-wise, is addicted, show all the severity and balanced judgment of a Chief Justice's charge. In this he fully equals Hallam. This gives its distinctive value to his work. An indefatigable worker, he presents us with the last results which documentary evidence has furnished, and deduces from it judgments as free from bias as perhaps human nature is capable of. In this volume he traces the rise of Constitutional Government, and shows how the 'rex politicus,' which through the mediæval period attained to no higher conception than that of balanced forces, slowly tended to organise harmony of all forces. The English Government is really an assembly and combination of estates: both local representation and class representation have their place in it. The growth of our Parliamentary system,

dating from 1264, when Simon de Montfort summoned two knights of each shire to a parliament, and shortly afterwards two representatives from each city and borough, is especially interesting. Mr. Stubbs's account may be read in connection with Mr. Freeman's 'Growth of the English Constitution.' A score of points tempt criticism. We must content ourselves with a renewed commendation of an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of our Constitutional history.

A History of Eton College, 1440-1875. By H. C. MAXWELL-LYTE, M.A. Macmillan and Co.

Memoirs of Eminent Etonians. By SIR EDWARD CREASY. A New Edition, with illustrations. Chatto and Windus.

The story of one of the most famous of our great public schools is told with admirable completeness and skill by Mr. Maxwell-Lyte; while Sir Edward Creasy, with equal care and literary skill, gives us biographical sketches of some of its most illustrious sons: both books together are a complete and sufficient record of Eton, and leave scarcely anything to be desired. Numerous as have been the books published about Eton, good, bad, and indifferent, these two books may well supersede them all. Mr. Maxwell-Lyte, himself an Etonian, tells us, concerning his work, 'My object has been to produce a History of Eton in which matters of biography and architecture, studies and pastimes, old customs and single incidents, should each receive their due share of notice, and fall into their proper places, side by side, in chronological order.' This object he has accomplished with great industry and skill. In the collection of his materials he has not only had the advantage of the labours of numerous predecessors, but in addition to them and to the collections of Roger Huggett bequeathed to the British Museum, upon which Sir E. Creasy chiefly relied, he has had access, through the kind permission and assistance of the college authorities, to original MSS. in the Library and Muniment Room hitherto unnoticed. He has consulted the series of audit-rolls and audit-books which, with but few breaks, extended from 1444 to the present time. He has consulted many unused MSS. in the British Museum, the Record Office, the Bodleian, at Cambridge, Lincoln, Windsor Castle, Lambeth, and in the possession of many private individuals. No known or probable source of information seems to have escaped him; and he has manipulated his materials with loving care and skill, the result of which is a most readable and valuable work, in which the historian, the biographer, and the schoolmaster, as well as the general reader, will find important and interesting materials, and in which several important corrections of previous misstatements have been made.

The history of the foundation of the college by Henry VI., of the affluent endowments and high feudal rights which he bestowed upon it, and of his great purposes and hopes in its establishment, is fully and exhaustively told. The

College Church was designed on an extensive scale, and, had the king's purpose been realised, it would have rivalled King's College at Cambridge, its twin foundation. The school at Eton was intended to supply with scholars the New College, founded by the king at Cambridge. Of course the foundation was ecclesiastical, and it continued to be so until it was secularised in 1872, when the old statutes were abolished and new statutes were made by the Eton Commissioners. The early history of Eton, its vicissitudes at the Reformation and under Mary and the Commonwealth, are fully sketched; more than once its very existence was in danger; once, at least, in 1463, its suppression was determined upon, and the Pope's sanction for accomplishing it was obtained. A chapter founded upon the *Consuetudinarium* describes the studies and manner of life at Eton in the sixteenth century.

But, while antiquarians will be chiefly interested in the pre-Reformation history of Eton, general readers will probably most delight in the chapters which describe its subsequent history—more especially during the present century. The sketches of provosts and headmasters, especially little Dr. Keate, of flagellation renown, are full of rich anecdote and characterisation. The strong conservatism even of men like Provost Goodal, the absurd retention of the obsolete Eton Grammar, and of the *Scriptores Græci* and *Romani*, and of the *Poeta Græci*, until 1865, when all the rest of the world had advanced to new methods and schools of philology, and the wise reforming energy of men like Dr. Hawtreys—one of the greatest of the headmasters and provosts of Eton—are described with prolonged discrimination. School barbarities and Spartan discipline, as of the long room and excessive flogging, lingered long. Sports, the relations of Eton to the Castle, especially under George III., William IV., and Victoria, Montem and its abolition, &c., are all touched upon with sufficient fulness and in well-adjusted proportion; while the methods of teaching of different masters are set forth for the information of school reformers.

We must resist the temptation to quote anecdotes, some of them rich and racy, and with our expression of high admiration at the sumptuous way in which, both in respect of letter-press and illustrations, the volume has been got up, send our readers to a scholarly, painstaking, and most pleasant volume.

Sir Edward Creasy's book was first published in 1850. It included only such eminent Etonians as were numbered with the dead; the present edition adds those who have since died. It is a readable, reliable, and interesting series of biographical sketches.

History of India from the Earliest Period to the Close of the East India Company's Government. Abridged from the Author's Larger Work. By JOHN CLARK MARSHMAN. William Blackwood and Sons.

Mr. Marshman's larger history, in three volumes, has won a high and well-deserved reputation. The author's residence for many

years in India, his literary occupation, and his industrious, patient, scholarly habit, together with his power of artistic narration and description, his liberal sympathies, and judicial habit of mind, are qualifications for his work not often found in combination. His history, therefore, has gradually won both confidence and admiration, and would generally be accepted as of very high authority.

For eight years, Mr. Marshman tells us, the larger edition has been used by the students of the University of Calcutta. Three volumes are somewhat too much for an educational manual, and it says much for the excellency of a work of such magnitude that it should have held its ground. The author has conferred a great boon upon students by preparing this abridged edition, thus reducing the work to about the size of the 'Student's Hume.' No one can effect such a process with a work so well as its author, who, as Mr. Marshman has done, can reconstruct where necessary, as well as simply omit. In English universities and schools, as well as in India, the work will be of very great value. An additional chapter brings down the history to 1872.

The History of Lloyd's, and of Marine Insurance in Great Britain. By FREDERICK MARTIN, Author of the 'Statesman's Year Book.' Macmillan and Co.

As might have been expected from Mr. Martin, this is a carefully written and very interesting book. We commend it, especially to City men, as a valuable addition to the literature and history of the City. The early chapters, on the 'Merchants of the Steelyard and Lombard Street,' on 'Early English Marine Insurance,' and on the 'Rise of Lloyd's Coffee House,' take the reader back to times and men and habits which tell him, that although still living in the same place, the place is changed so much as to have become a new world. The progress of Lloyd's marks the progress of British trade; and the depicted growth of the law relating to marine insurance shows how our ancestors were perplexed with questions of sea-worthiness, of deviation, of general average, of wager policies, as our law courts still are, and as Parliament is likely to be this session with Sir Stafford Northcote's Bill on Maritime Contracts. There were difficulties in those days regarding 'valued policies' which, in its wisdom or folly, Parliament made vain attempts to prevent; but the interest of the assurers and the assured were then able, through liberty of contract and reliance on policies of honour, to accomplish what Parliament vainly attempted to prohibit; and as it cannot be imagined that the mercantile classes of this century are less able than those of the last, we suppose that 'valued policies' will continue, whatever may become of the Maritime Contracts Bill.

The chapter in which Mr. Martin relates the origin and fortunes, and, we must add, the misfortunes also, of the first two marine insurance companies, will be read with great interest. It is difficult to imagine two such

highly staid and respectable societies as the 'London Assurance Corporation' and the 'Royal Exchange Assurance Corporation' just emerging from the South Sea Bubble period, during which alone a hundred schemes were brought forward which related to insurance. These included 'an insurance office for horses dying natural deaths, stolen, or disabled;' 'an insurance from death by drinking Geneva;' 'an insurance from house-breakers;' 'an insurance from highwaymen;' 'an assurance from lying;' and 'an assurance of female chastity.' Lloyd's resented the monopoly granted to the two corporations named; but the history shows that, so far from injuring Lloyd's, great benefit was conferred on the underwriters in the Coffee House by the outside competition being limited to the two corporations. This monopoly was enjoyed until 1824, when Mr. Nathan Rothschild founded the 'Alliance Marine Insurance Company,' his great influence having procured an enactment by which the monopoly was abolished.

The chapter on 'Lloyd's Registry of Shipping' gives a fair account of another City corporation which has an intimate relation to shipping and insurance. From humble beginnings this society has risen to great importance, and through its able staff of surveyors has exercised a most beneficial influence on the strength, shape, and general efficiency of British ships.

We have said enough to indicate the character of this volume, and the class of readers to whom the perusal of its contents will be acceptable; we therefore only add that it contains an Appendix, with a classification of risks, wrecks, causes of wreck, and of average premiums, which materially adds to the value of the book, and will be found useful in the shipping controversies now occupying so much of the national attention.

Cities of Italy. BY AUGUSTUS J. C. HARE.
Three Vols. Dalby, Isbister, and Co.

The first impression produced on looking at this work is that Mr. Hare has made it very bulky. A careful perusal shows that his scheme necessitated large space, and that he has condensed and summarised, and well sucked out the pith of not a few former books—some of them rather recent ones—and presented it very attractively. We are much mistaken if this book does not supersede several handbooks; for, though Mr. Hare has rather scorned some of the handbook traditions, he uniformly gives in little the essence of the information as to hotels, &c., which used to be so prominent. His arrangement is also calculated to aid in this. In his first volume he takes up the Riviera, then through Piedmont and Lombardy, and delights us with some vivid pictures, not the least interesting of which is some of the matter of a chapter on the Waldenses, which certainly seems to lie rather outside his title; but is only the more welcome on that account. Genoa, Turin, Pavia, the Italian lakes, Cremona, Brescia, Verona, Mantua, and Padua, are all visited and described in such a manner as will

revive pleasant recollections in not a few, and excite, we daresay, in many more, the desire to extend the range of their travels. Mr. Hare shows uniformly the same taste as in former books in the extracts from famous writers by which he relieves his own text. The chief attractions of the second volume are the descriptions of Venice—which, in spite of the multitudes who have preceded him, is freshly and picturesquely done—of Ferrara, Parma, Forlì, Rimini, Loretto, Urbino, Pisa, Volterra, Lucca, and Pistoia. The third volume deals with Florence, Siena, Arezzo, Cortona, Perugia, Assisi, Spello, and Foligno. Mr. Hare's antiquarian and artistic tastes in these volumes, as in former ones, stand him in good stead. If he is a little quiet, sedate, and conventional in describing natural scenery himself, he knows how to supplement it by introducing graphic pictures from others,—Ruskin, Symonds, Hawthorne, Freeman, Ampère, and Goethe; and certainly he has a good eye for the old and venerable and for what is worthy in art. His excessive conservatism, which led him in his former volumes to introduce somewhat unwise and gratuitous sneers at the Italian Government and what it is doing, has here, we regret to say, too much prominence. In our opinion, his Introduction is almost ruined by it. The Papacy is to be venerated in some respects; but the pages of a Dante and other Italian poets which he has scanned in searching for his illustrative quotations—by the way, not always correctly given—might suffice to qualify an overstrained enthusiasm, no less than the satires that Popedom has more recently written on itself, even as a secular Power.

We have marked many passages as noticeable for graceful and graphic description; especially that of the Wood at Ravenna, so intimately associated with two poets contrasted yet in some ways akin—Dante and Byron—and that of Vallombrosa. We have no hesitation in saying of this work that it is at once tasteful, learned, and popular, fitted to fill a place by itself, neither to be forgotten for the knapsack nor lost sight of in the library, but to be treasured and often referred to. It is really a piece of literature; and the woodcuts, from sketches of Mr. Hare's, by Mr. T. Sulman, are certainly as beautiful specimens of the art as we have recently seen, though we could have wished that more had been done for a few of them in the executing.

The Midland Railway: its Rise and Progress.
A Narrative of Modern Enterprise. By
FREDERICK S. WILLIAMS, Author of 'Our Iron Roads.' Strahan and Co.

Clearly, in drifting into a theological professorship, Mr. Williams has mistaken his vocation. He was predestined to be the secretary of a railway, and it is a cruel fate that has traversed his course. While yet a theological student, twenty-four years ago, he showed the bent of his mind by the publication of 'Our Iron Roads,' which had a large circulation as a popular summary of what had then been achieved by railway enterprise.

Each of our great railway systems might well claim its epic, for magnitude of achievement, romance of incident, exhibition of social development, and illustrations of personal individuality; its history is nobler than that of most wars, and as important as that of many kingdoms. The Midland, for instance, possesses 1200 miles of railroad, has a capital of £50,000,000 and an income of £5,000,000. It conveys many millions of her Majesty's subjects every year, and stretches its ramifications all over the kingdom,—a huge system of arteries through which much more than money, much more than flesh and blood circulate.

Mr. Williams tells the story of its origin in the Leicester and Swannington line down to the stupendous achievement of the Settle and Carlisle Railway, which gives the Midland an access to Glasgow and Edinburgh corresponding with its recently-achieved access to the metropolis. Nothing connected with its history or its administration seems to have been omitted by Mr. Williams. He carries us back to the dawn of railway ideas, when coal, save as it was transmitted by sea, had to be locally consumed; when wool and leather were transmitted by canal, and when, weeks were required sometimes for it; when Nottingham was practically farther from Manchester than it now is from Plymouth. The very conceptions of the changes to be wrought by railway had to be created. The avoidance of great towns was one of the principles of construction. The battle of the gauges, the fierce fights in Parliamentary committee-rooms, the mighty war between the Midland and the Great Northern, down to the carrying of third-class passengers by all trains and the abolition of second-class, both of which are due to the sagacity of Mr. Allport of the Midland, all are here duly chronicled; adventures of surveyors, excitements in board meetings, difficulties with landowners, engineering difficulties, everything indeed that can convey information and excite interest is here put together by Mr. Williams in a gossipy, pleasant way. Then he undertakes a descriptive and picturesque account of the Midland lines and the towns and scenes they pass through, with historical and scientific information and numerous engravings. Finally, he describes all the details of administration the economy of departments, the functions and methods of officials and servants, down to information respecting return tickets. The descriptions of the superb hotel and station at St. Pancras and of the Settle and Carlisle Railway are especially interesting. Mr. Williams has a keen eye for details. Sometimes, however, they rather overpower him, and a little more vigorous grasp of generals would be an improvement. Sometimes, too, the colloquial degenerates into the flippant, and anecdotes are told twice over, *e. g.*, Mr. Price's joke about the weather (page 610). There is, too, a little excess of eulogy in the solicitous way in which every individual and everything connected with the Midland is glorified. It produces the impression of an advocate holding

a brief. Not that we think the Midland has not done noble service and fought a heroic battle, and few men have deserved better of commercial and locomotive England than its present manager. The railway and its history occupy a place in importance and honor second to none. Mr. Williams's big, instructive, and interesting handbook will claim a place in every commercial and in most family libraries which the Midland comes near.

The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. By W. D. KILLEN, D.D., President of The Assembly's College, Belfast, and Professor of Ecclesiastical History. Two Vols. 8vo. Macmillan and Co.

Dr. Killen has approached his task furnished with almost every qualification which special circumstances and opportunities for obtaining every shred of conflicting evidence could supply. His unwearied diligence and generally sound judgment have enabled him to grapple with the copious details appertaining to the subject of his lifelong toil. He never allows his rhetoric to gain the mastery of his impartial purpose, nor does he permit his ecclesiastical position to blind him to the excellencies of individuals who have figured conspicuously in communions adverse to that with which he is personally identified. Through the greater part of the first volume he can look dispassionately upon the contending powers, and is not afraid to denounce English as well as Italian arrogance, the vices of Plantagenet as well as of Pope. The volumes are, indeed, an argument against Roman Catholic pretension and a proof of the uniformly disastrous consequences which have followed Papal interposition, interferences, and claims. He loses no opportunity of showing the different colour put by Papal controversialists and historians on the facts to which he refers; but he refutes their views, either by contemporary evidence, which is unimpeachable, or by the confessions and admissions of his opponents. His foot-notes and references are abundant, and the chance of rectifying misstatements is put within easy reach. Perhaps he reserves his bitterest phrases for the Cromwellian settlement, his most stern reprobation for the language with which Milton replied to the 'Remonstrance' of Belfast on the death of Charles I., and his most satirical satisfaction for the disappearance from Ireland's Churches and State of any vestiges of the Independents, Baptists, and other sectaries, to the influence of whom, so late as 1800, Lord Clare referred in emphatic terms. However, we have little but praise to offer for the spirit with which he tells the terrible story of wars, tumults, mutual hatreds, hideous massacres, and contending and unscrupulous factions.

Dr. Killen shows how the 'Isle of Saints,' the home of cultivated intelligence and primitive and apostolic zeal, became the den of brutal and neglected savages, and fair and beautiful Erin the battle-field of turbulent lust and maddened power. The history of

Ireland from the beginning almost to the present hour forms a humiliating chapter in the records of the human race, notwithstanding the heroism, genius, and virtue which often illumine the page.

Our author establishes, with a superabundance of proof, the non-Roman character of the early ministry of Patrick and Columbkille and Bridget, as well as the non-diocesan phase of the episcopacy of the whole island. The 'bishops' were clearly village pastors of the humblest type, who had no notion of either diocesan rule or provincial or metropolitan subordination. Our author details the whole history of the steps taken by Rome to enforce the Roman observance of Easter and of tonsure, and gradually to introduce diocesan claims; and the measures taken to exalt the 'bishop' above the abbot, the Co-arch of Patrick at Armagh, until, at the Synod of Rathbreasil, the Roman obedience was virtually adopted and its discipline made to triumph over the national and spontaneous system which had previously prevailed. The same struggle, occupying sometimes a longer and sometimes a shorter period, has been enacted in other nations and churches. In none, however, were the effects more disastrous than in Ireland. Dr. Killen has told well the romantic story of St. Malachy, who found no less a biographer than Bernard of Clairvaux. It is melancholy to reflect on the provocation which the misguided ritualism of this illustrious rather than great man gave to the preposterous and hypocritical bull of Pope Adrian IV., the 'infallible,' provocative to Henry II. of England to invade Ireland. So profoundly wicked, so absolutely unjustifiable and intentionally vicious was this bull that Roman Catholics disclaimed it as a forgery intended to bring discredit on the Papacy; but it is demonstrably genuine, and its fatal effects were soon visible. The progress of degeneracy in education, in good sense, in purity, in order, followed swiftly on the heels of the new subserviency. The veneration of relics led to the supposed discovery of the bodies of Patrick, Columbkille, and Bridget. The granting of indulgences, with all their degrading accompaniments, the harsh treatment by the Pope of the sufferers from English tyranny, the religious persecution, secretly based on avaricious motives, which disgraced the fourteenth century, have found in these pages ample exposition.

Dr. Killen endeavours to account for the limited influence of the Reformation in Ireland by the fact that the *people* were not as they were in England and Germany, prepared for revolt against Rome by the knowledge of the Word of God, or by any wide-spread diffusion of Evangelical truth. In a country in this state, the proclamation of royal supremacy, the suppression of the monasteries, the destruction of such favourite relics as the 'staff of Jesus,' roused opposition, instead of enthusiasm; while the violence of the reforming Archbishop Browne produced adverse rather than sympathetic feelings. We have no space for even an epitome of the leading positions

of our author, nor can we sketch his account of the rise of Protestantism in Ulster, the terrific massacre, the reprisals, or the Cromwellian settlement with its ultimate failure.

He brings his history down to the present day, discusses all the troubles of the Irish Parliament and those attending the bestowment and withdrawal of the Regium Donum; he recounts the siege of Derry, Catholic Emancipation and the Union; the movements for repeal of the Legislative Union; the Disestablishment of the Irish Church; and the more recent struggles and controversies. The Disestablishment was hailed by Roman Catholic authorities as proof that Protestantism had exhausted itself, and would now succumb when public support and State pay were withheld. Dr. Killen shows by statistics that up to the time of the Act, the Protestant Churches were gaining proportionally on the Roman Church, and that since the Disestablishment, the change has inspired it with fresh energy, and it now moves more freshly and vigorously than it ever did before. He says, however, with some pardonable irritation, 'Ireland can never attain the place which it is entitled to hold among the nations as long as so many of its population exhibit in things spiritual the blindness of infatuation. They fret and fume against England, though by their alliance with its Imperial Government they are kept from anarchy, strengthened and blessed, while they stupidly submit to the absolute will of a superstitious old man in Italy, who has no more right to rule them than the Shah of Persia or the Emperor of Japan.' The volumes are a valuable addition to our historical library, and throw considerable light on the relations between Ireland and Britain, and between Ireland and the Papacy.

Annals of Tacitus. Translated into English, with Notes and Maps. By ALFRED JOHN CHURCH, M.A., and WILLIAM JACKSON BRODRIPP, M.A. Macmillan and Co.

This volume completes the translators' version of the entire extant works of Tacitus. In two previous volumes they gave us translations of the 'History' of the 'Agricola,' and of the 'Germania.' They omit, however, without assigning reason, the 'Dialogue about Famous Orators.'

Both Gordon's and Murphy's translations—the former published in 1728, the latter in 1729—have great merits and have held their ground well. The former, however, was too literal in its Latinism for pleasant reading as was the Oxford edition of 1839. A new translation, made in the lights and edited with the information of our latest scholarship, was desirable. This has been achieved in the work before us, which, in accuracy and elegance in scholarly editing and compact pertinent information, is a model of what translations from the classics should be. The notes, extending to nearly a hundred pages, furnish an admirable *apparatus criticus*. Tacitus is not an easy author to render in a translation. His terse laconic sentences lend themselves but imperfectly to more diffuse and flowing

modern languages. It is high praise to say that, while exactness of meaning has been admirably preserved, the reader will scarcely have excited within him the feeling of a translation. The idiom has been translated as admirably as the words.

The Life, Work, and Opinions of Heinrich Heine. By WILLIAM STIGAND, Author of 'Athenais; or, the First Crusade,' &c. Two Vols. Longmans.

Mr. Stigand has written well; generally with discrimination and rare intelligence. Heine is not easy to catch; his finest moods are evanescent, and pass suddenly into alien and freakish perversities. His ideas of art were sounder than very often his applications of them were. In one word, he was the victim of disease; and it does not much relieve matters to say that that disease, happily united with other elements, aided him to interpret the spirit of his time. His greatest poems are the utterance of an individual passion, which, ungratified, like an artificial fountain, fell back ever upon itself, shrouding in spray and beautiful disorder the source whence it sprang, showing us, not as Mrs. Browning has it,—

'A fountain,
Which, with silver waters thin,
Clips a little water Naiad sitting smilingly
within,'

but a scornful contorted image, that leers and looks proud and calculating amid the suggestion of lost beauty, as it contemplates the world from its own seclusion and through the stir of its own creating, eager at the same time to master that world and to outwit it. There is a lack of rest, of balance, about most of Heine's poems, in spite of their perfection and charm of expression; and the intense way in which they mirror the ironical complexity and confusion of our modern time, its wasted life and strength and passion, is so allied with scorn and coarseness as to justify, in spite of the praises of influential schools, these words of Mr. Stigand's:

'The world has, indeed, need to hold fast in the present hour to the chivalrous ideal of love, and to make a stand against the degradation of the passion to the foul conception of Baudelaire and his admirers . . . Heine, as we have intimated before, had no sympathy whatever with the chivalrous spirit; he had as little sympathy with it as he had with the early Christian spirit of martyrdom and abnegation; and, considering his Hebrew descent, there can be little cause for astonishment at his permanent estrangement from the finest traditions of Europe. His love is of the earth, earthy; and there is not one of his poems which might not, so far as sentiment goes, have been written by an Oriental.'

The poet is ever central to the world, says Heine; and thus he justifies the rupture between the real and the ideal in his case, as in that of Byron, of whom he speaks as 'the only man to whom he felt himself related.' The world's heart, he held, was in his time cleft in twain, divided; so he justified the

mixture in his own poetry of utter sentimentality with grimmest and most scornful realism. There is something in this; but the solution is more strictly to be found in his own individuality. He was a Jew; and in the fresh days of his youth he experienced the rebuff and the scorn which the Germans were wont to show towards the Jews long after other nations had learned to treat them with more respect—let us say with more fairness. The iron entered deep into his young sensitive soul. Then came the passion for his cousin, which at once set free, and gave concentration and definite object, to the stream of sentiment; but there also came the rebuff which reversed the current and compelled him to celebrate a love which was false. It is no lady of the soul he sings of and worships, but a poor reflection of his own disowned ideal, which he delights to drag down from its pedestal and besmirch with the mud of his terrible scorn. His own picture of the peace and faith and pure sympathetic rapture of his childhood comes out very strong in the contrast, as we read it in these striking passages, in which he tells of his experiences in the first reading of 'Don Quixote.'

'I was a child, and knew not how much of irony God had mingled with the order of the world—irony which the great poet had imitated in his own little world. So I wept the bitterest of tears when the noble Knight, for all his noble valour, got but cudgellings and ingratitude; and since, as yet unpracticed in reading, I spoke every word out loud, so that the birds and the trees, the brook and the flowers, heard all as I read; and since such innocent creatures of nature know as little of the 'irony of the world as children, so did they too take everything equally for hard earnest, and wept with me over the sorrows of the pitiful Knight.'

With a superficial resemblance to the romanticists, he really made an end of them; for while they sang of ærial visions and impossible ideals—most rarified forms of feeling, related to beings that never even touched the earth, and had no foothold on it—he refused to raise his eye from earth even in the crises of his withering despair. He is hopeless, without faith; and fancy exists for him merely to decorate the dead. This is no figure. Students of his poems will at once admit its actual truth to fact in certain very suggestive relations.

Heine's strength, and his real service to humanity, sprang from much the same source as his poetic perverseness. The Jews were scorned in Germany. No sooner were the wars of liberation ended than in certain cities they were hounded back to their Ghettoes, and it was because of this, and such things as this, that he gradually came to hate Germany. France and Napoleon, as he grew to think and observe, became the attractive presences as witnesses for the freedom and progress of humanity. He wrought unceasingly to illustrate and to enforce this; and certainly his writings have done more than those of almost any one else to break down old traditions and

to proclaim independence and individuality. For though he became a Protestant, and was baptised on June 28, 1825, he never made pretence that it was for aught but convenience or that he found Protestant traditions in themselves any way more attractive than those of the Judaism he had thus formally rejected. But, indeed, this needs to be said, that Heine was hardly capable of the ordinary reverences by which men are bound together into communities. A nation of Heines would be a poor affair, even though he claims to have been a brave soldier in the war of liberation, as in certain respects he was. The professed object of some of his more practical writings need not hide from us the real spirit of the man. He was a mocker. It seems incredible else that the man who as boy had been moved to the depths of his soul because of the insults done to his race, could have written so soon afterwards of Jewish matters as he did. This is far from being the worst specimen, but it may pass as a sample of his style of treating what had, at least, a claim for *his* tolerance and silence, if not for his reverence :

'The result of my investigations into the national wealth of the Jews is very praiseworthy for the race, and confers upon them the greatest honour. Israel is indebted alone for its riches to that sublime belief in God to which it has remained faithful for centuries. The Jews revered a Supreme Being, who rules invisibly in heaven ; while the Heathen, incapable of exalting themselves to the purely spiritual, made for themselves all sorts of gold and silver gods, and revered them on earth. Now, had these blind Heathen changed into ready-money all the gold and silver which they squandered on this vile idol-worship, and placed it out at interest, they would have become just as rich as the Jews, who knew how to place out their gold and silver more advantageously, perhaps, in Assyriac-Babylonian State loans, or in Nebuchadnezzarian bonds, or in Egyptian Canal shares, in Five per Cent. Sidonians, and other classic papers, which the Lord has blessed, as He has also blessed those of our time.'

This is very clever, but very bitter ; and in the same spirit he jested with the verities of Christianity. We can enjoy him much better when he is dealing with art, literature, and philosophy. Nothing could be more incisive, more deeply true, than his remarks in the course of his contrast between Goethe and Schiller. Goethe, he holds, is too perfect, too calm ; his characters are hybrids,—something between gods and stones : they beget no children. Words should end in deeds ; so a nobler meed of praise is due to works lower artificially than Goethe's ; those of Schiller, for example, which enkindled sentiments that crave a noble sphere of action. And few readers of Mr. Stigand's book will not feel deeply thankful to him for the exquisite epitomes he has given of the essays, sketches of travel, &c., into which an immense fund of knowledge and entertainment has been packed. As showing how Heine was inclined to view everything with a reference to its bear-

ing on that individuality for which he witnessed, this may be taken :—'German philosophy, although it now places itself on a par with the Protestant Church—*yea, will exalt itself above it*—is yet always its daughter, and as such is ever bound to exercise a pious reserve in regard to its mother ; and their mutual interests required that they should ally themselves when they both were threatened by the common foe, Jesuitism.'

Heine's opinion of England was by no means high. The English, he said, would never have been able to establish self-government but for their lack of idealism. Along with all this sneering and cynicism we should not forget to refer to that tender love for his mother which flows through all, like a refreshing stream through a parched and sun-scorched land. Even when he was lying—a living death—in that chamber in Paris, he used regularly to write those long loving letters as though he were quite well and strong. Truly, a strange centre of diverse tendencies is the human heart !

Mr. Stigand's translations are extremely faithful, and, for the most part, spirited. 'Love is born in May,' in the 'Intermezzo,' is so good that we must quote it :

'In May, the month so wondrous fair,
When all the buds were starting,
Right thro' my heart, right thro' my heart,
Love all at once went darting.

'In May, the month so wondrous fair,
When woods with song were teeming,
To her, to her, I told my love,
Its longing and its dreaming.'

But he fails, wholly fails, we are sorry to say, in one of the very finest lyrics Heine wrote. This does not reach by any means the airy grace and subtle suggestive charm of the original :

'A pine tree *standeth* lonely
Upon a Northern height,
By ice and snow surrounded,
It sleeps in mantle white.

'Of a palm tree it *lies* dreaming,
Which far in Eastern lands
Mourns, brooding in lone silence,
Down on the burning sands.'

Mr. Stigand should not have passed such a horrible Cockneyism as in this line in the 'Sea Vision' :

'Then did I *lay* on the edge of the ship.'

In spite of some faults, this book claims and will reward the attention of the English reading public. It has been done by one who has well prepared himself for the task ; he is sympathetic, but severely discriminating, and has made a very complete and attractive picture of the 'Byron of Germany.' We should remark, however, that it does seem odd and behind date to find Mr. Stigand speaking of that young English lady who visited Heine in his evil days in Paris as known to us only through Lord Houghton's 'Monograph.' Mrs. Russ has given us a full account of the whole relation between her mother, Lady Duff-Gor-

don and Heine, and to that we should have been referred, not to Lord Houghton's book, which, on this point, is surely now superseded.

Memoir of Norman Macleod, D.D., one of Her Majesty's Chaplains and Dean of the Chapel Royal, &c. By his Brother, the Rev. DONALD MACLEOD, B.A., one of Her Majesty's Chaplains. Daldy, Isbister, and Co.

Though we have been very eager for this long-promised biography, all we can do at present is to draw attention to its appearance and to indicate a few of its more salient points. Norman Macleod was one of the men pre-eminently born to great influence by the presence of a combination of faculties very rarely united. He had sound common sense, great tact, the power of looking at many points quietly, ready humour, which, often touched the essence of the subject more quickly than the precisest logic, and a winning yet manly sweetness of disposition which could adapt itself easily to diverse circumstances without suggestion either of pretence or condescension. His large human nature, quickened and directed by wide experience, made him everywhere at home. But the deepest interest of this memoir springs from the conflict of a nature formed for joyousness and meditative quietude with circumstances alien to their indulgence—circumstances into which the pressure of events compelled him. He has been spoken of very short-sightedly, as a great Church politician and primate of the Scottish Church; he was really no politician, and his great powers were of a character that are but seldom tried in that field and are still more seldom improved by it. His biographer, who, notwithstanding the difficulties of near relationship has written throughout with controlled and well-modulated insight, wisely takes occasion to say that he had to contend against great temptations to natural indolence, and his own diaries are very full of self-reproaches with a similar drift. But this, pardonable in a certain respect, hardly exhausts the whole matter. With men like Norman Macleod the felt necessity for exact and sustained method is apt to disturb that equilibrium in which the 'harvest of a quiet eye' may best be gathered—the harvest which their genius most distinctly fits them to gather. As Principal Shairp, in his very admirable estimate, hints, if he does not even assert it, Norman Macleod in so far as he was an ecclesiastic and a politician was a poet spoiled. His wisdom was not frequently a 'wise passiveness' whose power was in the best sense restorative. Mr. Donald Macleod well points out, and with biographic tact has enabled us to trace for ourselves, the Highland sentiment by which his early life was nourished and on which he fell back constantly. Here we detect at once the root of that fine sympathy which made him intolerant of dogmatic niceties calculated to fetter free life, and also the conservatism which made him so revere the traditions of the past as to disincline him to break with them, however much he might see beyond them. This statement suggests his whole attitude

towards the Disruption, and towards Church politics generally,—a subject, however, on which we prefer not to enter in detail here, as we could not possibly discuss it fully. But let any one read the passages extracted from his diaries during that trying period, and he will, we are sure, be ready to acknowledge that seldom indeed have great Church politicians been so persecuted with a loathing of the positions into which they were forced, and a longing almost inexpressible for unity and rest and brotherhood. The extent to which this feeling has place here, we have no doubt, will surprise many; it will, we believe, be a still greater surprise to many, to find here proofs of the deeply inward and devotional life which Norman Macleod lived. Most people—even some of those who had met him on a familiar footing abroad—thought of him as the genial, cultivated man, with a fund of ready wit and a rare power of adaption to the atmosphere in which he found himself. His more familiar friends all knew well that beyond that there was the still rarer power of changing, with no sense of inconsistency but with an honest open manliness, from gay to grave, from innocent laughter to the 'wise smile, that lends to goodness its true attraction. It was this quality, so transparent in all his efforts, that made him beloved and influential in circles where few clerics have exercised any influence; it was this quality also which enabled him to succeed as he did with his ragged church—into which no well-dressed church-going folks were admitted, though attempts were often made by them to gain admittance—the account of which, and his remarkable tact in management, form one of the most interesting, as it is calculated to be one of the most practically useful, chapters in this memoir. His philanthropy, always tempered by sagacity and prudence, was of the kind which never loses the individual in the mass, and which seldom errs by choosing wrong means and instruments. He soon discovered after his entry on the Barony Parish what this meant, and by means of a system of administration as masterly as it was bold and original, he stretched out hands everywhere by a set of agents some of them taken from the working class, and devoted to him and to the enterprise. As we read of his energy and tact in this great enterprise, we are at once surprised and inspired. Constantly reproaching himself with want of system, with a tendency to fall beneath his own ideal, he, nevertheless, with masterly skill, initiated and sustained it, setting in operation the whole series of agencies—penny banks, &c.—which are now recognised as the most powerful means of elevation to respectability and self-help. He had foresight as well as insight. This work though hard was in itself a refreshment; what wearied and wasted him, latterly, at all events, was the constant sense of being out of harmony with noisy parties in the Church, and the cliques who dominated and made great fuss over small points in the Presbyteries. For no man could he have cherished contempt; but

the evil of it was that he could not be indifferent to the opinion of other men; and the desire to set himself right with them—as notably seen in the notorious Sabbath question controversy—was what led to the withdrawal of his energies from what he felt was the greater and more clamant work of his life, and roused that tone of self-dissatisfaction and self-reproach which marks more especially his later diaries. He seems even to have been visited now and then by a wish that he had given more study to points of Church law, which, we fear, would only have led to deeper dissatisfaction. * But this note, written to that venerated and lamented friend of his, John Mackintosh, the ‘earnest student,’ shortly after the disruption of 1843, gives us a glimpse of his very heart :

‘Oh, for a day of peace—one of those peaceful days which I used to enjoy when a boy in the far west. Such days are gone—fled. I cannot grasp the sense of repose I once felt—that feeling, you know, which one has in a lonely corry or by a burnie’s side far up among the mountains, when, far from the noise and turmoil or mortal man, and the fitful agitations of this stormy life, our souls in solitude become calm and serene as the blue sky on which we gazed as we lay half asleep in body, though awake in soul, among the brackens or the blooming heather. Could Isaak Walton be a member of the Scotch Presbytery or a General Assembly?—he who “felt thankful for his food and raiment—the rising and setting sun—the singing of larks—and leisure to go a-angling”? Dear old soul! “One of the lovers of peace and quiet, and a good man, as indeed most anglers are.” Isaak never would have been a member of any committee along with ——— and Co. That is certain. Don’t be angry, dear John! Do let me claver with you, and smile or cry just as I feel inclined. We shall slide into business and gravity soon enough.’

It is this tone of sadness, often veiling itself in a gentle rattle of humour, in a clinging affection which would fain assure itself of a kind of permanency in the mere childlike clasping of other’s hands, which imparts such a depth of suggestion to these funny letters and to the clever caricatures scratched off with such facility by way of signature to friendly epistles. As we try to gather up hastily a general impression of the book, it is that of a man of great faculty, whose genius was of the kind that would have justified itself in almost any direction. He might have been an artist, a great commander, an author of high rank. What he did write were, as he felt, but trifles hurriedly jotted down in the hours stolen from a more serious pursuit. But what genial wisdom, what quaint wit, and graphic power of portraiture do we have in ‘The Old Lieutenant,’ or ‘The Starling,’ or in some of those slighter sketches, full of pathos and graceful humour, which he contributed to ‘Good Words,’ as its editor, such as ‘Aunt Mary’ or ‘Wee Davie’! We think of him, with an affection which increases in the light of more intimate knowledge, as a true worker for others,

a devoted, self-denying man, whose sadness was veiled from the great world whilst he lived; that, suffering in secret, he might the better aid others to bear their burden in seeming to bear his own lightly. No small service this to have rendered to any generation, more especially to this generation when complexities and artificialities tend more and more to generate a form of egotism that is alien to the best kind of healthy Christian endeavour.

William Godwin: his Friends and Contemporaries. By C. KEGAN PAUL. Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. Kegan Paul has been fortunate in finding an interesting subject; fortunate also in the access which has been accorded him to papers of interest regarding Godwin and his son-in-law Shelley, through the favour of Sir Percy Shelley. He has set forth Godwin as favourably as could have been hoped for. Godwin was, in one respect, a great thinker, who went down to principles; though, in many respects, he was an egotistic and *unlikeable* man. He was one of those idealists who refuse to qualify *under demands of sympathy*, and who therefore are isolated, imperious, and exacting, and become more so with years and inevitable disappointments. If it had been possible for a biographer to reconcile us thoroughly to his subject, Mr. Paul, we feel, would have done it in this memoir. With noticeable tact and sympathy he has traced out the gradual manner in which Godwin reached his Deistical ideas, showing us how, in his case, as in so many others, it had root in reaction against the hard and narrow Calvinism in which he had been brought up, and to which his over-strict father hoped to make him conform. Very significant is the Sunday-desecration anecdote of his boyish days, which Mr. Paul sets forth so well. ‘One Sunday,’ Godwin tells, ‘as I walked in the garden, I happened to take the cat in my arms. My father saw me, and seriously reproved my levity, remarking that on the Lord’s-day he was ashamed to observe me demeaning myself with such profaneness.’ As with many men—the Mills, for example—in whom the intellect has been developed at the expense of the emotions at an early period of life, Godwin never rose to deep passion or formed an intense attachment. His friendships were mainly of an intellectual and easily-adjusted sort; there was a mixture of Platonism in his love affairs; he had little depth on that side of his nature; and a slight difference of opinion or appearance of inappreciation would have soon ended the most consolidated of his friendships. He was, on some points, vain and capricious almost to irrationality, and yet, like many vain people, was easily exercised by certain forms of sentiment which he would have decried in another. Amid all trials and distractions it must be said, however, that he remained faithful to a certain intellectual ideal, and was terribly conscientious in respect of literary work. In the midst of his earnest striving to make clear to

himself the true relations of the individual to society rose the ominous phenomenon of the French Revolution, which came to him as a determinative application of many of the ideas which he had been labouring to bring to light. Intellectually he was a child of the Revolution; and to the end he remained involved in some of the rarified abstractions which owed to it their fascinating power, if not even their birth. And though it needs to be said that he qualified, in many respects, the doctrines presented in the 'Political Justice,' especially modifying what he had advanced in favour of communism, still it must be said, and he himself would doubtless have urged, that the great outstanding principles and sentiments remained untouched. Godwin wrote much, but little of it is now read. His individuality appears honestly in all. It is that of a penetrating, honest, egotistic, but thin and rigidly logical mind, very often so disinclined to allow for the necessities of practical affairs, that *genuine* humour must be held, in spite of some apparent evidence to the contrary, to have been absent from it.

Mr. Paul has made Godwin tell his own story; has surrounded him by his friends, and made him say the very best that he could for himself. So faithful has he been to his *subject* that sometimes, in adjusting the lights, a little grotesquerie is imparted to those around him, and a slight occasional injustice is done them by needless frankness and the desire to be complete. 'Pity the man who tries to say all.' Was it needful to give some of the details we have here about Godwin's little Platonic flirting with Mrs. Inchbald? Or was it advisable—though, of course, we all know the general looseness of Coleridge's character—to disillusionise us by detailed confessions as to fact, and to quote letters in which he, poor genius! analyses his own *tipsiness* with a delicate mixture of self-approval and self-reproach? Never, perhaps, were we more moved than when one of Robert Burns's letters, owing to bad behaviour when drunk, was on one occasion put into our hands; and though this letter is *euphuistic* enough, in all conscience, will Mr. Paul excuse our saying that we should have been more thankful to him had he not printed it, and one or two others. But we must not part from a really valuable and readable book in this mood of fault-finding; let us, instead, wind up with this most characteristic sketch of Mrs. Inchbald, from the pen of Godwin's daughter:

'Apt to fall in love, and desiring to marry, she continued single because the men who loved and admired her were too worldly to take an actress and a poor authoress, however lovely and charming, for a wife. Her life was thus spent in an interchange of hardship and amusement, privation and luxury. Her character partook of the same contrast; fond of pleasure, she was prudent in her conduct; penurious in her personal expenditure, she was generous to others. Vain of her beauty, we are told that the gown that she wore was not worth a shilling, it was so coarse and shabby. Very susceptible to the softer feelings, she could

yet guard herself against passion; and, though she might have been called a flirt, her character was unimpeachable. I have heard that a rival beauty of her day pettishly complained that when Mrs. Inchbald came into a room, and sat on a chair in the middle of it, as was her wont, every man gathered round it, and it was vain for any other woman to attempt to gain attention. Godwin could not fail to admire her; she became, and continued to be, a favourite. Her talents, her beauty, her manners, were all delightful to him. He used to describe her as a piquant mixture between a lady and a milk-maid, and added that Sheridan declared that she was the only authoress whose society pleased him.'

The book is full of anecdotes and references to many people distinguished in art and literature at the end of the last century, and it may be ranked, in spite of some faults, among the masterly memoirs of a period which has been uncommonly rich in yielding such.

Arthur Schopenhauer: his Life and Philosophy.
By HELEN ZIMMERN. Longmans and Co.

Miss Zimmern ventured on a bold task when she undertook to write the life of Schopenhauer. His life illuminates his philosophy, and yet stands in almost grotesque contrast to it. It is as though the man, immersed in the business of thinking, took on a tint of wild madness when he appeared amongst his fellows. He was somewhat like one who stands in the coloured lights of a chemist's window, all unconscious of the effect upon those who may view him from a little distance. Never was there a man of great intellect who developed more of the impatient scorn and wild self-assertion which lie at the antipodes of that self-renouncing Buddhism to which it may be said that his philosophy really led. Schopenhauer was, in fact, a man in whom two demons contended. On the one side he was an Oriental Fakir; on the other, a German Jew—cautious, suspicious, and full of fears. He did not trust his own mother, and was constantly watching those who attended on him. He was haunted with fears of being poisoned. The universe, according to him, was a congeries of isolated appearances, controlled by a blind impulse, a force, an imperious instinct, which, according to certain laws, rose, in certain manifestations, to reason, to intelligence, to individual will. But he never made it very clear, even to himself, where this force or impulse passed into definite expression of individual will; so that we are not surprised to find him on one occasion actually crediting the flowers with energising will, when he was (so far) doubtful of it or of persistent personality in himself. He was found one day before a plant, addressing it as follows 'What dost thou tell me by thy curious forms? What is the will which reveals itself in those brilliant colours and fading leaves?' The gardener attracted to him, and probably thinking that he had to do with a madman, approached him to ask who he was. 'Yes, if you could tell me who I am I should be very grateful,' answered Schopenhauer. He

laid down the idea that evil followed existence, at all events, individual existence, as shadow follows light, and that the only true philosophy was to rise above evil in rising above desire, passion, energy, exercise of will. In a single word, in reference to all that lies around—

'Not to desire or admire, if a man could learn it, were more

Than to walk all day like the Sultan of old in a garden of spice.'

He managed to infuse a strong naturalism into metaphysics, though he disliked the naturalists, and railed incessantly against them, as he did against all the metaphysicians of his own time. Mind and matter, he held, were in strict correlation, and his ethical conception of the presence of evil in all existence, in connection with it, necessarily led to an absolute disbelief in religion, save as a convenient substitute for the moral self-suppression which he held could be attained through it, as well as through asceticism, with or without religious sanctions. So he was a modern Buddhist in the guise of a philosophic iconoclast, armed to scatter all later systems in wreck, and to establish on their ruins a commixture of Kant, Plato, and Buddha, the heaven of which was a dull nirvana, or unconscious rest, complete escape from desire, affection, sympathy, or effort.

His philosophy is not likely to retain influence, though his writings are full of grand and suggestive ideas. He has no *historical* place in the long descent of 'those who know,' though succeeding thinkers will feel themselves compelled, as they pass along, to glance at this reserved, fiery, egotistic far-glancing thinker. Miss Zimmern has made right good use of her materials, which were scanty, for Schopenhauer had no friends, and thus no correspondence. She writes well, and she has certainly produced a most skilfully arranged and readable book on a subject which, however, in itself, can only be really interesting to the few.

The Self-Made Man: Autobiography of Karl Friedrich von Klöden. Edited, with a Sketch of his After-life, by MAX JÄHN. Vol. I. Strahan and Co.

As this volume brings us only to the twenty-third year of Herr Klöden's life, it leaves us ignorant of the kind of manhood which he is to develop. Concerning his general character, therefore, we must defer remark until the second volume is before us. The present is simply a history of singular struggles with poverty and adverse circumstances, and the persistent development of natural tastes and noble qualities. Scarcely any instance in Mr. Smiles' 'Self Help' equals it: perhaps the nearest parallel to it is in Robert Chambers. We see the unconscious revelation, from earliest years, of a gentle, amiable, resolute nature, absorbed by a thirst for knowledge, and attaining it from the most parsimonious means. A descendant of a decayed

noble family, Von Klöden was the son of a common soldier, who became during the youth of the former addicted to drinking habits, and who exchanged soldiering for a subordinate position in the Customs, and was stationed in Prussian Friedland. Life in Barracks, Life in a Friedland Border Town, Life as an ill-used Goldsmith's Apprentice at Berlin, are respectively described with singular simplicity and freshness; and through the novelty to us of the different scenes and characters portrayed, the interest is very absorbing. The period, moreover, is from 1786 to 1809, when Napoleon planted his heel upon Continental Europe, and the fortunes of Prussia were at the lowest ebb. Napoleon and his army occupied Berlin; and the author records his impressions of the occupation. He developed unusual musical capabilities; but his tastes were chiefly scientific, and ultimately, as we shall see, he rose to scientific eminence. From beginning to end the volume is full of affecting experiences and interesting sketches, anecdotes, and characterisations. Up to the age of ten he never had a covering for his head; at ten years old he got his first ideas of the world from a copy of 'The Swiss Family Robinson,' and he read it eleven times through from beginning to end without skipping a single syllable. In the original German the book has attracted great attention, and, if we mistake not, it will prove to English readers one of the most attractive biographies published of late years.

Life of William, Earl of Shelburne; afterwards first Marquess of Lansdowne. With Extracts from his Papers and Correspondence. By LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE. Vol. II. Macmillan and Co.

The second volume of this admirable life of Shelburne continues the narrative for over ten years, or from 1766 to 1776. It shows us Lord Shelburne struggling vainly against the shortsighted statesmen of his age, who were fast precipitating the rebellion that separated America from the domain of the English Crown, and prepared a crop of troubles in Ireland. Possibly he would have succeeded in making head against his opponents if the active support of Lord Chatham had been steadily given to him. Unfortunately, however, the great earl was unable to render that. Shutting himself up at Hayes, the victim to serious illness, and his mind probably unsettled and the prey to gloomy fantasies, Lord Chatham left Shelburne to fight the battle single-handed; and the Whigs and the Tories of the day were too much for him, especially as he had the King also against him. Nevertheless this volume affords many fresh illustrations of the liberality and enlightenment of Shelburne, who, on so many questions—including religious toleration and free trade—was in advance of his times. The last chapter in the volume, 'Lord Shelburne on Men and Things,' contains numerous proof of this, and its contents will go far to justify the high rank given Shelburne as a statesman by the present

Prime Minister in the opening chapters of 'Sybel.' The time has come when he should no longer be ranked among the 'suppressed' statesmen of English political history.

Political and Military Episodes in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century, derived from the Life and Correspondence of the Right Hon. John Burgoyne, General, Statesman, Dramatist. By EDWARD BARRINGTON DE FONBLANQUE. Macmillan and Co.

Upon several points of interest light is thrown by these memoirs, which are not so much a complete biography as a selection of episodes in a biography. Thus the birth of Burgoyne is vindicated from the aspersion thrown upon it by the random statement of one of Horace Walpole's letters, and it is conclusively proved that he was born in lawful wedlock. His relations to the Derby family as the husband of Lady Charlotte Stanley, with whom he eloped, are also made clear to his honour; the chief proof of which is the high esteem in which he was held through life by Lord Derby. But the chief purpose has been to vindicate his reputation in the surrender of Saratoga. Burgoyne had acquired reputation as a very able, sagacious, and dashing soldier, and received the thanks of Parliament for his Peninsular services. He accepted a command as one of three popular generals reluctantly; he clearly appreciated the incapacity of Sir William Howe, and remonstrated against the absolute instructions for the campaign, which left the generals of three different armies, who were to co-operate together, without any discretion. Howe had gone to Pennsylvania, leaving Clinton in New York. Burgoyne was to advance from Canada, and to force a junction with Clinton at Albany, while Howe was making a diversion in the South. He advanced successfully down Lake Champlain and Lake George, and took Ticonderoga by a brilliant assault. He then advanced to the neighbourhood of Saratoga, but found himself unable to effect the junction with Clinton, and too weak successfully to maintain his own position. His orders were precise and imperative, and he concluded that, even at the cost of sacrificing himself, they must be obeyed. The result was the surrender of his army corps, of 3000 or 4000 men, to General Gage, who surrounded him with 13,000. The evidence, which is here given in detail, seems to show that Burgoyne had no alternative, and that he did all that a brave and wise commander could have done, and did not deserve to be sacrificed as a scapegoat, by Lord George Germaine and his incompetent colleagues, as he was. It is terrible to learn, from Lord Shelburne's Memoirs, that a forgotten despatch, which this Minister neglected to sign and send to General Howe, containing instructions for his co-operation with Burgoyne, was the chief cause of these disasters. It is said that our late Abyssinian war was due to a similar piece of official forgetfulness. Burgoyne wrote several dramas, was a forcible speaker, and altogether was a remarkable as well as a high-minded man.

The Earls of Middleton, Lords of Clermont and Fettercairn, and the Middleton Family. By A. C. BISCOE. Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. Biscoe is a chronicler rather than a biographer. There is no literary fusion in his style, nor much literary art in his work. He brings together the facts concerning the two Earls of Middleton, whose lives he records, by a commonplace-book method, simply putting in chronological order extracts from Pepys or Clarendon, in the case of the former, and a series of letters from the Court of James in France in that of the latter; or else, in a very prosaic way, he gives the substance of information thus gathered. He scarcely attempts either description or characterisation, much less portrait painting.

The book therefore is very dull, wonderfully so, considering the stirring times in which its heroes lived. Instead of vivid pictures of the great Revolution we have the driest chronicle of facts. John, the first Earl of Middleton, was a great leader in the wars of the Commonwealth, at first a Parliamentarian, then a Royalist. His military achievements in Scotland especially furnish material for a stirring narrative, which Mr. Biscoe has almost miraculously missed. After the Restoration he was appointed Governor of Tangier, and died, a drunkard, from a fall when intoxicated.

Charles, the second Earl, went with James to St. Germain. The interest of his life, as here given, consists of a series of letters, revealing the policy and the plotting of the French King and the Pretender. Here again was a fine opportunity for a biographer who could have made use of it.

Mr. Biscoe has brought the material together, but he has not made them into a book. A duller plodder never explored the cellars of history.

The Vicar of Morwenstow. A Life of Robert Stephen Hawker, M.A. By S. BARING-GOULD, M.A. Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. Hawker was grandson of Dr. Hawker, of Plymouth, and was born in 1804. He was a singular conglomerate of wood, hay, stubble, gold, silver, precious stones. His early life at Plymouth was largely spent with his grandfather, whom he sorely tried with his mad practical jokes. When he had been a year at Oxford and was nineteen, his father told him that he could not afford to continue his University career. Robert started off, without cap or coat, to a farm five miles distant, proposed to one of the four sisters who had each £200 a year, but who was forty-two years of age, and had nursed him and been his godmother; was accepted, and married: and so he completed his course at Oxford. He became vicar of Morwenstow, near Bude, where he remained to the end of his life. His marriage was a happy one. He tended his blind old wife with the utmost tenderness, and was inconsolable when, in 1865, she died, aged eighty-one. But a year after, with equal impulsiveness, he married a young Polish governess, had three daughters, whom he left with-

out any provision. He was a poet of high order, and wrote some very fine ballads. He was singularly unselfish and brave, full of human nature, but an Anglican of the purest water, although not a Ritualist; hated Dissenters, although, alas! he lived in a very hotbed of Methodism. He was bigoted, intolerant, and intensely priestly. He contended with great difficulties. All the better class of people were Methodists. He thought 'he had the poor with him,' but he could not get them to attend his church. John Wesley was as hateful to him as Cranmer is to Dr. Little-dale, and he had only anathema for him. He thought God's judgments came upon everybody who opposed him and tells us that 'failure or death befell those who had most vindictively opposed him.' He was bitten with Orientalism, and put on an Armenian cope for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and wore a hat without a brim that he might look like an Archimandrite. His Roman Catholic wife had a Romish priest to administer to him during his last illness—Mr. Baring-Gould says when he was unconscious—the sacraments of the Romish Church, from baptism to extreme unction. He died with whatever benefit these might confer, and as much in the bosom of the Romish Church as they could carry him, and was buried in a Roman Catholic cemetery at Plymouth. He had more than one craze, and was, perhaps, as great an oddity as Cornwall ever produced. He was in many respects an anachronism of the fourteenth century. But he was a good and brave and, in some respects, a grand old man. Mr. Baring-Gould tells some rich stories about him, and has, in addition, inlaid his memoir with a good deal of the folk-lore of Cornwall, with no end of wild legends and racy stories, not very relevant perhaps, nor always in good taste. It is a book to read and laugh over.

[In the 'Athenæum' of March 25th it is stated, apparently upon high authority, that many of Mr. Baring-Gould's statements in this volume are inaccurate or untrue.]

John Todd: the Story of his Life. Told mainly by Himself. Compiled and Edited by JOHN E. TODD. Sampson Low and Co.

Dr. Todd was a popular Congregational minister in New England—pastor successively at Groton, Northampton, Philadelphia, and Pittsfield. He was a popular writer, familiar to religious families in England by his 'Lectures to Children,' which have been translated into several European languages; and to students of theology by his 'Student's Manual,' a leaf of which, the only relic of a book, was found among the few remains of Sir John Franklin in the Arctic regions. It has passed through a hundred and fifty editions, and has been translated into German, French, and Welsh. This autobiography is very racy both of the man and the soil. It belongs to the class of biographies of which old Dr. Becher's is so fine a specimen. Dr. Todd was a thorough American in pluck, power, and unconventionality; and his stories and experiences of American religious life

during the last fifty years are remarkably rich. The book is full of individuality and raciness.

Memoirs of Rev. Charles G. Finney, the American Evangelist. Written by HIMSELF. Hodder and Stoughton.

Mr. Finney was a man of singular religious goodness and devotedness. Possessed of a strong will, of a good deal of hard intellectual power, and of intense passion; a man who, in other circumstances might easily have been a Crusader, an anchorite, or a Simon Stylites; he gave himself simply and exclusively to evangelising. When he first visited London to conduct services at Dr. Campbell's Tabernacle in Moorfields, he was never known to be curious about a single London attraction. We doubt whether he saw anything beyond the precincts of Finsbury and the way to it.

His book is almost exclusively devoted to records of preachings and revival services in America and England. It is the log of an evangelist dealing exclusively with the spiritual conversion of men. No work can be so momentous to men; and of Mr. Finney as its worker, it is impossible to speak too highly. There can be no doubt that he was the means of doing an immense amount of spiritual good, especially in connection with the college at Oberlin, which he founded. As a preacher he was one of the most penetrating and forcible that we ever heard. Utterly devoid of poetry, imagination, or sentiment, he forced conviction and quickened feeling by sheer intellectual cogency.

We are compelled to say, however, that the strong statements of his autobiography—or, at any rate some of them—are to be taken *cum grano*. Mr. Finney's very absorption in his work magnified it in his apprehensions. We happen to be somewhat minutely acquainted with some part of his work in England, and we are bound to say that particulars here stated concerning several families and individuals are, in some respects not true at all and in others greatly exaggerated. In some cases the statements made must give pain. Some of the details of alleged success at Moorfields, will, we suspect, be new to those who witnessed or participated in his labours. We feel bound to state this; a good work and good aims are no justification of exaggerated statements.

The Living Wesley, as He was in his Youth and in his Prime. By JAMES H. RIGG, D.D. Wesleyan Conference Office.

Dr. Rigg's little book is chiefly a criticism of Mr. Tyerman's recent 'Life of Wesley.' Dr. Rigg thinks that Mr. Tyerman has been somewhat more than judiciously severe in dealing with certain traits of Wesley's character and certain passages in his history. With characteristic vigour he assails his judgments concerning Wesley's youthful character; the love passages with Miss Kirkham, Mrs. Pendarves, and Miss Hopkey; his High Churchism; his Evangelical conversion; his character as a thinker, preacher, and man. A little less eagerness for the fray and a little more

of judicial balancing of evidence would give greater weight to Dr Rigg's judgments. We are disposed to think that some of the incidents in question would bear a more favourable construction than, in his solicitous candour, Mr. Tyerman has given them: his words about Wesley's youthful sins, for instance; but we also think that Dr. Rigg errs on the other side, and proves somewhat too much. That Wesley was weak and foolish in his relations to women seems beyond doubt. A man who gets into three or four love entanglements and makes a great blunder in his marriage can hardly be a wise and blameless victim. The book may be commended as a critical review article on certain passages in Wesley's life.

William Brock, D.D., First Pastor of Bloomsbury Chapel. By GEORGE WILSON M'CREE. James Clarke and Co.

In a little shilling volume Mr. M'Cree has given us some characteristics of one of the most exemplary and successful pastors of our day. Dr. Brock was a man of considerable intellectual robustness, of admirable good sense, of power of popular address, and of a deep and reverent religiousness of nature which consecrated all his gifts to his great calling, and secured a large degree of the highest order of ministerial success. Mr. M'Cree tells us anecdotes of his career, and gives us sketches of different phases of his character, which are eminently truthful, and will be valued by all who knew him; for all who knew him loved him.

Pearls of the Pacific. By J. W. BODDAM-WHETHAM, Author of 'Western Wanderings.' Hurst and Blackett.

Mr Boddam-Whetham here records his impressions of the Sandwich Islands and of the Samoan and Fiji groups, which he visited as a traveller—we might almost now use the word 'tourist'—and concerning which he tells us chiefly what he himself saw; that is, he does not burden his journal-records with much of either history or disquisition. He has considerable descriptive power and writes in an easy and animated style, so that his book is eminently readable and pleasant. It does not contribute to any special department of 'useful information.' It is a book of wayside impressions concerning country and people, natural phenomena, and manners and customs. Mr. Boddam-Whetham seems to be chiefly addicted to ornithology, and tells us concerning the existence of rare birds peculiar to the islands. He does not describe them, but simply indicates that he found them. He does not seem to have felt much interest in the governmental, social, commercial, or religious problems that are being wrought out in the islands. He makes very slight allusions to missionary civilisation, and these indicate but a languid interest. The South Sea islands—the Sandwich, Samoan, and Fiji islands especially—which are in the route from San Francisco to Australia, are rapidly becoming the ground of the tourist; and will, no doubt, before very long, be in-

cluded in Cook's annual excursions. Mr. Boddam-Whetham's book, therefore, may be heartily commended to general readers as pleasant and interesting, and as containing that general information about peoples which it is useful to possess, especially about tribes semi-civilised, some of whom have just become our fellow-subjects.

We may specially commend as graphic and full of interest the author's description of his visit to the volcanic region, of which Kilauea is the centre; into the crater of the latter he descended. Think of a circular lake of liquid fire, rolling, heaving, and dashing in molten waves like a sea, a quarter of a mile in diameter and enclosed by walls a hundred feet in height,—the active portion of the great crater. Mr. Ellis describes the great crater as he saw it. Miss Isabella Bird also visited it. It is interesting to compare the three descriptions. Mr. Boddam-Whetham was present in Honolulu at the election of a sovereign, and witnessed riots worthy of Donnybrook or New York. We have read his book with much interest; its descriptive merits are of a very high order; his spirit is genial, and his judgments are, on the whole, wise: but what can he mean by saying that all the ammonites of Whitby are imported from Lyme Regis? We hope this is not to be taken as a measure of his accuracy.

Yachting in the Arctic Seas; or, Notes of Five Voyages of Sport and Discovery in the Neighbourhood of Spitzbergen and Novaya Zemlya. By JAMES LAMONT, F.G.S. Edited and Illustrated by W. LIVESAY, M.D. Chatto and Windus.

Mr. Lamont's book is a contribution to Arctic discovery only so far as it demonstrates the ways in which the Pole is not to be reached. He seems conclusively to have proved by his five voyages that Spitzbergen is not the way of approach, nor Novaya Zemlya, nor the vast northern ice coast of the Spitzbergen sea that lies between them. There is, indeed, a possibility that access may lie by Gillies Land, and up Austria Sound (to the north of Novaya Zemlya), the splendid discovery of the Austrian expedition in 1874, and which seems approachable only from the west, round the northern point of Spitzbergen. At present, however, the probabilities are, that the true way of access is that of the 'Polaris,' up Baffins Bay and Smiths Sound, by which lat. 84° was reached in 1871—the nearest approach to the Pole yet made; but the state of the ice varies so much in different years that it would be foolish to pronounce dogmatically upon any possibility. While the most elaborately-equipped expedition may fail through unfavourable seasons, some small craft may stumble upon success through an unexpected opening. Some of the greatest results yet achieved have been in small sailing vessels. It is tantalizing to think that only some four hundred miles separate modern discovery from its goal, and not very flattering to remember that all the appliances of modern science have advanced us only some hundred and seventy miles

beyond Hudson's highest latitude in 1607. Mr. Lamont gives us detailed accounts of the Kara Straits, which separate Novaya Zemlya, on the north, from Samoyede Land, on the south, and of the south-west coast of the former which he skirted as far north as lat. 75°. Sailing west he rounded the south cape of Spitzbergen, and several times sailed up its western side, round Hakluyts Head, its northern point, to the Norways. He was unable to make either the Seven Islands, to the north-east, or Hinlopen Straits, which separate Spitzbergen on its eastern side from North-East Land. He examined, however, the Ice Ford, and Kings Bay, and the Stor Fiord, on the western side, and penetrated the latter as far as Lamont's Point. He could not, however, get through to the eastern coast by either the northern or southern passage, round Barentz Land. The book records no discovery; but it is an account of Arctic phenomena, achievement, adventure, and sport—full of interest to both the geographer and the sportsman. Mr. Lamont's game was chiefly the walrus: his pages are filled with hunting experiences therewith. Occasionally polar bears fell beneath his gun, and reindeer, together with guillemots, snowy owls, and other birds. Two or three narrow escapes from shipwreck give the excitement of peril to the narrative, which is also enriched by historical information, sporting anecdotes and adventures, and varied scientific information.

Altogether the volume is one of very great interest, a very valuable addition to the second, or descriptive, as distinguished from the first, or discovery, class of Arctic literature.

Morocco and the Moors: being an Account of Travels, with a General Description of the Country and its People. By ARTHUR LEARED M.D. With Illustrations. Sampson Low and Co.

Dr. Leared's volume is one of somewhat more than usual interest, owing, first, to our comparative ignorance of Morocco beyond two or three ports on its seaboard; and of its Atlantic ports we are really familiar only with Tangier,—in Charles II. and James II.'s times a British possession, it having been part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, Charles's wife,—about which Pepys tells us and of which the first Earl of Middleton was for a short time governor. We held it twenty-two years, and the remains of the mole made and destroyed by us are still seen. The vicinity of Tangier to Gibraltar keeps up a certain familiarity with it yet. Of its other ports we suspect Sallée is nominally most familiar to readers generally, in virtue of 'Robinson Crusoe.' Some of its ports, such as Mazagan, Saffi, and especially Mogador, are visited by our traders, but not so often as to make their names familiar to people generally; few even well-educated persons could tell you where they are. Morocco, the capital, is some hundred and thirty miles inland, due east from Mogador, which again is nearly four hundred miles south of Tangier, on the Atlantic coast. The interior of the country is but little known to European travellers, and is in a melancholy condi-

tion of half-civilised savagery, turbulence, and wretchedness. The multiform curse of Mohammedan countries is heavily upon it. The second source of interest in the book is the clear, simple good sense of Dr. Leared, who fulfils his promise, and, carefully eschewing fine writing and learned lucubrations, in a simple, straightforward way tells us what he saw, with just enough of collected information to give intelligence to his descriptions and statements. He laboured under the disadvantage of not knowing the language. He had, therefore, to be dependent upon secondary sources of information, and no doubt failed to learn many things that his interpreter did not tell him. But the book is a thoroughly good and instructive one, and we have read it from cover to cover with much interest. After visiting Tangier, Mazagan, and Mogador, which are fully described, the author proceeded inland from the latter place to Morocco, provided with a letter from the heir-apparent to the throne. Nothing could be more wretched than the journey—vile roads, with robbers and extortioners of every kind. The Sultan was absent from his capital on a war expedition. It was rumoured that he had suffered reverses, and the city was in a state of insurrection. The authorities were clearly unable to protect Dr. Leared against the fanatical hatred of Christians cherished by the inhabitants, and after seven or eight days' residence in a house which was in a state of semi-siege, they warned the traveller, whose life had been attempted by poison, that he had better depart. He managed, however, to see a good deal, and he gives an interesting description of the city, which lies at the foot of the Atlas Mountains, and tells us a good deal about its inhabitants—Arabs, Moors, Jews, and Negroes—and about its unutterably wretched condition, as well as about its prisons, social life, and natural history. One of the finest countries in the world is thus, under Mohammedan rule, degraded in filth, lust, and violence almost to the level of savage Africa. How much of the world has yet to be redeemed to productiveness and civilisation! We give a very cordial commendation to Dr. Leared's book.

From the Hebrides to the Himalayas. A Sketch of Eighteen Months' Wanderings in Western Isles and Eastern Highlands. By CONSTANCE F. GORDON CUMMING. Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

Miss Gordon Cumming proves herself a worthy bearer of the name so closely associated with travel. Among the Celts of the Hebrides, the Brahmins of Benares, the Buddhists of Thibet and Ceylon, she finds herself equally at home. She is keenly observant, full of sympathy, grudges no labour, deeply loves nature in her many moods, and has a decided faculty for getting below the surface. The reader who casually glances over the first volume, with its happy and condensed descriptions of the people of the Scottish Highlands, the Isle of Skye, and the Hebrides, with their many strange customs and superstitions, and dismisses it from his mind as he gets in-

terested in the still more gorgeous and attractive pictures of Indian wild or Indian temple, or Himalayan forest or village, will commit a great mistake, and fail to reach Miss Gordon Cumming's intention. She knows too well that hard and dry disquisition does not much find favour with the circulating libraries, and therefore she has sandwiched her science with narrative. But, though the work is valuable as a book of travel, it is still more valuable as popularising science. Miss Cumming is not an exact philologist or mythologist, and would not make any serious claim to either title; but she has done a great work in collecting, collating, and setting side by side the legends, myths, superstitions and common religious customs of many races, very diverse and far distant from each other. And it is very astonishing how, when closely examined, as Miss Gordon Cumming in one or two chapters endeavours to examine them, they discover remarkable likeness to each other. The fourth chapter of Vol. I.—'A String of Quaint Beads from Many Lands'—gives the keynote to the whole work, looked at in this light. In the extreme West, as in the extreme East, stones arranged in certain orders were held sacred, and around them at certain times, particularly at full moon, mystic celebrations took place—processions round them always following the course of the sun; the sunwise movement again being ethnic, confined to no people in particular, a fact that probably points to a deeper idea than Miss Cumming has yet reached or has been bold enough to face. Praying-mills, she tells us, always follow the course of the sun, and certain elements in the Roman Carnival connect it with the sun-procession; whilst even amongst the Jews, the race that so sternly withstood the Oriental worship of nature-force in all its forms, we can trace certain relics of this same custom. Miss Gordon Cumming writes:

'Some idea of the mysterious virtue attached to these sunwise turns may perhaps be the reason that the Jews, in several different countries thus march seven times round their newly coffined dead. In pagan records we find the same customs common both to Greeks and Romans. There is also historical evidence of their having been practised by the Gauls 3000 years ago.'

Miss Cumming gives a very odd instance of 'survival' in the case of an old burying-ground near Inverness, on the top of a hill. Recently there was a proposal to do away with the old road to it, and to adopt a shorter one; but against this there was the most urgent remonstrance from the people, as being contrary to old custom. The new road, they said, would reverse the course followed by the old one, and the corpse be carried contrary to the course of the sun. And they carried their point, the old roundabout road being still used. We regret that we cannot afford the space to prove by extract the picturesque force, the sympathy, the knowledge, and the delicacy to be found in this work; we can only heartily recommend all those who love a good work of travel, as well as those

who are interested in ethnology and mythology, to procure it and study it. The illustrations show that Miss Cumming adds to her other gifts the artistic one. We are sorry to observe not a few misprints.

The Victoria Falls of the Zambesi. Translated from the German of EDWARD MOHR. By N. D'ANVERS. With Numerous Illustrations. Sampson Low and Co.

The Germans are vying with ourselves in the exploration of Africa, and their contributions to its literature of travel are becoming very valuable. Herr Mohr's work contributes a type that is new for Germany. He makes no discovery, like Livingstone; he does not add precision and certainty to discovery like Schweinfurth. His track is a not infrequent one, viz., from Port Natal, north-west, through the Orange River and Vaal River settlements, across the territory of the Transvaal Republic to Bamangwato in the Bechuana country, thence to the Tati settlement on the Sacha River, thence to what he calls Linyanti, in Mosilikatze's dominions.

Here we find it difficult to follow him. The Linyanti of Livingstone is S.W. of the Victoria Falls in lat. 18° 17' and long. 28° 50'; the place called Linyanti by Herr Mohr (on his map it is called Inyati), is S.E. of the Victoria Falls in lat. 19° 40' and long. 29° 40'.

Returning to the Mangwe River, on the way back to Tati, he made a fruitless attempt to reach the Victoria Falls by a N.N.W. course, but had to turn back at Tonsunge, retracing his steps first to Mangwe, then to Tati; from Tati he reached the Zambesi and the Falls by a route directly north. The district thus travelled is well known to African hunters, traders, and missionaries. It is the eastern belt of verdant country parallel to the central belt of desert, the Kalahari, across which Livingstone made his first memorable journey northwards.

The merits of Herr Mohr's book are that he is a keen and scientific observer, and was accompanied by Adolf Hübner, an accomplished geologist. He is, moreover, an eloquent writer; his descriptions of scenery, and natural phenomena, are full of poetic beauty and imaginative colouring. He is a keen sportsman and an experienced African traveller. In his route he frequently came in contact with Mr. Baines, our well-known African explorer. His description of the Victoria Falls—the roar of which was heard at a distance of eight miles—is simple and impressive. He determined the lat. to be 17° 59' 7" S., and the long. 26° 32' E. The river, running from the N.N.W., a mile wide, falls over a ledge into a trough or ravine 400 feet deep and varying from 240 to 300 feet in width, then runs away to the east to the sea. At the western corner there is a projecting rock corresponding apparently to the old Terapin Tower at Niagara, from which the spectator can look along the ravine of the cataract. Niagara must, in volume at least, yield the palm to this magnificent fall of the Zambesi; whether the view of the former up the river, with the American

Fall on the left, is not more picturesque and impressive, we doubt. As an eloquent description by a keen and competent observer of a country but little known, Herr Mohr's book may be put among the most interesting and fascinating volumes of the fine Library of Travel which it is the distinctive honour of the publishers to have given to the world.

My Circular Notes. Extracts from Journals, Letters sent Home, Geological and other Notes. Written while Travelling Westwards Round the World, from July 6, 1874, to July 6, 1875. By J. F. CAMPBELL. Two Vols. Macmillan and Co.

The author of 'Frost and Fire' will easily be credited with all requisite scientific qualifications for intelligently prosecuting the journey of which he gives us a record. He seems, however to have subjected his scientific tendencies to violent repression. Allusions and passing remarks of a geological and mineralogical character occur here and there; but his journal is otherwise exempt from them. He appends to it, however, a paper on 'The Period of Polar Glaciation,' which fills a hundred pages, and seems to have been composed and rewritten bit by bit during his entire journey. It is simply impossible to subject to criticism this odd, miscellaneous, and clever book. It consists of fragmentary observations, broken bits of characterisations, jots of imperfect thought about men, manners, and mountains, and everything else. The author does not sit down to tell us fully or seriously about anything; he takes passing sights and flying shots at things, infinitely amusing and suggestive to those who know the countries that occasion them, and scarcely less so to those who do not. The fun, however, is a little forced, the cynicism a little affected, and the mordant moods a little too self-conscious, just enough to prevent you surrendering yourself to the author. Mr. Campbell is a good-natured kind of Diogenes rolling round the world in his little tub. We must not touch his good things themselves; it would be like giving specimens of 'Punch.' Starting from Liverpool, Mr. Campbell landed at Boston, went to Niagara, Chicago, Colorado Springs, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Japan, and Java—about which he tells us a great deal—and Ceylon; coming home by Egypt and Marseilles, 'circumperiambulatorically,' as he would say. A more clever and amusing book, a more perfect specimen of a *laissez faire, sang-froid* Englishman—we beg pardon, he is a Campbell of Argyleshire—we have not recently met. We can add only that the letters and journals are accompanied with a great number of illustrations, some of them clever, some of them far otherwise, but in either case amusing; only too-continued a strain of cynical fun makes us ache just a little.

Bible Lands, their Modern Customs and Manners, Illustrative of Scripture. By HENRY J. VAN-LENNEP, D.D. With Maps and Woodcuts. John Murray.

Dr. Van-Lennep is an American Missionary,

who, a few years ago, published a book of Travels in Asia Minor, where a great many years of his life have been spent, of which we had to speak highly. He now puts forth this work of Biblical Illustrations, gathered from the physical features of Bible lands and the manners and customs of its inhabitants. In character his work is analogous to Dr. Thomson's 'Land and the Book,' although inferior to that fascinating and popular work in literary grace, and possibly in scholarliness. Dr. Van-Lennep's book is more valuable for the materials brought together than for his critical use of them. He impresses us as being of uncritical mind, and certainly he is not abreast of the archaeological researches of his day. The results of the Palestine Exploration, to say nothing of Mr. George Smith's Assyrian discoveries, ought to have given a tone and judgment different from much that the book contains, e.g., the dogmatic assertion of the old tradition that Noah's Ark rested on Ararat, in Armenia. Still, criticism has but a comparatively small function in the materials which Dr. Van-Lennep has brought together, and which for the most part are obvious in their relevancy and in the light which they throw upon the Bible narrative.

His method is to bring together and classify illustrations derived from specific things. His book is arranged in two great divisions. First, customs which have their origin in the physical features of Bible lands; and, next, customs which have a historical origin: e.g., under the first head he has twelve chapters, each devoted to a specific topic, water, products of the soil, gardening, vineyards, fruit and forest trees, domestic animals, &c.; and under the second, chapters on ethnology, language, habitations, social life, government, &c. The scientific chapters of the work are the least satisfactory. Thus Dr. Van-Lennep has no other authority for his very inadequate and, as we think, mistaken statements about the Talmud than Prideaux. The entire work however, is popularly written for popular uses; and the really valuable information which it gives commends it very strongly for such uses. The information is such as only long residence and accurate familiarity could supply. In this respect we can hardly commend the work too highly. We should add that its value is greatly enhanced by the maps and illustrations which are profusely scattered over its pages.

Sport in Abyssinia, on the Mareb and Tackazzee. By the EARL OF MAYO. John Murray.

Books of sporting adventure become somewhat monotonous unless relieved by scientific or picturesque description, geographical information, or personal adventure. Lord Mayo was, through illness, deprived of the large game that he went to shoot. He killed one or two hippopotami in the Tackazzee, but was unable to secure one of them. His friend killed a lion and several buffaloes. Lord Mayo chronicles only small game, and we confess to getting tired of extracts from his diary recording only the death of partridges and an-

telopes. He was compelled by illness to return from the Tackazee as soon as he reached it, and just when his chief sport should have commenced. His book is pleasantly written, and incidentally gives us some information about the country and people. We must suppose that the somewhat rough treatment of the Abyssinians which Lord Mayo records was necessary, and that his method of levying supplies, which had a close approximation to looting, is travellers' custom in the country. But it is not very pleasant to read of. We may commend his volume as containing pleasant gossip reading about a little known land.

Mandalay and Momien. A Narrative of the Two Expeditions to Western China of 1868 and 1875, under Colonel Edward Sladen and Colonel Horace Browne. By JOHN ANDERSON, M.D. With Maps and Illustrations. Macmillan and Co.

This volume has reached us too late for more than a brief notice. It is of especial interest, both on account of the commercial importance of the overland transit to China, and on account of the murder of Mr. Margary, one of the expedition of 1875. Dr. Anderson was attached as medical officer and naturalist to both expeditions. The principal part of the volume is devoted to the former. Starting from Mandalay, the capital of Burmah, it proceeded up the Irawaddy to Bhamo, and thence, in a north-east direction some hundred miles, across the Chinese frontier to Momien in Yunnan. The second expedition, which was larger and more fully equipped, pursued nearly the same route, but returned after proceeding about half way to Momien, owing to the murder of Mr. Margary at Manwyne and to an attack upon the rest of the party at Shitsee Doung, the investigation into which is now proceeding. Mr. Margary was to have started from Hankow, on the Chinese side, to meet the mission farther on. He travelled so vigorously, however, that he came the whole way and arrived at Bhamo before the mission started, being courteously treated at Manwyne, where he was afterwards murdered. He returned with Colonel Browne's party; went on before when near Manwyne, and was murdered there, which, with the attack upon the main body, led to the expedition being abandoned. Mr. Margary, however, won the distinction of having first traversed the entire route.

Dr. Anderson gives us a good deal of interesting and detailed information respecting the wild Kakhien mountain men, one of the most savage of the tribes through which transit will have to be made. Two things have to be done; first, the murder of Mr. Margary must be severely investigated, and retribution exacted; and the overland route for trade must be established,—which by wise and firm negotiations cannot be very difficult or long delayed. Meanwhile this volume gives us most timely and interesting information concerning the difficulties to be overcome.

POLITICS, SCIENCE, AND ART.

Essays on the External Policy of India. By the late J. W. S. WYLLIE, M.A., C.S.I., H. M. India Civil Service. Edited, with a Brief Life, by W. W. Hunter, B.A., LL.D., H. M. India Civil Service. Smith Elder and Co.

These essays are the literary remains of an uncompleted public life of great promise. 'Those whom the gods love die young;' and in the case of John Wyllie, who, just before his death, said, 'I die in Christ,' those who knew him may feel that they need not sorrow as those who have no hope. Cut off at the early age of thirty-four, he had yet made his mark in the service, and the attention of the English public had been drawn to him. In the brief introductory memoir of Dr. Hunter we are enabled to see what sort of stuff this young Indian officer was made of, how much there was in his character that was good and noble, and how hard he worked at the post of duty. But it is not with the man, but with these reprinted essays—former contributions to reviews—with which we have to do. Some of them will be recognised as having excited more than a merely passing interest when they first appeared. This is particularly the case with the two contributions to the 'Fortnightly,' on 'Masterly Inactivity,' and 'Mischievous Activity;' although the editor frankly admits that the views expressed in the latter paper have not been justified by events, and would in all likelihood have been revised by Mr. Wyllie had he lived to the present time. The other essays are,—an elaborate article, first printed in the 'Edinburgh Review' of January, 1867, on 'The Foreign Policy of Lord Lawrence;' an exhaustive paper published by the same periodical in April 1868, on 'Western China;' and two other contributions on questions of Indian policy of less wide scope and less general interest. It may be said of all of them that they present a large amount of information, which could have been obtained by research only by one placed in the circumstances in which Mr. Wyllie was. They are laborious and learned essays, which may be *caviare* to the general reader, but will be recognised, by all desirous of making Indian questions a subject of serious study, as worthy contributions to the elucidation of difficult and complicated questions of policy, by one who, in Indian matters, had the special knowledge of an expert.

The Devil's Chain. By EDWARD JENKINS, M.P., Author of 'Ginx's Baby,' &c. Strahan and Co.

Mr. Jenkins has taken a position which art might do a little to reconcile us to, but which it never could justify. He has written a teetotal story of the most sensational type. We could not go so far as some critics, and say that a moral purpose cannot be proper to art. Deep convictions, if a man have them, will escape through the artistic forms he uses. The question is, how far they emerge into his artistic work without disturbing its proper-

tions. Mr. Jenkins has neither studied proportion nor probability; and he here reveals himself to us as one on whom a very old evil has only recently impressed itself. If we give him credit for force in uttering a late conviction, we must deny him that susceptibility which would have brought the revelation sooner, and allowed time to moderate and to relieve it. The story errs against all rules of art. Mr. Jenkins does not pretend to show us the evil working alongside life which it does not touch; all in his story is touched by it; it is the Devil's chain, indeed, in his pages. But this is a form of error common to nearly all works of the class, and it is more pronounced in Mr. Jenkins's than in any we have seen. There are a proportion of the population of London drunken, hopelessly drunken; but they are not the majority. The great enterprises of every day are not carried on by them, nor does the world depend upon them; in fact, it would be better without them. Drink does great evil—who denies it? The victims themselves confess it, good men mourn over it, and Mr. Jenkins writes a hysterical tale. If a certain form of self-sacrifice had accompanied the effort, its sincerity might have atoned a little for the lack of art. But we do not hear that Mr. Jenkins has yet begun to circulate the book gratuitously to the poor victims as they are entering public-house doors, or has faced the risk of a repulse in button-holing and arguing with gentlemen to banish liquors from the Reform or the Garrick clubs. That is hardly too much to demand, practically, of a man who is so intent on present reform that he violates specifically the first law of art, by prefixing a preface in which he *points* his own moral, and writes: 'I charge distinctly that every man who, from a Home Secretary down to the lowest publican, encourages the increase of this (the liquor) traffic, and delays and hinders its decrease, assumes a share of the responsibility for such incidents.' This is not very elegant, but, like much else in the book, it is strong. Membership of any club, unless a teetotal club, would bring one under this lash; and many a pleasant and innocent partnership in life would be rudely broken—even for teetotalers—were it strictly acted out. We do not deny that Mr. Jenkins gives us passages of power, touches of pathos, and, now and then, a glimmer of humour; but 'The Devil's Chain' is hardly worthy of him as a bit of literature.

The Fine Arts and their Uses. Essays on the Essential Principles and Limits of the Expression of the Variable Arts, with Especial Reference to their Popular Influence. By WILLIAM BELLARS. Smith Elder and Co.

These are pleasant essays, which have been carefully written and show thoughtfulness; but we do not fancy they will serve any better purpose than to supply interesting reading for a few leisure half-hours. The design of the author was, indeed, more comprehensive. In his preface, while admitting that much of what he has said had been said before by others, he adds that it is his object 'to put

forward a simple but comprehensive scheme of æsthetics, which should be applicable to all art and available by any person.' This may raise expectations which will not be satisfied. Either of two things may be conveyed by these words; a scientific treatment of æsthetics, showing the psychological principles they employ and develop, and basing on them a philosophy of the beautiful; or a merely general indication of the ends of art, and of the spirit in which it ought to be cultivated. Mr. Bellars confines himself to the latter, and says many excellent things in an interesting manner; but we fail to discern that any fresh light is thereby cast upon art, or any principles illustrated which appear to be either original or profound. In Part I. we have the author's exposition of 'Principles'; but while he illustrates admirably his views regarding the provinces of imagination and feeling in relation to the cultivation of the beautiful, and offers some interesting observations upon beauty and sublimity, we scarcely think his most indulgent critic will discover that he has added anything to what have almost come to be recognised as commonplaces on the subject. He has vindicated, in a common-sense and simple way, the objective reality of beauty, while recognising its ideal elements; but he has not gone beyond that. In Part. II there is an application of the principles of Part I. to the various branches of art, beginning with the more simple and going on to the more complex—from dancing to poetry, which is the widest and most comprehensive expression of artistic feeling. And in conclusion the author enforces against hostile critics the great lesson, taught in so many ways by Mr. Ruskin, of the necessity of truth in art and the importance of cultivating a patiently recipient or waiting disposition. We re-echo every word of his conclusion when he says, 'It is in robust and manly thought, having some definite and healthy object, that we must seek for the true greatness of art. We must look for noble results from men who do not regard art as a mere chess-board for their own abilities, or waste their efforts upon sickly dreams or vague sentimentalities; but who perceive that there is a deeper faith, a wider charity, and a higher purity to which in this world we may yet aspire. It is not too much to hope that the time will one day come, when artists of all kinds will see that it is their duty so to let their light shine before men that, through their art, their Father which is in heaven may be glorified.' The book amplifies and illustrates the truth which these words express.

The Habitations of Man in All Ages. By EUGENE VIOLLET-LE-DUC. Translated by BENJAMIN BUCKNALL, Architect. With Numerous Illustrations. Sampson Low and Co.

M. Viollet-le-Duc is not only a great architect and antiquarian of exact and profound acquirements, he is a poet, steeped in fancy and imagination. Nothing that he has mastered—and he has mastered much—but he at once translates in his own mind into immedi-

ate human relation and application; and so, out of the remotest lore, he constructs a story, full of the most urgent practical lessons. His 'Histoire d'une Maison,' translated under the somewhat prosaic and misleading title, 'How to Build a House,' may well stand as a specimen of the true modern fairy tale, illustrating how the benignant fairies, who in old time aided men by the furthering of their tasks in silence of night, still lie *perdu* in the laws of health and true domestic construction. And so we follow Monsieur Paul, the young, experimentalist, and his cousin, the architect, through the various stages of that ideal *maison*, as interested as though we were involved in some sensational of Dumas *père*. It is the same in the 'Habitations of Man;' we are led from the rudest efforts of early man to build himself a hut, through Chinese, Egyptian, Indian, Moorish, Gothic architecture, on to the very latest architectural developments. And all is done by means of story, in the lightest, most condensed, imaginative way. We watch the first tree-dwellers drawing the branches together and endlessly fighting with the winds for a refuge; talk with the inmates of those strange, yet far from reasonless, lacustrine homes; laugh with the good fat Chinaman who has made a fortune, and then, retiring to ease, has brought on ill-health by the very excess of his comforts; but a serious lesson catches hold of us, and constrains us to gravity and reflection before we leave him. His case illustrates our own in these stirring times. M. Viollet-le-Duc shows himself on occasions master of a vein of quiet humor, and nowhere is it seen more suggestively than here. We cannot at present go into such full details as we should have wished; suffice it to say that nowhere has M. Viollet-le-Duc concentrated more varied knowledge, or illumined it more successfully by direct human interest and characteristic dialogue, than in this present work, which can be recommended to the general reader, as well as to the ethnologist and others, as a specimen of a book which claims popularity without sacrificing science. The numerous little cuts, which are clear and expressive, add much to the interest.

Wild Flowers from the Holy Land. Fifty-four Plates Printed in Colours. Drawn and Painted after Nature. By Mrs. HANNAH ZELLER, Nazareth. With a Preface by H. B. TRISTRAM, M.A., LL.D.; and an Introduction by EDWARD ATKINSON, Esq., F.L.S. James Nisbet and Co.

To many purchasers of gift books this will be the most attractive volume of the year. While its artistic skill in delineation and its reproduction in engravings are of a very high order indeed, it has the charm of reverent and tender association, which, however numerous the books on Palestine, never seems to fail. Its drawings, too, have that exquisite simplicity and calm purity which only nature supplies. Mrs. Zeller has resided in Nazareth many years; Mr. Atkinson resided in the Holy Land for four years; while Canon Tristram has made its flora distinctively his own.

Both the latter testify to the accuracy of Mrs. Zeller's drawings; and we have ourselves compared them with a *hortus siccus* of our own gathered from those 'Holy Fields.' Fifty-four species of the wayside flowers which, in spring-time, carpet so richly the slopes of Nazareth, the plain of Esdraelon, and the road to Hebron, are here faithfully delineated both in drawing and colour.

It is a book that all Bible-loving people will be glad to possess. While to travellers in the Holy Land it will be a souvenir full of tender interest.

Natural History of Selborne. By GILBERT WHITE. With Notes by FRANK BUCKLAND; a Chapter on Antiquities by Lord SELBORNE; and New Letters. Illustrated by P. H. DELAMOTTE. Macmillan and Co.

Gilbert White's charming letters have been published just a century, and for more than half that period have been admitted to an indisputable place as a classic. They may be surpassed as science advances, but they will never be superseded. Not only is Gilbert White the father of English natural history, but in acuteness of observation and elegance of description he, as first, surpassed most of his successors. The letters have an imperishable charm. Their easy grace, their vivacious dignity, their quiet, rapid, business-like descriptions are a model for all describers, and charm the mere literary man as well as the man of science.

The edition before us might well claim to be a worthy centenary edition, in virtue of its exquisite illustrations and its bibliographical elegance; but Mr Buckland, the editor, tells us that Professor Bell, who for thirty years has lived in Gilbert White's house at Selborne, intends publishing a classical edition of White, with the addition of large selections from his manuscripts.

Mr. Frank Buckland has added some 150 pages of illustrative notes. Mr. Buckland has considerable knowledge and vivacity; but his notes are somewhat discursive and garrulous. Clearly, in this respect, the mantle of Gilbert White has not fallen upon him. His notes, however, are amusing and instructive reading.

Lord Selborne adds to the 'Antiquities' an interesting chapter on the Roman-British antiquities of Selborne. We have nothing but praise for M. Delamotte's very beautiful illustrations. The book is an *édition de luxe*, a sumptuous volume for both library and drawing-room. In turning over its pages we linger lovingly over the rare charm of its descriptions and the artistic beauty of its illustrations.

Lessons from Nature, as Manifested in Mind and Matter. By ST. GEORGE MIVART, Ph.D., F.R.S. Murray.

In this work, which is, in the main, a reprint of various articles contributed by the author to the pages of the 'Contemporary,' 'Fortnightly,' 'Dublin,' and 'Quarterly' Reviews, a full and complete refutation is given of the so-called 'monistic' view of creation as

held by Messrs. Darwin and Huxley. The separate and special genesis of man is maintained as a being wholly distinct, if not in bodily form, yet in self-consciousness, reason, language, and moral sense, from the highest of the brute creation. Professor Mivart does not deny the doctrine of 'evolution.' He concedes that changes of form are produced in organic bodies by the long-continued influences of nature in throwing off varieties, some of which become fixed as species, while older forms have passed out of existence and become known to us only by geological research. What he does deny is that 'natural selection' will alone account for the vast differences that exist between types or groups of organic beings. Thus, we can understand that a hundred species of fir, or willow, or palm, may have descended from the same stock severally, though each species appears to us now to undergo no marked visible change; but we cannot understand how a willow can ever have come from a fir, or a fir from a willow; and it is wholly contrary to experience that either event should take place. Both of these archetypal forms, therefore, would seem to have been created by 'special genesis.' So with man and his apparent congener the ape. Like as they are externally, 'Simia quam similis, turpissima bestia, nobis!' as Ennius said long enough ago,—much more like, in truth, than a willow is like a fir,—they cannot have a common ancestry, because the highest of the apes show not a particle of that reason, that self-consciousness, or that sense of moral responsibility which are the exclusive prerogatives of men. Mr. Mivart stretches his position so far as to aver (p. 295) that 'man differs more from an ape than does an ape from inorganic matter.'

The supporters of the 'evolution theory,' as sufficient to account for the fact of man's existence, reply to these difficulties, which Mr. Mivart holds to be quite insuperable, that we cannot estimate (1) what number of intermediate forms in any series may have been wholly lost; (2) the amount of time, perhaps millions of years, since the first organisms or created forms existed on this earth; (3) the full force of external circumstances in inducing and fixing change of type, *e. g.*, changes of food, climate, temperature, sexual preferences, &c. They contend, not that man comes from an ape, not that an ape is a degraded form of man, but only that both may have had, in times immensely remote, a common ancestry. They point to the degraded races who in those ages made rude stone implements,—to the grovelling wretches who dwell in dark caves, which they shared with the wild beasts; who left no monuments of art, had no writing, possibly no language comparable to any that now exists; they urge the low morality, or rather the utter absence of it, still to be seen in the lowest savages; they insist on the low intellectual powers, the savage cruelty, the brutal passions, and the degrading superstitions that still prevail. And they argue that, although *potentially* man may have, and undoubtedly has, a power of development in re-

spect of mental faculties which no other animals possess, this fact is not of itself a sufficient ground for insisting on its separate and exclusive origin. Proof being wanting on either side, and being, moreover, impossible to obtain (in the scientific sense), they appeal to the balance of probability between miraculous creation and some fixed law of progression. 'Development,' they think, is, on the whole, a more probable cause of man's present *status* on earth, and a more reasonable theory to account even for his high moral and mental powers, than the doctrine, unsupported as it is by all human experience, of special creation.

It is to meet these views (which, if unsound and untrue, are not without some plausibility) that Professor Mivart addresses himself. His work is essentially polemic; and in dealing with such antagonists as Mr. Herbert Spencer and the school of the 'Agnostics, who, with Hume, maintain that it is impossible that man can know anything whatever about God, or even be assured of His existence, he is obliged to grapple with metaphysical arguments of the most subtle kind, some of them, probably, much beyond the reach of ordinary readers. In two very interesting chapters, vi. and vii., entitled 'Man' and the 'Brute,' the author endeavors to show that the highest forms of instinct, and even intelligence or sagacity, in the brute creation, make no approach whatever to the reasoning powers of man. These are faculties, he maintains, altogether different in kind. Man, he contends, has, together with reason, free will to use and to be guided by it; hence he has responsibility, conscience, a perception, (however obscured) of morality. To the theory that even conscience and morality are only *habits* of mind resulting from a long course of action in all cases tending to self-preservation, and therefore for the best, he opposes (in chapter v., 'Duty and Pleasure') the view that the notions of 'right' and 'useful' (duty and expediency) are so fundamentally different, that the one could never have sprung alone, and without the agency of some higher faculty, from the other. No animal, he contends, has any sense of *duty*, even in the form of sympathy for its own kind, or what we call 'duty to our neighbour.' Man alone has the power of forming moral judgments, and of acting on them. Of course, it is a difficulty in the doctrine of an inherent and inalienable conscience, that moral judgment may so readily be perverted; as when a man comes to think that murder is a duty in revenge, or when a cannibal joins in a feast on the flesh of his slain enemy. Professor Mivart answers (p. 108) that this perversion by no means disproves the *existence* of moral intuition. It must, however, be conceded, that in the lowest types of man 'conscience' has practically no influence at all. It is, for any real guidance on the path of duty, a power that acts only on the higher races of man, to whom Religion and Responsibility are intelligible ideas.

In his concluding chapters (xiii., 'Consequences,' and xiv., 'A Postscript') Mr. Mivart solemnly and eloquently warns his readers

that to deny the existence of a First Cause, and to lapse into mere materialism, is to deny all morality, all distinction of right from wrong, to leave no duty to be performed, no hope of an hereafter to animate us. With the negation of free will and moral responsibility follows the uselessness and even the falsity of all religion. Man can have no destiny but extinction; and thus he denounces the 'Agnostic' views as the most dreary of all speculations that can engage the attention of the inquirer after truth.

Nature and the Bible. A Course of Lectures Delivered in New York, in December 1874, on the Morse Foundation of the Union Theological Seminary. By J. W. Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University, Author of 'Archæa,' 'Canadian Geology,' &c. Sampson Low and Co.

Dr. Dawson is favorably known as a writer who has done good service in the reconciliation of science and religion. If it were not for the perverse attempts of certain would-be scientists, who, with all their prate of Positivism, are nothing else than cosmogonists out of their own fancy, there would be no need for reconciliations. As it is, they are still called for, and seeing that the contradictions and oppositions spring on the side of science, it is desirable that the reconciliation should come from the same quarter. When religionists prepare a *concordat*, or as it is called in Italy a *modus vivendi*, it is flung at them that they are instigated by fear. This reproach they do not deserve; still, as the attacking party are generally the scientists, it is better far that they should be met on their own ground by men who cannot be said to have any professional interest in the vindication of theological truth. Dr. Dawson describes himself as able to sympathise alike with those scientific students who are repelled from the Scriptures by current misapprehensions as to their teachings, and with those Christians who regard the advances of science with some dread as possibly hostile to religion; and he will be thankful if he can, to any extent, guide either to a better position in relation to the word and works of God and to a better use of both with regard to their own higher welfare.

Dr. Dawson's opening remarks on this subject are judicious and to the point. Quoting Mr. Martineau, who observes 'that science discloses the method of the world, but not its cause; religion its cause, but not its method,' he shows that this is true under certain qualifications. For, on the one hand, science, through its ideas of unity and correlation of forces, and the evidence of design in organic structures, does point not obscurely to a first cause, and that religion as contained in Holy Scripture does affirm method in nature. It is impossible, therefore, to do as the late Baden Powell affirmed we should do, though he wholly failed to satisfy either party—viz., to put religion and science so far apart that their orbits should never intersect. This is impossible. A revelation from God, though its

subject matter concerns man only, and man ipso facto his moral and spiritual relationships to his Maker exclusively, must touch on the subject of creation. We cannot warn off the inspired narrator from the region of creation with the remark, 'This is cosmogony, and cosmogony has nothing to say to revealed religion.' On the other hand, men of science will never listen to the statement that anthropology is a department reserved for sacred studies. Men reason upward from the *quadrupedia* to the *bimana*, and no entreaty to consider the dignity of man, much less the sacredness of the religious interests at stake, will deter them from it. This being so, it is as well to face the facts and to prepare for them. Lectures accordingly like these of Dr. Dawson, delivered last winter at the Morse Theological Foundation in New York, meet a recognised want, and furnish us with the very argument which we want to meet the enemy in the gate. The presumptions against the credibility of a revelation from God are enormous in certain minds, and its irreconcilability with science is assumed in a hundred quarters. That which is wanted is not so much vindications of the truth and the credibility of the Bible—we have had enough of these from the theological standpoints—as restatements of what its subject-matter is and the points where its orbit intersects that of the man of science. It is at these points of intersection that we look out for a competent guide, and we are ready to admit that Dr. Dawson is such. We do not know where we have met with a more ingenious train of reasoning, or one which so thoroughly meets the sceptic on his own ground and demolishes his argument out of his own mouth. For instance, he assumes that Dr. Tyndall would join with Elijah in ridiculing the priests of Baal for praying to the sun as to a god. The man of religion is here at one with the man of science in regarding the sun as only a force in the hands of a power higher than itself. But Dr. Tyndall would retort, 'Is it not as useless to pray for the rain?' to which Elijah would reply, 'True, it is useless to pray to the sun, for he is the slave of inexorable law; but as you do not deny that there may be a God who enacted the law, and as this God, being everywhere, can have access to the spirits of man, it may be quite possible for God so to correlate the myriad adjustments which determine whether the rain shall fall in any particular place, at any particular time, that the fact shall coincide with His spiritual relations to His people.' This theory of coincidence between pre-established laws and particular needs is ingenious, but not satisfactory. We doubt if Elijah would have prayed earnestly and effectually with such a perhaps or perchance as this. But a better explanation is the one which he gives a little further on—that it is by prayer we get access to the mind that makes and rules all things, and there learn His will, and what we may and what we may not pray for. In other words, we never pray aright till we first have learned what it is to pray amiss, as we hit the bull's eye of the target only by first striking

wild shots at the outer rings. This is a book, we may say in conclusion, written in such an excellent spirit, and dealing at least with one department of science—the palæontological proof of the antiquity of the world and of successive stages corresponding to the days of creation—so effectively, that we have no hesitation in saying it is the most satisfactory book on the subject which we have seen since Hugh Miller's attempts in the same line.

Prehistoric Man. Researches into the Origin of Civilisation in the Old and the New World. By DANIEL WILSON, LL.D., &c. Professor of History and English Literature in University College, Toronto. Third Edition. Revised and Enlarged. With Illustrations. Two Vols. Macmillan and Co.

The interest excited by Professor Wilson's 'prehistoric' researches is proved by the appearance of this third edition of his valuable work on 'Prehistoric Man,' which was published in 1862, and of which a second edition was called for in 1865. The more immediate field of inquiry over which the author ranges includes the position of the representatives of the human race in America in the years long previous to the time when, by being brought into contact with the influences of the civilisation of the Old World, they were taken up into the stream of history, and the New World, blending with the Old, became one of the pioneers of the future progress of man. During the silent centuries in which they were thus isolated they had a history of their own; for it is found that the primæval peoples of the New World must have pursued in many respects a course analogous to that which, by slow degrees, produced the civilisation of Europe. 'The recognition of this,' says Dr. Wilson, 'is not only of value as an aid to the realisation of the necessary conditions through which man passed in reaching the stage at which he is found at the dawn of history; but it seems to point to the significant conclusion that civilisation is the development of capacities inherent in man.' It is unnecessary for us to dwell upon the merits of a work which has won for itself the general recognition accorded to Dr. Wilson's 'Prehistoric Man.' The present edition brings the subject treated of by the author abreast of the most recent discoveries in archæological science and research. With it has been incorporated the knowledge obtained of the arts and of the physical characteristics of man in Europe in recent years; and, accordingly, while much of the original work has been rewritten, several chapters have been replaced by new matter, while others have been condensed, or recast with considerable modifications and a rearrangement of the whole. There are a number of new engravings—the seventy-one of the first edition having been increased to one hundred and thirty-four in the one before us. The work has been got up in Messrs. Macmillan's best style.

Diseases of Modern Life. By BENJAMIN W. RICHARDSON, M.D., M.A., F.R.S., &c. Macmillan and Co.

Though much that is contained in this volume has already appeared in print, Dr Richardson has done a good service in bringing together the fruits of his experience in a collective form. The book is written for the public, not for the medical profession, and deals with the subject from the preventive, not the curative, point of view. The author writes as a sanitary reformer rather than as a doctor, a sphere of labor in which he has already earned a well-deserved reputation.

It may seem to some readers that he has drawn a picture little calculated to administer comfort, and that no course of life can be chosen which is not, in his estimation, bristling with dangers. Some parts of his subject may indeed be overdrawn, but in preaching reform this is almost a necessity. Doubtless in his experience he has so often heard the usages of society, the present mode of living, the engrossing nature of one's profession or business, regretted, but at the same time regarded as unalterable, that he feels strongly called to point out what these are working in the life of the nation. Accordingly, both mental and physical strain come in for a good share of attention; and he has also much to say against the indulgence in alcohol, tobacco, and other narcotics, which is well worthy of serious study. A brief summary of practical suggestions will be found at the close of the volume.

First Book of Zoology. By EDWARD S. MORSE, Ph.D., late Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Zoology in Bowdoin College. Henry S. King and Co.

The principle adopted by the author of this handbook is to send his pupils out to the fields, the ponds, the seacoast, &c., and set them collecting; and having thus secured for themselves illustrations for their lesson, he proceeds to tell them what they are specially to observe. His descriptions are very elementary, mainly dealing with habits and external features, so that the learner cannot certainly complain of being overburdened with minute details. Neither can he of hard words, for the author has studiously avoided using the scientific names of the creatures he describes. In many cases he gives no names whatever, not even to those he has figured; and in others only American local names, utterly meaningless to English readers. As this is an English edition, all such anomalies should have been carefully expunged; and many pages might also have been saved where insects only to be found in certain parts of the United States are treated of. The statement that insects 'are also called hexapods, a word meaning six legs,' will, we fear, shock the nerves of the most elementary Greek scholar.

Animal Parasites and Messmates. By P. J. VAN BENEDEN, Professor at the University of Louvain; Correspondent of the Institute of France. Henry S. King and Co.

It might very reasonably be imagined that a book on such a subject would be uninteresting, if not repulsive; but Professor van

Beneden is such a master of his subject, and has such a lively way of expressing himself, that his book is, on the contrary, a very pleasant study. It has all the gaiety characteristic of our friends across the Channel, while at the same time it indicates that great range of research which is also so frequently to be met with among Continental naturalists.

He takes the messmates first. These he distinguishes from parasites, as living together on a good understanding and without injury to those on which they have established themselves. They are especially common amongst the inhabitants of the sea, from the most elementary sponges and ascidians up to the great cetaceans. Some are free to come and go, while others become permanently fixed. Then there comes an intermediate class, which he terms 'mutualists,' liable to be confounded with the messmates on the one hand, and with the parasites on the other; but which he thinks deserving of a separate place, as they render each other mutual services, or have sympathetic bonds which always draw them together. The third and greatest division is the one best known, the one (according to Van Beneden's definition) whose profession it is to live at the expense of his neighbor, and whose only employment consists in taking advantage of him, but prudently so as not to endanger his life. He is one who practises the precept—not to kill the fowl in order to get the eggs. This division includes many creatures of a very disagreeable character, from which the domestic animals, and even man, are not free, but upon which we will not enlarge. The book is full of exact and valuable information.

A Short History of Natural Science and of the Progress of Discovery from the Time of the Greeks to the Present Day. By ARABELLA B. BUCKLEY. John Murray.

Written in a very pleasant style, this book presents to the reader a fair sketch of the progress of discovery, more particularly in the physical sciences. It is professedly designed for schools and young persons, and is calculated to achieve the purpose intended of giving beginners a taste for the systematic study of modern science. More advanced students will find it a convenient book of reference, dates being given throughout; and the bearing of earlier discoveries upon later ones, even when separated by long intervals, being carefully pointed out.

The subject, however, is one too wide for a single volume, and in looking through it we cannot help regretting that Miss Buckley has been obliged to pass over entirely the obscure portions of her subject, but which, just because they are so, all the more need investigation. Of the nations of antiquity none are mentioned but the Greeks; the Arabs have the monopoly of the dark ages; and from Roger Bacon's time onwards the Western nations have exclusive attention. The two earlier divisions deserved more extended notice, and the philosophers of the far East ought not to have been disposed of with a mere passing reference in the introduction.

Evolution of the Human Race from Apes and of Apes from Lower Animals a Doctrine Unsanctioned by Science. By T. WHARTON JONES, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., &c. Smith, Elder, and Co.

The naturalists whose teaching is here denounced might not unreasonably object to the title of these lectures as raising a false issue. They might, perhaps, with still more reason, object to the way in which the subject is handled. The author's criticisms are not characterised by that calmness and logical precision which are to be expected in discussing philosophical questions. There may be a good deal in Mr. Darwin's writings, and still more in Professor Haeckel's, which will not stand the test of further investigation; but it is certainly not fair to our countryman (who spent twenty years in study and experiment before publishing his results) to say that 'the doctrine of evolution rests mainly on conceit and assumption,' nor from the critic's standpoint is it good policy to raise a sneer at the very cautious and guarded way in which Mr. Darwin frequently expresses himself.

The Slavonic Provinces South of the Danube.

A Sketch of their History and Present State in Relation to the Ottoman Porte. By WILLIAM FORSYTH, Q.C., &c. (John Murray.)

Mr. Forsyth, by his previous works, has won for himself so excellent a literary reputation that we think it is a pity he should endanger it by writing books to order. The volume before us is a compilation, from other sources than its author's knowledge and experience, of information about the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, which are at present the centre of general interest. That it should be a creditable piece of literary workmanship, *à sans dire*; but we fail to see why Mr. Forsyth should have written it any more than scores, we may say hundreds, of other *litterateurs*. We can understand why a publisher should be anxious to secure a well-known name for the title-page of a book on questions of the day; but we cannot comprehend why the Member for Marylebone should make himself a publisher's hack. There is really nothing in the facts of these pages which might not be found in the daily newspapers and very ordinary book of reference; and the conclusions are the stale views of Mr. Lewis Farley, *à hoc genus omne*, which, in turn, were a *réchauffée* from other writers. This sort of thing is not work for a man like Mr. Forsyth, and we regret to see him engaging in it.—*Shadows of Coming Events; or, the Eastern Menace.* By Lieutenant-Colonel ARTHUR CORY, Bengal Staff Corps. (Henry S. King and Co.) We regret that we cannot congratulate Colonel Cory on his little volume. It is not merely alarmist in character, it is also weak in argument and feeble in style. 'The Eastern Menace,' which throws upon England the 'shadows of coming events,' is found in the attitude of Russia towards India—the Muscovite advance through Central Asia contemporaneously with the hopeless decay of the Turkish Empire. This is no new line, and we cannot say that the

writer in the present case adds any force to the old arguments by new facts or fresh illustrations. The scope of his design is ample enough : for he begins by trying to prove the necessity of war in the nature of things ; he lectures the British people upon their loss of the virtues of their forefathers ; paints a deplorable picture of our military inefficiency and unpreparedness ; and hugs the conclusion with a kind of fierce satisfaction that it is all over with the British Empire whenever the day of serious trial comes. We venture to question the conclusion, because we deny the premises. The only conclusion the book has led us to is, that it is a pity, for its author's sake, that he ever obtained a publisher for it.

—*The Statesman's Year-Book : Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the Civilised World.* Handbook for Politicians and Merchants for the Year 1876. By FREDERICK MARTIN. Thirteenth Annual Publication. Revised after Official Returns. (Macmillan and Co.) The completeness and accuracy of Mr. Martin's annual compilation have made it as indispensable in the library of public men—whether statesmen, magistrates, municipal officers, or merchants—as a business directory : no item of statistical knowledge that anybody is likely to want for ordinary uses of debate or of life is apparently omitted here—everything connected with the condition of the world that can be represented by figures is here—the study of it is almost an education.—*The Year-Book of Facts in Science and the Arts for 1875.* Edited by CHARLES W. VINCENT. (Ward, Lock, and Tyler.) The accelerated speed of scientific discovery, and the multiplication of scientific publications, make a synopsis like this as necessary as a guide-book to a museum. Mr. Vincent has collected and classified the scientific information of the year, and in brief lucid paragraphs has given us statements of each thing that has been done—necessary processes are excluded, and only accomplished facts recorded. The little volume will be very handy for scientific men themselves ; while to the general public it will be a boon of valuable information and interesting reading.

POETRY, FICTION, AND BELLES LETTRES.

Erechtheus : a Tragedy. By ALGERNON C. SWINBURNE. Chatto and Windus.

We can hardly make up our minds whether or not to consider it a misfortune that we read many reviews of this work before we read the work itself. These led us, in spite of stray doubts suggested by the extracts given, to expect a tragedy conceived thoroughly in the Greek spirit, wrought out with admirable restraint and repose,—severe, simple, stately, moving with grave unconscious sweetness from opening to close. The theme is one of the finest in the region of the Greek drama. How the daughters of King Erechtheus were offered up, or, at least, sacrificed, for their country,—one carried off by the North Wind, and

another slain, self-devoted, to appease the wrath of the Sea God and to secure victory over the Thracian hosts,—gives just enough of rootage in domestic sentiment to relieve the terrible stress of outward events, as Erechtheus strives to build that altar to Athena, to which he has become pledged, and is slain, contending with the armies of Eumolpus. The first half of the tragedy closes round the martyrhood of Chthonia ; the second exhibits its results. Erechtheus, a true king, as Praxithea is a true queen and mother, is introduced to us burdened with the deliverance of the oracle demanding sacrifice of the maiden for the maiden city, and choruses so far as spirit is concerned, are most skilfully used to heighten the effect of the dialogue between king and queen, which is certainly striking. But Mr. Swinburne will not be simple, and into his most powerful passages he throws the most artificial lines and clauses, sadly destroying grace and harmony. This is almost demonstrable, being something more than mere opinion. Another point is that Mr. Swinburne has carried with him throughout a certain undercurrent of *idea*, which communicates itself even to individual metaphors, often repeated, imparting to them a most artificial and modern air ; never describing the meeting of the contending forces, for example, without dragging-in the image of the waves sucking-in the land,—Eumolpus, son of the Sea God, Poseidon, and Erechtheus, son of the Earth, contending, of course. So, between his own natural tendency, truly pronounced enough, and this conscious and intentional artifice, in all the great and testing speeches he falls, we are very sorry to say, into over-fluent, often involved, utterly modern passages, and sometimes, we cannot help thinking, into almost meaningless rhetoric. We know that this is a strong statement to make in face of such a reputation as Mr. Swinburne has won, and such a consensus of opinion in favor of this drama as a fine classic reproduction ; and we regret that our space at present will not allow us to set forth, in a broad and comprehensive way, as we should have liked,—honestly quoting at length and liberally,—the grounds for our judgment. We must content ourselves with a few small criticisms, more on the form than on the spirit of the work ; but the citations, we think, any really candid mind will admit, exhibit such lack of simplicity, such incorrectness, and occasional slipshod, as may well be urged as a ground to qualify a little such criticism as only a truly classic work should ever call forth. First of all, then, we have found certain words uniformly recurrent and determining other words. The most conspicuous of these are 'crown,' 'crowned,' 'womb,' 'bed,' 'body,' 'blood,' 'sheer,' 'seed,' 'root,'—running into suggestions of such compounds as tongue-root, heart-root (!), and so on,—'virgin,' 'virginal,' and many more.

'O thou not born of the womb, nor bred
In the bride night's warmth of a *changed god's*
bed!'

cannot be said to be either clear or delicate.

'Born of the womb that was born for the tomb
of the day.'

is certainly not elegant, including a horrible rhyme within the line, and a present-day colloquialism—'of the day.'

'Take note of all the writing of my face'
is not even correct.

'Nor happier the bed of her sister,
Though Love's self laid her abed,'

reminds us forcibly of a rhyme in a popular book which we shall not vex Mr. Swinburne by naming here.

'Oversubtle in doubts, overdaring
In deeds and devices of guile,
And strong to quench as to quicken,
O Love, have we named thee well?'

is ruined by over-alliteration, clearly conscious and intentional, such as the poem is full of. One passage, otherwise fine in intention, begins thus:

'But enough now of griefs,'

which is, to say the least of it, weak, its real sense being fully seen only when the reader reaches the third line after. The god Cephus is

'A living well of life, nor stanch'd nor stained.'

Surely we have here both pleonasm and mixed metaphor; for how could a well, even a 'living well of life,' be stanch'd or stained? This, too, is aptly original:

'Where lying it lights the heart up of the hill
A well of bright, strange brine.'

'Chance and change of years,' and 'chance and charge of spears,' we should expect and forgive in Mr. Swinburne's prose, but they are not elegant when they come in 'Erechtheus.'

'Thieves keen to pluck the bloody fruits of
spoil
From the grey fruitless waters'

seems simply a contradiction in terms, when laid to the line of severe analysis, unless very poor play on words is to be allowed. We have the same objection to this line, which occurs, with some kindred ones, in what would have been a truly grand piece if wisely condensed:

'The master that lightens not hearts he enlightens,' &c.
'And her knees beneath her were loosened'

does not improve a fine Scripture phrase; and, besides, is it correct to speak of knees beneath one?

'And her blood fast bound, as a frost-bound water,'

does not sound very euphonious or simple. A flowing couplet follows but it has one grave fault:

'As the wild god *rapt* her from earth's breast
lifted
On the strength of the stream of his dark
breath drifted.'

Perhaps, 'streams of breath' may be as correct as currents of air in Mr. Swinburne's view.

We literally do not understand

'Thy shaft word-feathered flies yet far of me.'
Nor this:

'For the days and nights
Given of thy bare brief dark dividual life
Shall she give thee half all her age-long own.'

Nor can we exactly understand this eloquent passage, though that, unfortunately, may be our fault:

'With what blossomless foliage of sea-foam and
blood-coloured
foliage inwound.'

We do not like to tell how often the phrase 'breached' or 'unbreached of warring waters' is used; but surely Praxithea might have spoken in clearer grammar than this:

'Man, what thy mother bare thee born to say
Speak!'

This is powerful, but hardly bears exact analysis:

'In fierce recoil
Drew seaward, or with one wide wall of waves
Resorbed with *reluctation* (!). Such a groan
Rose from the *fluctuant* reflux of its ranks
Sucked sullen back, and strengthened.'

Which is so pleonastic and wordy, that we really cannot regard it as anything but a kind of fine writing of which we had deemed Mr. Swinburne incapable, at all events, under the restraints of verse and the severe ideal of Greek tragedy.

Bits and bridles, again, do not usually fasten lips, else it would be a horror of cruelty beyond even the bearing-rein; but Mr. Swinburne makes his Greeks say so, in the line,

'Fasten lips with bit and bridle.'

Elsewhere he puts the bridle to a yet stranger use; for we had fancied that even Greek bridles had, in days so far back, been the cause of foam, and not the constrainers of it; but Mr. Swinburne's chorus—one of the finest, too,—makes

'The foam of their mouths find a bridle,'

and with a few other peccant lines perilously near, makes us deeply wish them absent. Who of the purists will defend

'One great, sheer, sole, thousand-throated cry?'

or who will redescribe for us truly that other cry, which 'tore its way like a trumpet' (horrible literalism, if it were not an *animated* trumpet! but it is the bray and not the trumpet that is meant); and 'sheer shafts of lightning,' like 'sheer death,' will stick to the memory uncomfortably like burrs.

But we cannot half, or even a quarter, exhaust our list here. Mr. Swinburne has certainly imagination, and he as certainly has 'swing'; but he does not always show either correctness or good taste.

What can be said for this, and for Mr. Swinburne's defiance of commas as seen in it?

We fancied at first it was defaced by printer's neglect, but a reference to the second edition shows that Mr. Swinburne means to have it so:

'The fruitful immortal anointed adored
Dear city of men without master or lord
Fair fortress and foetress of sons born free.'

We might have said something of Mr. Swinburne's excessive use of the redundant syllable had not other points claimed precedence. Let not our readers fancy, however, that this position of small fault-finding, into which widespread, almost servile, eulogy has driven us, binds us to the unmistakable power and beauty of many passages in Mr. Swinburne's tragedy. He troubles us sometimes by over forty lines at a stretch without full stop, and a half-dozen often without comma; but, in spite of that, we have marked many pieces as beautiful. The closing speech of Athena, though in one sense hardly justified, is masterly, and so would be the last words of Praxithæa, had they not been somewhat weakened by the word 'crown,' which Mr. Swinburne will so misuse. Read:

'And fulfil

The whole world's crowning city crowned with thee

As the sun's eye fulfils and crowns with sight
The circling crown of heaven.'

But Erechtheus had shown the example in the very opening, and it is only dramatic to exaggerate the thing in her, womanlike. He said:

'Lo, I stand

Here on this brow's crown of the city's head
That crowns its lovely body.'

The only thing that could be said for this is, that it is a poor imitation of certain Greek forms; but it results in artificial and unsimple English.

We should not forget to mention the 'Messenger's' speech at p. 71, which shows what Mr. Swinburne could do if he but chose to relieve himself from that Poseidon of swelling, in-rushing waves of words and metaphors which threaten to destroy him, unless he, like another Erechtheus, Son of Earth, listens to the oracle, and sacrifices his own children in his country's cause. Let him believe that even the North Wind of true criticism will not blight at last, but only beautify and prove benignantly friendly to him in the end. This tragedy might even yet be made a great work if he would condense and prune and have no pity for the fine things that are most Swinburnian.

The Epic of Hades. By a New Writer. H. S. King and Co.

Some sections of this poem were published in the third series of 'Songs of Two Worlds,' and we then spoke of them with high favor. Now that we have them put together as a whole, we find our good opinion more than confirmed, and can say that we have not only read, but carefully re-read those sections which were new to us. The full effect of some of the most exquisite touches, it is evident, was lost through the lack of complete presen-

tation of the pervading dramatic intent. The greater spirits of the old Greek world, translated to themselves in Hades, are here revealed; the poet finding fine justification for occasionally throwing across their musings the brighter lights of later life and thought. In one case—and it is a very striking one—we have a dim reference, grandly conceived, to the passing of our Saviour Himself through Hades, than which we could not well conceive anything more original, and yet more truly conceived. Elsewhere we have criticised Mr. Swinburne for the importation of purely modern touches and conceptions of things into a drama conceived after the true Greek model; here we have utter faithfulness in finding sufficient justification and fitting medium for such refinements, a point in which the art of the author is well seen. The blank verse is stately, yet sweet, free, graceful, and never undignified. We do not mean to say that there are not individual lines with which fault might be found, but they are not many. The 'Confessions of Andromeda,' 'Helen of Troy,' 'Medusa,' 'Actæon,' and 'Narcissus,' have especially pleased us; and we could well have wished that space had permitted us to make extracts. Our purpose, however, will have been all the better served if this self-denial on our part shall send our readers to the poem itself. We confidently believe that they will agree with us in regarding it as one of the finest and most suggestive poems recently published, and will join us cordially in congratulations that the author has not held by that dim intimation in his third series of an intention to write, or, at least, to publish, no more verse. We trust to have, ere long, more poetic work from his hand.

Original Plays. By W. S. GILBERT. Chatto and Windus.

It is saying much when we say that Mr. Gilbert with most unpoetical subjects has been able to be often truly poetical. The artificial conception of life and love, and the needful complication and reduction of motive, under the demand of a theatre-going fashionable public of our day, which Mr. Gilbert aims at setting forth, stand at the very antipodes of the tragic and truly poetical conception of the drama. With delicate nicety, with graceful fancy, Mr. Gilbert controls his wholly prosaic world, surrounding it now with a flowery screen, and again showing rainbows encircling it. Alas! it is but a poor common-place world after all—a thing of the stage, stagey. To be true, he must first be false. He must treat all those high impulses of human nature which have fed poem, and story, and tragedy with beauty, and often made commonest circumstances sublime, as though they did not exist; and he must obtain relief by a conscious parody of them. In that wonderfully graceful and finished piece of work, 'Seléne,' the poet, after having, in one of his finest pieces of composition, enlisted our sentiment by a very fine description of love, immediately proceeds to work out, by the most positive demonstration possible to him, that

the sentiment of true love is a mere make-believe, and that, to the full enjoyment of it, an illicit element must be introduced. It is at bottom the same in 'Pygmalion,' where the ingenuity of uniting a semi-classical symbolism with modern life is very remarkable; the same in 'The Wicked World,' the same in 'The Palace of Truth,' in the course of which not a little now and then reminds us of points in the quaint little symbolic stories Mr. Gilbert's gifted father has written—and we cannot help sometimes looking on Mr. Gilbert as a poet of deep and true vision sacrificed to the audience he courts and covets. Such were extravaganzas as 'Trial by Jury,' full of indifferent puns, and the burlesque of 'The Princess,' should hardly have been published; for, though the stage with its accessories may have helped them, they are really poor as literary performances compared with the others, and the cold page 'bewareth them.' Ever and anon we come on bits of dialogue and speeches that pass into true poetry, making us more and more regret that Mr. Gilbert, by a little self-denial, has not found a higher sphere for the exercise of his poetic gifts.

The Poetical Works of Ray Palmer. Complete Edition. Hodder and Stoughton.

Mr. Ray Palmer's poetical genius was not exhausted by his tender and beautiful hymn, 'My faith looks up to Thee,' but his poetical reputation was made by it. It rapidly took possession of the religious sentiment of devout hearts; it was an expression fit and satisfying, not for any special mood of the Christian soul, but for that general and fundamental trust and rest in Christ which underlies all moods, and with almost unprecedented rapidity it spread over America and Great Britain. Its insertion in the new Congregational Hymn Book, twenty years ago, did much to make it familiar here. Indeed, scarcely any hymnal compiled since its production has omitted it. It furnishes just that combination of tender and intense individuality, and of common experience and sympathy, which are essential in a hymn for public worship. Closely allied in sentiment to 'When I survey the wondrous Cross,' 'Jesus, refuge of my soul,' and 'Rock of Ages, cleft for me,' it is perhaps in English hymnology inferior only to these. It has not their easy, terse, and suggestive fullness, nor their intuitive, almost inspired, poetical strength, *spirituelle*, and finish; but it leaves little to be desired in the feeling which the use of it produces and expresses. It is significant that all these great hymns have the redeeming work of our Lord as their inspiration. The greatest theme is necessary for the greatest achievement—and this touches human hearts as no other does.

The volume includes several other hymns, by Mr. Palmer, of great excellence; they are carefully finished, and in expression are devout and full. Among them is 'Rock of Ages,' evidently inspired by Toplady's hymn, but far less condensed and weighty. Several of them, however, merit, and have attained, sanctuary use. Among the translations we

are disposed to give that of Bernard's great hymn, 'Jesu, dulce cordium,' beginning, 'Jesus, thou joy of loving hearts,' rank with the very first; it is simply perfect, and inferior in holy inspiration, especially for use at the Lord's table, to no hymn we know. Very beautiful, too, is the hymn, 'Oh, bread to pilgrims given,' a translation from a hymn attributed to Aquinas; still more so, 'I give my heart to thee.' The translation of King Robert's 'Veni, Sancte Spiritus,' is also very fine. Mr. Palmer has unquestionably taken the first place among the hymn-writers of the New Continent.

Of the longer poems we cannot speak. One of them, 'Home; or, The Unlost Paradise,' extending to some two thousand lines, a delineation of home as Christianity makes it, is full of poetical merit, as well as of very beautiful sentiment. Dr. Palmer is a genuine lyrical poet, not unworthy by his refinement of feeling, beauty of conception, and artistic skill in expression of being named with Longfellow. In paper, type, and binding the volume is one of the most elegant, not to say sumptuous, that we have seen from the American press. It is equal to the best work of our best publishers.

Joseph and his Brethren. A Dramatic Poem. By CHARLES WELLS. With an Introduction by ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. Chatto and Windus.

In the reading of this poem we find at once the reason of the neglect into which it has fallen for fifty years and of Mr. Swinburne's warm enthusiasm over it. There can be no doubt whatever of Mr. Wells's dramatic faculty—the first few speeches of Reuben and Issachar suffice to show that; and there can be as little doubt of the formlessness of this poem; the lack of controlling and moulding power is not only absent from the general working out of the scheme, but it betrays itself sadly in separate speeches. Fine things abound, but they are overloaded by rhetorical verbiage, wrapped up, lost, their beauty and simplicity destroyed by excess of setting. Nothing could be truer than Mr. Swinburne's own words: 'There is . . . an evident disposition to rest too easily contented with the first forms that offer themselves, to clothe the first fancies, an ignorance when to stop and where to breathe, a facile indulgence in superfluity of speech, from which the greatest of poets could not disengage his genius without the discipline of time and work. But, then, here is also an inborn instinct of style, a simple sense of right, which will not allow the stream of speech to grow harsh or turbid for an instant.'

Indeed, Mr. Wells occasionally sets at defiance all rule—adding a whole foot on to one line, and leaving one further on minus a whole foot, as if thus to balance imperfection, as Burns says of Willie's wife. Then, again, his dialogues start according to their own sweet will, after some law of his own. Some words are most arbitrarily forced into dissyllables, others into trisyllables. Two in-

stances will show what we mean. No mode of reading will make this good blank verse:

'And I was deaf refusing entrance.'

Or,

'Which age requires for sustaining life,'

'Requireth' would have made matters right; and Mr. Swinburne ought here, as in some other lines, to have given a slight touch to save the readers' ears. The word 'bate,' as a contraction for abate, is too often used, and sometimes doubtfully. Simeon says, in answer to the Ishmaelitic merchants' offer of fifteen pieces of silver,—

'You bate us, man; you are too hard.'

And we have this on an earlier page,—

'Does not our father bate us in regard?'

which certainly is bad.

'What are his limbs, that they must clothe so warm?'

is a specimen of bad grammar of which there are too many instances. Such slips might surely have been looked to. Altogether, though we recognise the power, the dramatic penetration and capacity to deal with rare forms of passion and experience, we cannot regard this as other than the first rude draught of what, by patient polish, might have been made a great poem. That it has passages that indicate genius there can be no doubt, but genius must justify itself by labour; even a Shakespeare's reputation would hardly lead general readers to go through this poem. The fine passages only emphasise defects. We do not, we confess, remember for long to have read anything finer than the passage put into the mouth of Dan, beginning,—

'Lo, from this bank I see
Swarthy Egyptians, yellow as their gold;'

and some of the passages between Ephraim and Joseph are charged with dramatic purpose. This, we think, is very fine:

'Midway within a rugged precipice
Browning the roaring cataract beneath,
While overhead the grey clouds sail in light,
Like droved camels dreaming in the sun.'

We cannot but fancy that there is a serious misprint in this sentence from Mr. Swinburne's introduction: 'How it is that they miss of fame it were hard to say;' for it embodies, as it stands, a horrible Cockneyism, for which a schoolboy would be whipped.

Laman Blanchard's Poems. Edited, with a Memoir, by BLANCHARD JERROLD. Chatto and Windus.

Laman Blanchard cannot be ranked among poets of a high class; but he had fancy, imagination, and some sense of the music of words. What we desiderate in his serious verse is spontaneity, heat,—what is called *afflatus*. His real power lay in lighter verse; and in that field he has a good claim to a place far from mean. Now he reminds us of Præd, now of Hood, now of Ingoldsby; combining a peculiar nicety of verbal fence with ready humour

and quietly grotesque rattle, which we may illustrate by Thackeray's 'Bouillabaise.' Yet he never writes without a meaning, and in some instances, at all events, contrives to be really serious when he seems only to be funny.

This is fair writing, in the line of Thomas Hood:

'New tales and novels you may shut
From view—'tis all in vain';
They're gone—and though the leaves are
"cut,"
They never "come again."

'A circulating library
Is mine—my birds are flown;
There's one odd volume left, to be,
Like all the rest, alone.'

Now and then, in the serious verse, we come on a really finished picture or image, as in the following:

'Already hath the day grown grey with age;
And in the west, like to a conqueror crowned,
Is faint with too much glory. On the ground
He flings his dazzling arms and, as a sage,
Prepares him for a cloud-hung hermitage.'

The memoir is fairly well done, is tasteful, and is really fitted to convey a fair idea of the man with whom it deals. Mr. Blanchard Jerrold's style is good, but errs by a little over-much *souppçon* of the newspaper.

The Wasps of Aristophanes. The Greek Text Revised, with Translation into Corresponding Metres, &c. By B. B. ROGERS, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. George Bell and Sons.

To judge from the increasing number of metrical translations issuing from the press one might conclude that there is a revival in certain species of classical studies. This applies to Latin as well as to Greek writers. The authors, no doubt, have entered upon their task as pastime, rather than with the hope or object of making the English public familiar with the matter and manner of the great originals. For this purpose Collins's series are much better adapted. Any one who has ever studied a great foreign poet in his own language, and has in any degree appreciated and enjoyed such a luxury, know that no translation can reproduce the original, and will soon arrive at the conclusion that translations, however excellent, are always more or less unsatisfactory. In no instance is this more emphatically the case than in the rendering of Greek poetry into English verse. But to those who have been familiar with the originals in former days, and would like to renew their acquaintance without much trouble, we can scarcely conceive anything more convenient than the translations of Mr. Rogers. A man must be blindly conceited, or possess the consciousness of real strength to attempt a fresh translation of Aristophanes when so many first-rate scholars have tried their hands and with so much success. No one, moreover, who is devoid of a complete mastery over his own tongue, as well as over the original, can hope to be successful; and a good metrical translation requires a poet as well as a translator. Mr. Rogers pos-

sesses all these qualifications in a pre-eminent degree. In many respects he stands unrivalled. He has a clear apprehension of the characteristics of Aristophanes's diction and rhythm, which it is his task to reproduce; and the ease, elegance, and accuracy with which he has reproduced the difficult original shows how intelligently and successfully he has worked up to the conditions of his undertaking. The facility displayed in metre and rhyme are truly marvellous. 'The Greek and English are printed side by side, to which are added copious and carefully selected notes. These, together with an excellent preface, supply all that is requisite by way of elucidation. In fact, nothing has been overlooked which is essential to the correct and full appreciation of this play; which, in its general character, serves as a pendant to the 'Clouds.' Mr. Rogers rejects the general opinion that the 'Wasps' is a criticism and exposure of the Athenian dicasteries, and holds that the poet assails, on the one hand, the sophistical teachings which sapped the simple piety and instinctive virtue of the best days of Greece; and, on the other, the demagogues, who sought to gain their own selfish ends by flattering the vanity and pandering to the prejudices of the Athenian populace. We recommend this volume to the reader as the most valuable and pleasant edition of a Greek play that we have ever met. It is incomparably superior to the productions of Frere and Mitchell. Passages might be selected *ad libitum* which show remarkable skill, not simply in preserving the meaning and metres of Aristophanes, but also in retaining the ring and tone of the original.

Homeric Synchronism: an Inquiry into the Time and Place of Homer. By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. Macmillan and Co.

Even those who differ most widely from the conclusions of the author of this work, and who think his views more speculative than based on any historic certainties, will give not only a patient, but an interested, hearing to his essay. Assuming, without so much as questioning it, the genuine antiquity of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and regarding Dr. Schliemann's discoveries at Hissarlik, in the Troad, as strongly confirming, if not proving, the general truth as well as the great antiquity of the Homeric story, he proceeds to construct, in Part II., a synchronism between the Achæan and the Egyptian dynasties at a period considerably exceeding a thousand years before the Christian era. The chief point that strikes us, on a careful and impartial perusal of this work, is the undoubting faith in Homer and the Homeric epics as indicating both a definite period in the history of the world and a particular and well-defined state of art, morals, and habits in the heroes of the drama. All is regarded as real, and no scope is allowed for poetic fancy and imagination. Neither the mythical theory, viz., that the Homeric poems are Greek versions of Solar legends, wholly unreal both in

persons and localities, nor the theory of late compilation out of much earlier epics, has any place in Mr. Gladstone's argument. He says (p. 20) that 'it is difficult to suppose that the mythical theory, always wofully devoid of tangible substance, can long survive the results obtained by this distinguished explorer,' viz., Dr. Schliemann. Now those who think Achilles represented the sun in his mid-day splendour, point to the fact that his mother was Thetis, who was the sea; that her transformations into water and fire, when Peleus attempted to make her his bride, are the changing features of the eastern ocean glowing with sun-light; that the invincible spear of Achilles, like the bow and arrows of Odysseus, 'the setting sun,' are the rays of the sun and their scorching and blighting effects; that the prayer of Thetis to Zeus, to do honour to her son (*Iliad*, i. 505, a point on which the plot of the *Iliad* may be said to turn), is the sun risen from his ocean bed to the throne of his mid-day glory; and so on; the coincidences of the legend both of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* with solar phenomena being as numerous as they are close and remarkable. Again, against all coincidence of scenery, language, similes, and of tradition, Mr. Gladstone contends (p. 74) that Homer was not an Asiatic, but an Achæan Greek. Now had he fairly contemplated the Wolfian view of the *Iliad* being a compilation from old Ionic epics, he would have had no great difficulty in accepting the reasonable view that the 'Catalogue' in the Second Book is the work of a distinct rhapsode, or poet, well acquainted with the geography of Upper Hellas, and that this portion of the *Iliad* was adapted from the 'Cypria,' or some other of the early ballads on the Troica. Dr. Schliemann's discoveries, he admits, exhibit a state of art much ruder and more primitive than many of the more elaborate descriptions of art in the *Iliad*, notably of the shield of Achilles in the Eighteenth Book, and of the great statue of Athena in the Sixth (pp. 57-60). He thinks, however, (p. 59) that 'even if Homer had never seen any representations of life (i.e., living objects), his imagination might have conceived them. He does not notice the remarkable and significant fact that no writer earlier than the Alexandrian age mentions or alludes to the famous account of the Shield at all; some points of identity in the poem falsely attributed to Hesiod, the 'Scutum Herculis,' only indicating a compilation from some common origin. The description of offering the *peplus* on the knees of Athena in the Pergamos of Troy (*Iliad*, vi. 303) is in all respects so identical with the known custom at Athens in the age of Pericles, that grave doubts of the real antiquity of these Homeric accounts have been entertained, in spite of archaisms of language, which were easily imitated. Indeed, Mr. Gladstone almost anticipates an objection, which he has not allowed himself to feel, in saying (p. 57) that 'to place the real Homer in an age which produced works of art such as he describes, he must be brought down to the age of Phidias, if even that will suffice!'

With respect to the discoveries at Hissarlik, it may be remarked, that the utmost they prove is, that there may possibly have been some truth in an ancient and widely held legend, that a very old city existed somewhere in the Troad, which was burnt in a war with an invading European horde. As the houses in all old cities were, as is proved by the total absence of all indications of them on the sites of ancient Greek cities, constructed of wood or some such perishable material, the fact of a city being burnt, palace and all, is so commonplace an event that, after all, it may have nothing whatever to do with any real city described or conceived by Homer. Every poet, in describing a beleaguered city and the events of a long war, would give it a 'local habitation and a name.' We hold, therefore, that the discoveries at Hissarlik, though they reveal most interesting treasures of pre-historic art, do in fact leave the question of a real Troy much where it was. That the poet who composed or compiled the *Iliad* had visited the plain of Troy, and noted the adjoining hills and scenery, is evident. But that Priam, Hector, Achilles, Æneas, Tros, were real characters, as Mr. Gladstone (pp. 35, 126-30) seems to assume, appears to us extremely improbable, to say the very least of it.

Convinced that Homer was not an Asiatic but a European, Mr. Gladstone dwells much on the non-mention of the conquering Dorian races (pp. 62, 74), who are believed to have ousted the Achæan population nearly nine centuries B.C. So with regard to the silence about writing, beyond the well-known 'fatal marks,' or *σηματα λυπηλά*, in *Iliad*, vi. 168, Mr. Gladstone says (p. 65) that 'the negative evidence of the poems with respect to writing I hold to be among the strongest indications of their very great antiquity.'

Both arguments, it seems to us, are capable of a ready answer. If Homer was an Ionian Greek, and especially if he lived, as a critical examination of his language seems to show, near to Herodotus, both in age and country, he had no special call for bringing in the relations of the Achæans to the Dorians in describing the prowess of Achæan heroes at Troy. And the absence generally of all inscription in cities and works of art of very early date, tends to throw a doubt on the supposed antiquity of, at least, Greek writing. In truth, the mention of cipher writing, or some kind of symbol directing the death of the bearer of it, is no real proof either way as to the knowledge or practice of writing proper. There is no allusion to writing in the 'Post Homericæ' of Quintus Smyrnæus, many centuries later.

The subjects touched upon in Mr. Gladstone's work are so numerous that it is impossible in a brief notice to go anything like fully into his argument. It appears to us that the attempt to connect Greek names with Egyptian by fanciful etymologies is carried to a dangerous extent, e. g., as in the speculations of Professor Lauth, given at length in pp. 265-71. It is unsafe to assume that Aryan poems were so largely indebted for their vocabulary of

names to a race so remotely distinct in origin as the early Egyptians. Moreover, others find Sanscrit affinities for Homeric names which seem quite as plausible. Once construct a theory, and everything within the range of that pliant and versatile science, etymology, may be forced into the service. Some, we think, will doubt if Mr. Gladstone is right in connecting the Saxon word *fastness* (p. 39) with *æru*, the root of which is *cas*, 'to dwell.' But it is quite impossible not to admire the immense range of thought and inquiry which the author has displayed in the present work.

Dante and Beatrice. From 1282 to 1290. A Romance. By ROXBURGHE LOTHIAN. Two Vols. Henry S. King and Co.

—Mr. Lothian has missed a fine opportunity. We opened his volumes with high expectations. A romance of Dante and Beatrice, from a man of adequate learning, industry, and imagination, would have been a valuable contribution to the literature of fiction. The learning and the industry Mr. Lothian possesses, but the dramatic imagination is altogether wanting. His book is not so much a romance of personal life as it is an antiquarian handbook of manners and customs and surroundings. As such it has really great value. Every characteristic of the age of Dante is most elaborately investigated and minutely described, and Dante and Beatrice are buried under them.

Mr. Lothian's reading is immense—manners, customs, literature, laws, religion, architecture; no point escapes him, and he touches nothing that he does not elaborate, perhaps we might say, overlay. His powers of description, too, are considerable; but he has no sense of proportion. The book is a museum rather than a stage, and its author's defective artistic faculty is shown by such improbabilities as Cardinal Frata's lovemaking to Beatrice. The book, however, is about as thorough a piece of conscientious work as we have met with. Everything in it is most carefully studied. Mr. Lothian has thoroughly imbedded himself, and therefore his work, with the spirit of Dante's times. No need to test his statements—one feels sure of the most careful study and exact representations; save, indeed, in respect of certain biographical incidents in which he not only gives imagination play, but contradicts well-known facts.

The mediæval student will be glad to put these volumes on his shelf. Meanwhile the romance of Dante and Beatrice remains to be written. 'Romola' shows us what might be made of it in the hand of a master.

The Wise Woman: a Parable. By GEORGE MACDONALD. Strahan and Co.

'The Wise Woman' is more an allegory than a parable, though it may be said to partake a little of both characters, since 'The Wise Woman' lays hold on all forms of human experience, if life and character are in any way to be perfected. Hence we have Rosamond and Agnes—the one a princess, the other the child of poor parents, both set alike to

learn the Wise Woman's lesson in [their own ways and in their own degrees. The lesson is a high one; and, as in the author's former works of the kind, from 'Phantastes' to 'Ralph Rinklemann,' there are exquisite fancy, faithful symbol, and a sort of moonlight tracery of imagination, which combine to give the work a special charm. Mr. MacDonald walks almost alone in this sphere; and his stories of this class would be perfect were it not for a certain indefinable affectation of style.

Ben Milner's Wooing. By HOLME LEE. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Miss Parr's new story is more of a picture than a plot: a picture of a London interior, of cabinet size, but of almost perfect execution. There is nothing in the story that will bear epitomising. The charm of it is in its grouping and colouring. Ben, a literary man, an official of a public institution; his elder old-maidish sister, Miss Phœbe; Pattie, their young visitor from Yorkshire, whom Ben had known from a child, but with whom he now falls in love, only to discover that she had been engaged virtually by her father to a rich manufacturer, for whom she does not care, and who turns out to be bad-tempered, selfish, and brutal, are all perfect. Ben persists, and wins. His London friends and visitors, and Pattie's Yorkshire relatives, are all etched in with consummate skill, and the evolution of feeling, rather than of incident, which leads to the issue is managed with perfect naturalness and great knowledge of human nature. Miss Parr's style is always accurate, dainty, and picturesque. She has never done a more exquisite and perfect bit of work than this.

Ersilia. By the Author of 'My Little Lady.' Hurst and Blackett.

'Ersilia' reverses most of the conditions of popular novels. The heroine, although very young, is married as soon as she is introduced to us; and the hero, who is the narrator of the story, tells a tale of utterly unsuccessful love. Nothing comes right; everybody fails or dies, and we are left at the end of the novel with only two of the principal characters surviving, the writer, a half-broken-hearted lover, distracted at the death of his idol, and an old chattering, gossiping French aunt, left homeless, in the social sense, and without resources for her energies and tastes. A more melancholy story can scarcely be imagined. The writer, Randolph, is disowned by his rich uncle in Kensington, as his father had been, for his determination to indulge his artistic pursuits and live a precarious life in Paris. His friend and master, Mr. Fleming, is a disappointed bachelor somewhat advanced in years, but well-to-do, and an artistic genius. Ersilia, Randolph's cousin, is married at sixteen to a Russian prince, who soon leaves her and gets killed in a raid in Poland. Randolph and Ersilia meet once, when children, at the uncle's home in Kensington, and again, after some years, in the Pyrenees, when she is a widow. Randolph falls madly in love with her, which she neither reciprocates nor per-

ceives. Mr. Fleming comes and wins the lady, who, after her engagement, discovers Randolph's passion. They are to be married soon, when an old, white-haired man, whom Randolph had encountered in Paris, proves to be the Russian husband of Ersilia, supposed to be dead. He kills Mr. Fleming in a duel, and Ersilia dies of a broken heart. Certainly a not very lively cast, especially when toned by the gentle melancholy and moralisings of the narrator.

The story is, however, well and thoughtfully written, the descriptions are very good, the characters are well individualised, and the narrative is told in a style of fine sentiment and wise reflectiveness. Only a writer of fine culture and vigorous intellect could have produced it. The dash of sentiment, which, however, is a charm as well as a weakness, belongs to her sex. No one will regret reading the story, and there are parts of it which thoughtful readers will recur to more than once.

The Manchester Man. By Mrs. G. LINNÆUS BANKS. Three Vols. Hurst and Blackett.

Mrs. Banks has constructed her story with a good deal of care, and has reproduced the topography of Manchester and certain events in local history—the Peterloo Massacre, and the capsising of the *Emma*, for example—with considerable fidelity. In an appendix of notes to her chapters she admits us to her confidence, and tell us the matter-of-fact origin of several of the incidents of her story. As a picture of Manchester life half a century ago, her book has great merits. It enables us to realise very vividly how far since then the world has advanced.

The story is virtually another version of the Good and the Idle Apprentice, only while Jabez Clegg, the former, is literally an apprentice, who does ultimately marry his master's daughter; the latter, Lawrence Aspinwall, is the fashionable and licentious son of a wealthy manufacturer, and ends his days a bankrupt suicide. The characters are well individualised and present considerable variety. Jabez, the hero, is, of course, ideally good. Considerable skill and knowledge of human nature are shown in the original defects of Augusta's character, and in the removal of them by her sorrows. Our pity is called forth most by Ellen Chadwick, whose gentle goodness and faithful love deserved a better fate.

The artistic defects of the story are that Jabez appears a little too frequently as a *deus ex machina*, and that some of the incidents seem pieces let in, and not part of the original growth of the texture. The story would be better were the fusing a little more perfect. It is, however, good, wholesome, and informing, and we have read it with much interest.

Ruth and Gabriel: a Pastoral Story. By LAWRENCE CHERRY. Three Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

This is a story of rural Lincolnshire life. Its characters are all of the small farmer class. Ruth, the heroine, is envied and admired as exceptionally cultivated and clever because

she can play the piano. The conversations are in the Lincolnshire dialect, to the fidelity of which, both in words, idioms, and allusions we can bear testimony. So far there is a freshness about the story which interests its readers; the modes of thought and moods of feeling of the class portrayed are also rendered with a knowledge which only practical familiarity could give, as, for example, the odd courtship of Marmaduke and Ruth, and the schemes and flirtations of Lizzie, with their brusque and not over-sensitive evolutions and feelings.

One gets tired, however, of the vast amount of small beer that is chronicled, and of the loose fragments of commonplace rustic life and conversations which fill these three volumes. In the absence of anything like a constructed plot or story, the author relying solely upon his delineation of every-day rustic life, even two volumes would have been rather long, three become prolix and wearisome. The author, moreover, has a method of jerking in, in an unconnected way, fragments of related history, which lie upon the surface of the story like boulders in a green meadow. The literary art, both of fusing, compressing, and constructing, admits of considerable improvement. The story, however, is an honest one, and puts before us very authentic aspects of the class of life that it describes.

The Chronicle of Sir Harry Earlsleigh, Bart.
Three Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

This is for the most part an Irish story of the Charles Lever school. Its defects are a certain crudeness of composition, which indicates an unpractised hand; an excess of sensational incidents—the hero, for example, has five or six hair-breadth escapes from an infuriated bull, a runaway horse, a fall down a precipice, an upset in a boat, &c., in as many days during a visit at Killarney; puns—good, bad, and indifferent—are stuck into the dialogue everywhere; sensational Irish stories are plentifully introduced; the incident passes sometimes into screaming farce, as, for instance, in one or two similar outbreaks of Mr. Brick's, and in Tilbury's love-making; and the style often verges upon the hysterical. The villain of the piece is a melo-dramatic rascal, whose remorse over poor Kathleen's grave is very incongruous with his Mephistophelian character. The moral is the iniquity of the law which prohibits marriage with a deceased wife's sister; but the difficulties are created in a somewhat spasmodic way, the misery is a little extravagant, and the solution is by an unsuspected flaw in the first marriage, which is awkward and unpleasant.

The story is racy, and, with a little skipping over descriptions and moralisings, very readable. It is only a little too high-flown for the writer's powers.

Daniel Deronda. By GEORGE ELIOT. Parts I. and II. William Blackwood and Sons.

The eagerness and minuteness with which almost every literary journal and every newspaper has discussed the portions published of

George Eliot's new novel are proof of the great expectations she excites, as also of the fluctuating judgments which criticism of successive fragments must be subject to. Already the misgivings awakened by what was felt to be the somewhat diminished power of Part I. are relieved by the greater strength of Part II. We can add nothing to what has been said, and must reserve our own analysis of the work until we can judge it as a whole.

A Very Woman. By M. F. O'MALLY. Three Vols. Smith, Elder and Co.

A love story, in which two brothers, greatly attached to each other, and both honourable men fall desperately in love with the heroine—Angela—who, having been educated in a religious convent, is, on the death of her father, brought to England to reside with her uncle, a wealthy country squire.

The merits of the story are the careful delineation of Angela's fine character and its piquant contrast with that of her cousin Frank, who is secretly in love with Harry Vane, the first of Angela's lovers, and to whom, in ignorance of any stronger inspiration, she permits herself in virtue of a mere liking to be engaged. The two brothers also, Harry and Vivian, are well contrasted; but the disentanglement of the mess caused by the wrong assortment of lovers is somewhat clumsy. We are not sure that Frank and Harry, or Angela and Vivian are not respectively too much alike for happiness; but it is something that they get married all right, and are in a fair way for it.

Clevedon. A Novel in Two Volumes. By ROLAND YORKE. Henry S. King and Co.

This is a novel of singular merit. The characters are well discriminated, and some of them are strongly marked. Old Abel Kirke, with his reserve and miserliness, is portrayed skilfully, and we do not cease to be interested in him till he dies on the doorsteps of the Dissenters' chapel, where the deacons are about to sit in judgment on his case. He has been accused of appropriating to himself some money committed to him for another; a point which connects itself with the very striking bit of love-story. Jenny, the daughter of Abel, has rejected the suit of the reserved, somewhat rough, but genuine Anthony Rede for the showy, flippant Fred Staines, the banker's clerk, whose affection soon cools when suspicions arise that the old man has lost his money; and heartless Fred, to justify his desertion of Jenny for a more promising engagement, takes an opportune chance to blast the father's character. Slowly the true and noble character of Anthony Rede shows itself, and, after many complications, his faithfulness wins its reward. The situations, sometimes very striking, are extremely well managed; the descriptive portions are so faithfully done, that we daresay those who know Yorkshire could identify the places; and the more touching and tragic portions are skilfully relieved by light society talk, which shows both insight and knowledge of the

world. In spite of a rather awkward turn of the plot towards the end, we regard this as one of the very best of the shorter novels we have read for some time, now reminding us even of George Eliot, and again of Charlotte Brontë, in its decisive analyses of odd or obscure moods of mind, though, in saying this, we should not be understood to mean that there is any conscious imitation. Roland Yorke follows a true natural bent, copies nobody, and clearly finds wealth of life and interest in what lies very near at hand.

Constantia. By the Author of 'One Only.' Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

'Constantia' is pleasantly enough written, and its characters are distinctly conceived; perhaps the cleverest is Mrs. Craik who comes at last to believe in her own unrealities. Ralph is honourable and strong, and Constantia nobly faithful; but the authoress lacks grip, and is defective in constructive art. The engagement of Ralph and Constantia is crude and improbable; it does not develop naturally out of their relations and circumstances; and the quarrel is abrupt, exaggerated, and unnatural: it lacks the subtle working of feeling which might have led to it. We have read the story with only a languid interest.

Conquering and to Conquer. A Story of the Days of St. Jerome. By the Author of 'The Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family.' Daldy, Isbister, and Co.

Mrs. Charles has here given us, on the whole, a good picture of those days when the corrupted artificiality of the old Roman life came most closely into conflict with Christianity. She has shown us, by example, the contests which arose, and which were inevitable, between the mixed motives, the sensuous perceptions of the Roman character, and the exigent spirituality of the Christian ideal. It is to be regretted that she imports so much of purely modern refinement here and there; but she always writes with gracefulness and elevated ease. The peculiar slow access of the new ideas to the heart of the heroine's father, and the effect on his personal appearance by the self-abnegation of Zosima, are very well done. On the whole, in spite of certain weaknesses—chief of which is a lack of passion running in ordinary lines, resulting from what seem now to be deeply ingrained tendencies of Mrs. Charles's, the book is such as may well be recommended for presentation to young people.

Wych Hazel. By the Author of 'The Wide, Wide World,' 'Queechy,' &c. James Nisbet and Co.

Miss Wetherell's two stories named on her title-page are so well known to English readers that it would be almost a sufficient characterisation of 'Wych Hazel' to say that it is cast in the same general mould. The unities are not much regarded in it. It is not so much a structure as a chronicle. A young heir-

ess is left to the sedate guardianship of Mr. Fairfax. Her school-days over, she resolves, in a somewhat imperious way, to seek her fortune; and, with her guardian, journey from school to Chickaree, her ancestral home. The book consists of her experiences and adventures on her journey and at Chickaree. She stops at the Mountain House on the Catskills, which is well described; has, of course, no end of admirers there; passes through a forest on fire; arrives at Chickaree, and is beset by fortune-hunters and the gaieties of fast life. How she is preserved from their perils, how Rollo becomes, first, her guardian angel, and then, after a somewhat austere wooing,—perhaps a stronger word might be used,—something more, the book itself must tell. The characters are strongly individualised and the dialogue is racy. Some phases of American girlhood will seem curious to English readers. The religious talk of Dr. Maryland is somewhat abrupt, and Gyda promises more than she fulfils. But the book is good, strong, and wholesome.

Letters and Social Aims. By RALPH WALDO EMERSON. Chatto and Windus.

Mr. Emerson is pre-eminently the prophet of the abstract. He refuses to recognise immediate and secondary relations. He ignores them, indeed, as if of *malice prepense* and for purposes of mystification. He leads us up to the very point at which we should expect some direct illustration by present concrete fact, and then he deserts us and turns up again quite on the other side, hailing us as loud-voiced from afar as when he had been near. One statement sounds absolute and unqualified; another, that seems the antithesis of it, is as decisive. He speaks, say of humanity, as on the way to purity and blessedness through all manner of degradations—gaols, brothels, &c.—and then he distracts us by dwelling on the futility of individual aspiration. The truth is, both terms are used abstractedly, though it might be urged by a stern logical mind that humanity in the *abstract* does not get into gaols, nor individuality in the *abstract* aspire. In the very first essay of this volume, 'Poetry and Imagination,' Mr. Emerson revels in this kind of exercise *in vacuo*, saying much in generals and approaching the region of paradox, but failing to enlighten by instance. It is his way, however, and we should study to get the best we can from him. In the outset it would seem as though, in his view, Poetry depends wholly on science, which ministers the medium of illumination. But before he has gone far, poetry, or imagination, translates the raw material of the senses into symbols, which was probably the earlier process, and followed by instinct. Both statements, are true; but Mr. Emerson does not develop his ideas so as to reveal plainly the point where both meet and make the modern poet possible. 'A good symbol,' he urges, 'is the best argument, and is missionary to persuade thousands.' Quite so, and with Mr. Emerson we believe that some of our scientific men—Owen and Tyndall, for instance—are, after a certain

manner, poets; but their symbols are not their best arguments; for, 'you shall not speak ideal truth in prose uncontradicted, you may in verse.' So exactly in the very brilliant and axiomatic essay on 'Social Aims.' He says well that 'the law of the table is beauty,—a respect to the common voice of all the guests. Every thing is unseasonable which is private to two or three or any portion of the company.' But even these assume the interpretive capability in some so as to delight others by harmonious utterances, (all cannot speak at once), and as the law of beauty is emotion, which cannot be equally stirred in each one of a mixed community, how does this consort with the annihilation of spontaneous expression in such sentences as 'self-command is the main elegance,' 'avoid exaggeration,' 'a lady loses as soon as she admires too easily and too much,' 'in man or woman the features of the person lose power when they are on the strain to express admiration'? The essay on 'Quotation and Originality' we remember to have read some years ago in the 'North American Review.' It is a most characteristic performance, full of subtle, far-reaching, platonised Orientalism applied, with a certain indirectness, to contemporary needs, and suggests the inquiry, what Emerson would have been had he never studied Plato and read the Persian poets and sages. He would have been more a poet doubtless, but he would not have stimulated so many minds. In the 'Progress of Culture,' Mr. Emerson shows himself the true Bostonian liberal, taking, as he has always done, hopeful, far-sighted views of the future and the possible of America and American culture.

Mr. Emerson is misleading when seized from the side of thought alone. He constantly qualifies himself, but that qualification is only to be found in the perception of mystical relations. He advances a truth that might seem to him to contain the whole law, but you do not read far till it is directly contradicted in a deliverance as formal and axiomatic and unqualified. The seizing of one truth or scale of truths, under his magical statement, without reference to the corresponding truth, or scales of truth, is what has rendered some of his disciples one-sided enthusiasts, as, in some degree, Thoreau, and, in a greater degree, Thoreau's biographer, Channing, and many more. He never commits himself to the axiom. Each and every statement is polarised in the process of illumination. You may not see the steps, but the thing is proved by the presence of an antithesis which is distinctly set before you. Emerson, therefore, is not to be read profitably save with an eye to detecting these polarising qualities as we may call them,—and this being done, there are but few writers of any age more rich, suggestive, and stimulating.

Erasmus in 'Praise of Folly.' Illustrated with many Curious Cuts, Designed, Drawn, and Etched by HANS HOLBEIN. With Portrait, Life of Erasmus, and his Epistle ad-

dressed to Sir Thomas More. Reeves and Turner.

This is simply a reprint of the 'Encomium More.' We regret that some editorial information has not been supplied along with it. The story of its origin, suggested to the punning mind of Erasmus when in the Alps by the name of his friend Sir Thomas More—how odd it seemed to him that the wisest man he knew should be designated by the Latin word for 'fool'—the marvelous celerity with which it was written when he arrived in London, it being composed during a seven days' attack of the gravel; its immense popularity and influence; the remarkable anticipation of Luther in its exposure of abuses; its knowledge of men and things; the deep meanings which underlie its light satire; its unsurpassed wit and humour, fully equalling that of Lucian; the skill with which the personification of Folly is sustained; the eagerness with which learned and illustrious men of all classes, even Leo X. himself, read it, should be known wherever the book itself goes. We should have liked to have been told something about the translation, which, we presume, although we have not a copy at hand for verification, is that of Bishop Kennet's, issued in 1709; and about the Holbein illustrations, of which Kennet published only forty-six, whereas twice that number are given here; the original contained eighty. We are glad, however, to possess the book as it is. It is admirably got up, on excellent ribbed paper, printed in large, clear, archaic type; and fac-similes of the racy Holbein illustrations are fairly rendered. It will be the pleasantest edition for English readers.

It is singular that so little of Erasmus should have found translators into English, and that, of what has been translated so little should have been done well. Articles and memoirs latterly have been indicated reviving interest in the great scholar and satirist. Will not some competent scholar give us well-annotated selections from his works?

English Literature. By the Rev. STOPFORD BROOKE, M.A. Macmillan and Co.

This is one of the series of Literature Primers which, under the general editorship of Mr. J. R. Green, Messrs. Macmillan are publishing. It is lifted at once by its singular merits out of any mere rank in which it may stand, and may well be regarded as almost a classic. Within a hundred and twenty pages Mr. Brooke has compressed a lucid, sufficient, and eminently readable account of our English literature, its sources, main streams, chief works, and diversified characteristics. He does not say a single superfluous word nor pass over a single important matter, while his inaccuracies are singularly few. As a primer for schools and students, and as a handbook for the desk of the literary man, this little shilling volume is simply invaluable.

The Works of Charles Lamb: Poetical and Romantic, Tales, Essays, and Criticisms.

Edited, with Biographical Introductions and Notes, by CHARLES KENT. The Popular Centenary Edition. George Routledge and Son.

Although we must confess to years when small-type editions became rather distasteful, they are the true tests of popularity, and when cheap centenary editions of a writer's works are published, his stamp is irreversible. Almost every year produces new editions of the works of this most charming of English essayists. Here, in seven hundred pages of small but legible type, we have a complete collection of Lamb's works, well edited and annotated.

In the sensible memoir prefixed, Mr. Kent corrects some misconceptions, and casts light upon some obscurities. He gives the true date of Lamb's birth, mistaken by both Barry Cornwall and John Forster; it was February 10, 1775. He shows that there were two or three children besides Charles and Mary. He publishes a letter from Miss Kelley, and a facsimile of a note of Lamb's, proving that she, and not Mrs. Crawford, was the original of Lamb's charming sketch of Barbara S—. He disproves Hazlitt's charge of drunkenness and his affirmation of insanity, and of course tells the true story of his domestic tragedy, which, by the way, was first given to the world in the pages of this Review in May 1849, just after Mary Lamb's death. Large numbers of miscellaneous scraps are also gathered from Hone's 'Table Book,' the 'Athenæum,' and other sources.

The volume is compendious and useful, well got up and carefully edited.

Essays in Criticism. By MATTHEW ARNOLD. Third Edition. Revised and Enlarged. Macmillan and Co.

As a subtle, graceful, and incisive critic Mr. Arnold will probably take a permanent place among English essayists, a certain sub-adjacent cynicism notwithstanding, and if the tendency to dwell upon ephemeral and obscure matters does not hinder. We are glad to see that certain passages of this character are excised from this edition. When we read his poetry we regret that he should forsake the Muse even for essays so graceful and discriminating as these; but it is a thousand pities that he should forsake either for crude and transient theological polemics. We welcome this revision of a very favourite volume.

Lectures, Addresses, and other Literary Remains. By the late Rev. FRED. W. ROBERTSON, M.A., of Brighton. A New Edition. Henry S. King and Co.

In this new edition the preface is considerably abridged by the omission of the long extracts from Mr. Robertson's letters, and several interesting pieces are added, viz., a lecture on 'The Church of England's Independence of the Church of Rome;' notes of a lecture on the progress of the working classes; and some translations from Lessing on the 'Education of the Human Race;' and, what

will be greatly prized by many, his analysis of Tennyson's 'In Memoriam.' There are few who will not be glad to possess this complete collection of Mr. Robertson's miscellanies. It is proof of the profound and penetrating truth and great power of this greatest of our modern pulpit teachers that, in addition to the spirit of earnest, unconventional truth which he has diffused, which is independent of opinions, and which has entered men of almost every school, many of his views, for which when first uttered he was so severely denounced, have come to be accepted even by the more thoughtful of the Evangelical school of theology. Robertson was a divinely gifted seer, and in many things he has taught others to see.

The Complete Angler; or, the Contemplative Man's Recreation. By IZAAK WALTON. Elliot Stock.

Mr. Stock has added to his facsimile reprints that of the first edition of 'The Complete Angler,' published in 1653. This edition is extremely scarce, and it is to R. S. Holford, Esq., that the publisher is indebted for a copy. The reprint is curious and interesting. The 'Angler's Song,' printed in the square notes familiar to students of old psalmody, and with the opposite pages reversed, to permit two persons opposite to each other to sing from the same book—a device also familiar to those acquainted with old madrigal books,—some of the obsolete types, the vigorous little cuts, and the title-page, have been reproduced by photography. It is a very interesting bibliographical curiosity. The publishers are laying bookworms under very great obligations.

Re-Echoes. By FRANCES POWER COBBE. Williams and Norgate.

Miss Cobbe has selected these fifty-two papers from 'upwards of a thousand' contributed to the 'Echo' newspaper from its commencement until its change of proprietorship in 1875. There are few writers whose newspaper articles we should care to have gathered into a book; but Miss Cobbe always writes with so much thoughtfulness, wisdom, incisiveness, and kindness, that we do not willingly let her words fall to the ground. It is much to say that these short papers will be re-read with most interest by the most sensible. They are on topics general and permanent enough in interest, and they rarely fail to shed new lights and furnish noble suggestions: e.g., in the paper on 'Church and Chapel Building,' she urges us to look away from the rivalries of sects to the grand spectacle of a common striving to supply the growing population with means of worship. Her little book is full of things both wise and good.

The Literature of the Kymry. By THOMAS STEPHENS. Second Edition, by the Rev. D. SYLVAN EVANS, B.D. Longmans.

There is no nobler achievement of the human mind than the production of a national literature. Its materials are more varied, its

sources more numerous, and its life more real and enduring than that of any other product of the conscious or unconscious energies of man. In dealing with the literature of a country one has to do with the most subtle forms of thought and feeling, with a finer and more delicate matter than either marble or canvas, and yet far less darkened or tarnished by the wearing touch of time. It is also more catholic and instructive than any of the sister arts; for, being the product of the national mind, it mirrors forth the progress, tendency, and attainments of the race. A nation's literature is therefore mainly useful in representing the innate character, the external conditions, and the acquired habits and bias of those who produce it. The function of the historian of such a literature is to portray those ethnic characteristics of the people which distinguish them from the rest of mankind, the physical circumstances, the political accidents, and the social status which have determined their life; and to seize the fluctuations which have characterised their life-impulse during the period under review. In one word, he has to tell the full story of a nation's mind. The merit and service of Mr. Stephens's book depend upon the success with which he has conceived and solved this psychological problem. We venture to say at the outset that he has been fairly successful, considering the circumstances of his life, the difficulties of his task, and the capabilities of his subject. We do not wish our readers to imagine that we place him in the same rank with Müller, Bähr, Bernhardt, Mure, Donaldson, Taine, and Motley. His work resembles, in many respects, Craik's history of the rise of the English language, and the successive periods of its literature. Mr. Stephens was a chemist by vocation, but a *littérateur* by nature. His education was limited, but his energy and application prodigious; and the result is as creditable in its degree as any of the works of the above-mentioned authors, which were produced under widely different circumstances.

The subject did not present anything like the scope and magnitude of the literature of Greece; and the author probably did not possess the critical and analytical power of disentangling and unravelling the confused materials before him, much less the still higher power of constructing the scattered elements of truth into a grand and symmetrical fabric. But he accomplished wonders in his way. His patience was above all praise, and his judgment sound. His impartiality in matters of national history earned for him the designation of 'arch-heretic.' To the humiliation of national pride he rejected the antiquity of the Triads, denied the validity of the Prince Madoc claim to the discovery of America, and the massacre of the Welsh bards by Edward I. The present work originated in an essay, which gained the prize of £25 offered by the Prince of Wales for the best essay upon the subject, competed for at the Abergavenny Eisteddfod, 1868. In that form it raised its author to the position of a leading authority among all Celtic scholars, not

only at home, but abroad. It secured the highest commendations from Count Villmarqué, Henri Martin, and Matthew Arnold, and received the honor of being translated into German by Professor Schültz. The publication of the larger work gave rise to an extensive correspondence with Continental scholars upon Celtic literature and traditions, which, together with Mr. Stephens's other occupations, brought about the natural result, viz., that his energies were overtaxed, and his life cut short. Not before he had done a good day's work, however, did the night of death come upon him.

In the volume before us we have not simply the history of poetry, but of tales, romances, chronicles, moral and historical Triads and Mabinogion—in fact, a complete survey of the literature of the country. The Welsh language seems to have passed its meridian. It resembles at present the Latin of the decline of the Roman Empire. The grace and vigour of the earlier tongue has given way to a modern dialect less pure, but probably more adapted to the growing wants of the nation. Up to a recent date, however, the Welsh had been preserved uncommonly pure and undefiled by additions from foreign sources. From the time when the Roman power was compelled by intestine troubles to relax its grasp, to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the native language seems to have remained almost entirely intact and distinct. The literature of a great portion of this period is handled in the work before us. Mr. Stephens refers only *en passant* to the bards of the sixth and seventh centuries, Taliesin, Aneurin, and Llywarch Hen, but treats fully of the literature of the twelfth and two succeeding centuries. The specimens given are accompanied by a faithful translation. The author has selected only those which possess some intrinsic merit and beauty, and such as furnished some pointed illustration of the national character.

Mr. Stephens admits, what cannot be denied, that the bardic poets do not possess the transcendent merit many have foolishly claimed for them, and that there is nothing in the ancient poetry of Wales to be compared with the Greek, Roman, and English Muse. It was the product of a state of society which, though in advance of surrounding nations, was, nevertheless, far inferior to the best days of Greece and Rome. The Celtic, like most poetry, has war and love for its theme. But the fact is, Wales had no siege of Troy, and no Salamis, Marathon, or Thermopylæ; and consequently it has no such poems. The country has several mountains, but no Alpine or Himalayan ranges; many small streams, but not one grand, broad, majestic river; many of its poets have attained to more than mediocrity, but none to decided pre-eminence. Their war-songs lack poetic fire and sentiment, and their elegies, as Mr. Stephens observes, frequently substitute petty conceit for genuine tenderness. What is true of the poetry of the twelfth and two succeeding centuries is true in a great measure of Welsh poetry from that time to the present day. Much

poetry has been written and a great deal more produced since the fourteenth century. The mass of it is very poor, some of it tolerably good; but none of it transcendently excellent. And one is tempted to ask the reason why; for no doubt the land has produced many genuine poets, men of real poetic genius. We think that the lack of such external influences and surroundings as Greece and Rome enjoyed will not altogether account for the result; to this must be added their linguistic exclusion, which cuts them off from that communion with thought and things which is essential to the highest kind of poetry, and their unnatural metrical system, which has weighed down their imagination and limited their similes. The internal and final rhyme, the various forms of alliteration, and the *cyrch*, are enough to strangle all lofty imagination and original power. The whole power of the mind is expended upon the jingle of words. It makes the bard a man of ingenuity and skill, rather than of fancy and genius; a man under the control of sounds, rather than of deep and earnest thought. We must, however, in justice state that although Welsh poetry has never reached the uniform and self-sustained sublimity of thought and diction which characterise the works of Homer, Virgil, and Milton, it has never sunk to the level of the puerile, prolix, and sickly productions of the Troubadours. Mr. Stephens closes the volume with the question, 'Were not the Kymry among the most intelligent and intellectual of the inhabitants of Europe during the period under consideration?' We would ask another, of greater importance,—What about their position at the present day? No impartial judge can shut his eyes to the fact that they have been unable to keep pace with the remarkable advance of science and other kinds of progress, and that they are slowly but surely falling behind other nations. They are struggling under social, political, and commercial disadvantages, from which it is time they freed themselves by adapting themselves to the circumstances of the age. It is useless to fight against the inevitable. Poetry and music are very well as pastimes; but when they constitute the sole and serious occupation of a nation they become positively injurious. Just let the Welsh devote their attention to that which will raise them to the level of the present civilisation and culture, and then let them have as much music and poetry as they please. To be able to sing is, we must admit, *something*; but it is of very little value compared with the power to create. Nations living in the constant roar and music of the natural elements are generally able to do the former, but seldom the latter. But enough.

The work has an important historical value, on the ground of which we most strongly recommend it. It sheds a flood of light on the manners and traditions of a people who have hitherto been involved in signal obscurity. Its value to the ethnologist is decidedly great, and it is no less instructive to the English historian. Sharon Turner found important

aid in the poetry of Taliesin, Aneurin, and Llywarch Hen for illustrating and completing his 'History of the Anglo-Saxons.' Future historians would do well to search the productions of Iolo Goch and Gruffydd Llwyd for the life and influence of Owen Glyndwr; and to complete the history of the Wars of the Roses, their plots, conflicts, and intrigues, by consulting the poems of Lewis Glyn Cothi, Tudor Aled, and Gestyn Owain. To some Englishmen it might also be both interesting and instructive to see their own characters reflected in Cymric mirrors. It will repay their labor, although they probably will not be able to recognise themselves.

We have no space for giving specimens of the poetry. We heartily recommend this volume to every lover of national literature as being a fair representation of the literature of Wales; and trust that the success which Mr. Stephens has achieved may stimulate some of his countrymen who have more leisure and no less ability to complete and perfect that which he has nobly begun.

A Grammar of the Latin Language, for Middle and Higher Class Schools. By LEONHARD SCHMITZ, LL.D., Classical Examiner in the University of London. Wm. Collins and Co.

Among the very numerous claimants to public favour in the form of Latin Grammars, both large and small, this one, the latest, and of medium size, is perhaps the best. Its great merit consists (1) in its clearness, (2) in its brevity, (3) in its philosophical views of both syntax and inflexion, (4) in its excellent arrangement of matter, the primary facts being in a larger, the subordinate in a smaller, print, headed as 'notes.' With the pedantry and the novelties of the 'primer' the author has little sympathy, to judge by his treatment of the facts or phenomena of the Latin language. The 'declensions' he arranges as the *a*, the *o*, the *u*, the *e*, and the *consonant* declension, a system which has great advantages in respect of clearness and simplicity. The modern custom of arranging the cases in a different order, viz., *nom.*, *acc.*, *gen.*, *dat.*, he discards; and it is worth the remark that the ordinary method is as old as Varro, who wrote 'De Lingua Latina' in Cicero's time. The rules and illustrations of the syntax are singularly clear and concise. Indeed, the whole work, including a useful appendix on Roman names, coins, measures, weights, &c., only extends to two hundred and twenty-two 12mo pages, and yet it seems to us to contain everything necessary or even the more advanced students of the upper school-forms.

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND PHILOLOGY.

God and the Bible. A Review of Objections to 'Literature and Dogma.' By MATTHEW ARNOLD. Smith, Elder, and Co.

It is difficult in dealing with Mr. Arnold to command sufficient 'intellectual seriousness'; and impossible within reasonable limits, if indeed it is possible at all, to deal with him argumentatively. There is in his attack upon Christianity more of sarcastic sharp-shooting and exquisite fooling than there is of measured, not to say serious, meaning. It is, for example, not easy to maintain one's gravity to find the denier of all that is supernatural in Jesus Christ, and even of a personal God, gravely stepping forth in vindication of Christianity, the Bible, prayer, and church-going. Mr. Arnold seems so utterly unconscious of the radical moral contradictions of the positions which he assumes, he constructs in so arbitrary a way the fallacies upon which he impales his victims, and then dances round them and pokes fun at them in an attitude so assured that it is quite inimitable. When a bishop, a Nonconformist, or, as here, a Tübingen Professor, is in hand, it is perfectly delicious to see the gusto with which he cuffs him—we cannot say controverts him—for no man in these modern days so confidently tilts at a windmill, or so skilfully dodges its revolving sails. We have no greater literary enjoyment than one of these exquisitely written theological essays, with its serio-comic tone, its evidential and argumentative surprises, its clever catch-words, and its amazing conclusions, so gravely affirmed, and so sublimely indifferent to facts. In the airiest and most saltatory way Mr. Arnold rebukes the theological world in general, and Tübingen Professors and English Nonconformists in particular, for 'want of intellectual seriousness.'

The most effective treatment of one of Mr. Arnold's books would be to quiz it. Certainly no recent writer by his superb confidence in himself his audacious dealing with evidence, and his arbitrary conclusions lays himself, so open to such a method of reply. Imagine him for half an hour subjected to Socratic questioning. But the issues that he raises are so grave, that although it is simply inconceivable that any man in any degree accustomed to processes of reasoning should be affected by his advocacy, yet admiration of his great literary skill may induce a sympathy which neither his history nor his logic could command. We must therefore deal seriously with two or three of the points raised in the new preface to this collection of his articles in the 'Contemporary Review,' and to these we restrict ourselves.

And first, we gladly bear testimony to a great improvement of tone in respect both of courtesy and religiousness, to much keen insight into things, and to many positions of undoubted and valuable truth; as also to the great beauty of literary form in which he presents his criticisms.

Of course, we have two or three clever literary catch-words. A new alliteration, 'vigorous and rigorous,' is repeated so often that clearly its author somewhat prides himself upon it. But his text is a phrase employed by Celsus, *κουφότης τῶν Χριστιανῶν*, which he

translates, 'want of intellectual seriousness,' and which he adopts as a solvent for all the intractable phenomena of Christian belief throughout its history. All kinds of theological conclusions which are favourable to the popular belief in Christianity, from the doctrine of a personal God and the incarnation of Christ to Papal infallibility, are to be attributed simply to 'want of intellectual seriousness.' No one would deny that this is the explanation of some beliefs; but imagine Augustine and Aquinas, and Duns Scotus, and Pascal, and Cudworth, and Butler adopting Christian beliefs through 'want of intellectual seriousness.' Mr. Arnold's characteristic defect as an historical student and a reasoner could hardly be more strongly illustrated. He seems incapable of weighing evidence, and also of discriminating criticism. He deals only in universals, and sometimes, unfortunately, mistakes for them mere accidents. His characterisations are broad and sweeping, and therefore exaggerated and untrue. A striking instance of it we have in almost the first sentence of his preface. He tells us that German critics 'in collecting, editing, and illustrating the original documents for the history of Christianity, now perform for the benefit of learning an honorable and extremely useful labor once discharged by Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge, but discharged by them no longer.' A more exact writer would have given to German scholars that great pre-eminence in this department of labour which is their due, but he would not have been forgetful of men like Lightfoot, Westcott, Wordsworth, Alford, Scrivener, Ellicott, Jowett, Sanday, and Dean Smith; not to speak of Davidson, Tregelles, and other scholars, not of the two universities named, who surely have done something towards illustrating the text of the New Testament, and are more than the exceptions which a broad characterisation need take no account of. An indictment should be the exact truth.

Mr. Arnold expresses his surprise that his book, 'Literature and Dogma,' has been so utterly misconceived. It was, he says, its object, as it is also the object of the present book, 'to show the truth and necessity of Christianity, and its power and charm for the heart, mind, and imagination of man, even though the preternatural, which is now its popular sanction, should have to be given up.' Something may surely be forgiven to simple-minded men for their inability to conceive of Christianity with all that is preternatural discharged from it, and for their mistaking for an enemy an advocate whose method is to discharge it. By the preternatural Mr. Arnold means, not only the miraculous works and character of the Author of Christianity, but also the very existence of a supernatural and personal God. The God of the Hebrew Bible, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, cannot, he maintains, be proved to be a Person, the notion that He is so has been a disabling superstition. He is at the utmost 'the Eternal, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness.' Surely we are entitled to

ask, The Eternal what? A person, a thing, or a subjective tendency? Mr. Arnold, so far as we understand him, maintains the latter. 'We neither,' he says, 'affirm God to be a person nor a thing.' There is in our nature, whatever else there may be, and there is in the order of things around us, together with other tendencies, 'a tendency that makes for righteousness,' and of this the ideas of Christianity are, as yet, the highest expressions. It is 'the greatest and happiest stroke ever yet made for human perfection.' But will not men in whom the moral sense is unsophisticated ask, how, on such a supposition, can either Judaism or Christianity be a moral system at all? No teachings in the world are so conditioned upon, so permeated with the doctrine and the sanctions of a personal God,—a God who governs men, claims their worship and service; forgives them, saves them, rewards them. If no such God exists, exists indubitably, then through the very emphasis and intensity of the claim, both systems are more fundamentally and essentially false than any that the world has known. Is it not, therefore, a wanton befooling of our moral sense and of our just judgment to affirm 'the truth and necessity of Christianity, and its power and charm for the heart, mind, and imagination'? In what sense can it be true when all the facts out of which its ideas spring are not only delusions, but wilful fabrications? in what sense is it a necessity when not only its personal, but its moral sanctions are taken away? Instead of a 'tendency that makes for righteousness,' it is an imposture that provokes resentment and corrupts moral feeling. To give up the 'popular sanction of the preternatural,' to reduce Christianity to mere ethical ideas, is to affirm that the system which, ethically, is the most true, is historically and formally the most false. Is this the religious apotheosis to which Mr. Arnold would bring the world?

May we not ask him for his precise idea, what he regards as the essence or sanction of 'the Eternal, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness'? Is it a person or a thing? He cannot claim, argumentatively, that it is either or both. Not only is there no medium between the two, they are antagonistic. If only a thing, why should it be regarded unless men please? How can it enter men's indisputable religious nature, either as authority or satisfaction? How can we pray to it? And, above all, how can Mr. Arnold hope to determine such a metaphysical problem by an etymological disquisition? It comes therefore to this:—we are to regard as 'the Eternal that makes for righteousness' the pure ideas of a system that is framed and inwrought with falsehood, that is, a vague, undefined conception, utterly destitute of precision and authority. 'The power of Christianity has been in the immense emotion which it has excited; in its engaging for the government of man's conduct the mighty forces of love, reverence, gratitude, hope, pity and awe.' And yet indisputably this 'immense emotion' has been excited by a supernatural person. And further,

we are to use in prayer the language proper to a person. And yet, in all 'intellectual seriousness,' he tells us that all this is to be inspired by the eviscerated and sublimated Christianity to which he would win men!

Another thing he tells us,—that on the one hand men cannot do without Christianity, while on the other, through the progress of criticism, men can no longer do with Christianity as it is. We may admit both propositions. It is something that Christianity has compelled a man with Mr. Arnold's doctrinal tendencies to maintain the first. He justly says that our religious nature cannot be denied, and that the popular answer to such outrageous maledictions on Christianity as those of Professor Clifford is the crowded meetings of Messrs. Moody and Sankey. As to the second, men are perpetually outgrowing the forms of their faith just as they outgrow their clothes. No symptom of religious life were more fatal at any moment than intellectual contentedness with Christianity as it is. But what kind and degree of modification existing forms demand is a question admitting of various judgments. Mr. Arnold thinks it is the entire removal of the preternatural, even of the superstition of a personal God; and he strangely thinks that he has established this when he has proved the necessity for any modification. He pours infinite scorn upon certain theories of original sin, and fancies that thereby he has disposed of the fact and problem of moral evil in man. He ridicules Mr. Moody's dramatic conceptions of a controversy and compact between Justice and Mercy respecting redemption, and fancies that thereby he has disposed of salvation by Christ. He thinks throughout that when he has discredited an erroneous form he has disposed of a doctrine. It is strange that a writer accusing others of 'want of intellectual seriousness' should be misled by such a transparent fallacy of reasoning; and yet this is characteristic of the entire book. Mr. Arnold has not a single word to say about the things misconceived, only about the misconceptions of them, and he thinks that when he has sufficiently ridiculed the misconceptions he has disposed of the thing; and yet he tells us that his book is written for those 'who, won by the modern spirit to habits of intellectual seriousness, cannot receive what sets these habits at naught.' Mr. Arnold might do real service if, with all 'intellectual seriousness,' he would sit down and tell us what he positively thinks concerning moral evil and deliverance from it; concerning prayer, and church-going, and the Bible. As it is, he only criticises and quizzes what other and more serious men think. The superficialness of his conceptions of their thinking and the fallacies of his arguments make his books absolutely worthless for all purposes of positive construction. At the most they serve to show weak places in other men's theories, a service we by no means undervalue.

Christianity and Morality; or, the Correspondence of the Gospel with the Moral Nature of Man. The Boyle Lectures for

1874-1875. By HENRY WACE, M.A., Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, and Professor of Ecclesiastical History in King's College, London. Basil Montagu Pickering.

Only by a lengthened series of quotations could Mr. Wace's method of treating this vast subject be exhibited. His style is condensed almost to severity, and his habit of smiting an enemy with a delicacy and gentleness that can come only of conscious strength, and which, nevertheless, leaves his opponent wounded very badly near some vital organism, gives the impression of practised force and remarkable self-possession. If he had chosen to wield a battle-axe instead of a rapier, it is clear that the execution would have been signal. But he is more concerned with truth than victory, with conciliation than strategy. The breadth of plan displayed in these two series of eight lectures each, is as remarkable as is the completeness of the discussions accorded to a large number of ethical, philosophical, and theological problems of prime importance. We cannot in a brief notice attempt to touch more than a few of the most salient points. In the first of these two courses of lectures the author deals with the fundamental sense of right and wrong, the obligation of morality, 'the categoric imperative' as distinct from the discussion of that which is right in itself; and starts with well-chosen proofs of the distinction between 'the sense of obligation to do right,' and 'the standard of right.' The lectures delivered in 1874 show how Christianity furnishes the highest explanation of the *criterion* of rectitude. The author is ready to admit that, *pro tanto*, the ultimate desire or primary motive of man is happiness, and that Christianity appeals to this desire in part, but does not recognize it as an exhaustive standard. He declares that as a standard it utterly fails, because 'it puts out of sight, as a matter of entire uncertainty, the prospect of present relief or of future reward.' 'Even for our present guidance, the relation of our spirits to an invisible and spiritual realm' is actually necessary to find in our longing for happiness a standard of right. His main thesis is here opened (Lecture III.), 'that in all matters in which righteousness is concerned, it . . . consists in a certain relationship between persons.' This he argues with great force, as against Aristotle's definition of virtue, and then shows how incredible it is that, while personal relationships grow more intense as the deepest feelings of our nature are experienced, 'we should be driven when these fall into an uninhabitable region of mere law, order, and necessity.' Similarly the sense of remorse is shown to be the conviction of having wronged a 'spiritual person' to whom we owe obligation. The sense of duty is not a sense of submission to 'a naked law,' but to a person who has relations towards us similar to those of other persons. This foundation being laid, Mr. Wace most powerfully contests Mr. Arnold's explanation of what the Christian consciousness means by God, and by apt Biblical illustrations he proves that the Biblical

writers did not 'make use of personal imagery for the purpose of describing Nature, but used the facts of nature for the purpose of describing a Person.' He brilliantly rebuts the charge of anthropomorphism by a *tu quoque*, which ought to silence the objection of those 'who can only conceive of God as standing in the same relation to nature as that in which they stand themselves, unable, that is, to act except in submission to its ordinary laws.' He traces the success with which, since the Reformation, the science of nature has been pursued, to faith 'in the Divine Personality, which combines submission with energy, courage with humility;' and in noble, burning words he points out the dignity, the inspiration, the refining, sanctifying force which this explanation of moral principle exerts when it realises personal relations with the Eternal One. 'On this basis Mr. Wace discusses, with profound feeling, combined with cogent logic, the principle of atonement. He does not hold that the Christian doctrine releases the sinner from all the punishment of his sin, but enacts a life-long mortification of sin, and that 'the proclamation that Christ made atonement for us intensified infinitely the repentance for which it has been alleged to be a substitute.' He shows how the principle of vicarious suffering enters into the construction and the judgments of society. On the basis of the unity of the human family, he urges with great force the function of a mediator who, having voluntarily chosen to suffer with and on account of his brethren, 'adequately to repent' for their corruption and disloyalty, becomes the ground of their forgiveness, seeing that there is always presupposed in the Christian doctrine the ability of the mediator 'to win back his fellows to repentance and righteousness.' 'Justification' is shown to be the result of the personal relations between the Father and a child who has been led to trust Him. Imputation to the sinner of a character which is not really possessed by him, would, according to our author, be open to the charge of forensic-fiction so long as righteousness is conformity with 'a stream of tendency' or an impersonal law; but when it is the realisation of personal feelings which are actively at work between persons, then the conduct of a forgiving and loving Father, as in the parable of the Prodigal Son, becomes nothing less than the gracious imputation of personal character and privileges, which the Prodigal knew he did not deserve. The whole of this discussion by our author is singularly lucid and convincing, as is also his consequent treatment of 'faith' as the prerequisite of justification, not in a judicial but in a personal sense, and not as an arbitrary condition, but as a virtual truism.

A very careful examination of the doctrine of 'sanctification' follows, in which the author shows that once more, in the growth of the Divine germ of love to God, humanity has needed a continuation of the kind of influence to which the Apostles were submitted in the days of Christ's personal companionship with

them, and this the Church has found in 'the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost;' the closing terms of the Apostles' Creed are taken as powerful practical illustrations of the work of the Holy Spirit.

The second course of lectures deals (in especial reference to the objections levelled at Christian faith by Mr. Arnold and Mr. W. R. Greg) with 'the question of the validity of the primary assumptions which the fundamental truths of religion involve,' and consists, first, of a powerful exhibition of 'the province of faith,' namely of faith in persons, rather than a pretended 'verification' of hypotheses or promises. While the career of Buddha is shown to contain striking confirmation of the principle, it is shown that the Christian Church is a more apt illustration, since it is a society which has grown by the force of mutual trust, and by the guidance of those who have appealed less to our power of verification than to our love and confidence. In the next lecture the witness of conscience to a personal God is stated with great earnestness, in reply to the speculation of Mr. Arnold, and the conscience is described as a sixth sense, by which the living God is apprehended. The same line is pursued in 'the witness of conscience to a moral Creator' and 'the witness of conscience to a moral Governor,' where infinite right is believed to be, seen and felt to be, infinite might. 'The personal' power which makes its demand 'upon me is present to adjust the circumstances to my moral capacities or deserts.' If it be necessary, conscience and revelation will demand the admission of a moral constitution of the universe, which will prove to be distinct from, although correlative with, the scientific estimate of the universal Cosmos. 'The moral witness to Jesus Christ' is a noble argument to show that Christ was, in the opinion of those who came nearest to Him, 'the incarnate wisdom, truth, and righteousness of God.' In a lecture on the 'evidence of a revelation' it is maintained that in all its parts it is an appeal to the moral nature of man, and the argument is continued by a vigorous attempt to prove that there is a moral basis for the doctrine of the Trinity. Such a doctrine is simply 'the interpretation of the life of Christ,' and 'arises entirely out of certain facts of human history and experience.' It was not fashioned in the schools of Alexan-

dria, but in the common Christian consciousness. Its main features and elements being involved in the facts of human experience. The final 'lecture is on the travail of the Creation,' on which nothing but Christian revelations throws a gleam of light.

The volume, as a whole, seems to us an invaluable addition to theological literature, for which we offer Mr. Wace hearty and earnest gratitude.

The Church of England and Ritualism. By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. Strahan and Co.

The welcome given to everything from the pen of the distinguished statesman who, in spite of all formal abdications, is regarded by the people of England as the real leader of the Liberal party, is sufficient to insure for the reprint of the two articles on the Church of England, which lately appeared in the 'Contemporary Review,' a cordial reception. The few words of preface prefixed have been already printed in the newspapers of the United Kingdom, and help, by a pertinent illustration, to make plain the position of the right honourable gentleman regarding Ritualism. It would be out of place to enter here upon either of the two great questions—Ritualism, and the maintenance of the Church of England in connection with the State—which are dealt with in this little book. Mr. Gladstone, as a friend of the Church, naturally desires to narrow as much as possible the grounds of the great controversies that have broken out within her; and he therefore seeks to show that there is no necessary connection between certain external acts and ceremonies and certain doctrines. If he succeeds in showing this, it will not greatly matter, if the fact remains that the 'doctrinal significance' is attached to these acts by the Ritualists; and we are afraid even Mr. Gladstone will not be able to prove the contrary. Meantime, we welcome the revised edition of these 'Contemporary' articles as a valuable contribution to one side of the argument in controversies of grave, practical concern.

* * * A portion of the Notices of Contemporary Literature is necessarily deferred.

THE

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY AND DECEMBER, 1876.

VOL. LXIV.

AMERICAN EDITION.

NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED BY THE LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY

41 BARCLAY STREET.

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1876.

S. W. GREEN,
PRINTER, STEREOTYPEN, AND BINDER,
16 and 18 Jacob St., N. Y.

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THE

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

FOR JULY, 1876.

ART. I.—*The Illyrian Emperors and their Land.*

THE Eastern shores of the Hadriatic have in all ages borne the character of a border-land. And it is from their character as a border-land that they draw a great part of their charm, alike for him who studies their past and present history and for him who looks on their hills and islands with his own eyes. And they have been a border-land in two senses. They form the march of the two great geographical, political, and religious divisions of Europe. The two great peninsulas which the Hadriatic Gulf parts asunder have a march land which does not exactly coincide with their primary physical boundary. The north-eastern part of the eastern peninsula, that which is sometimes called the Byzantine peninsula, is closely connected, even physically, with the Italian peninsula which lies on the western side of the gulf. The mountains which part off Istria and Dalmatia from the vast mainland to the east of them are a continuation of the range of mountains which parts off Italy from the vast mainland to the north of her. It is indeed true in one sense that the heights which part off all the three great peninsulas of southern Europe are parts of one range stretching from the Pyrenees to Haimos. But Dalmatia is bound to Italy by a closer tie than this, and Istria is bound to her by a tie closer still. Istria lies east of the Hadriatic; yet, on any theory of natural boundaries, Istria is manifestly Italian. In the case of Dalmatia the connection is not so close and unbroken; yet the narrow, the con-

stantly narrowing, strip of land between the mountains and the sea, though geographically part of the eastern peninsula, has not a little the air of a thread, a finger, a branch, cast forth from the western peninsula. Dalmatia is thus physically a march-land; and its physical position has ever made it the march-land of languages, empires, and religions. It lies on the border of those two great divisions of Europe which we may severally speak of as the Greek and the Latin worlds. The Dalmatian archipelago, a secondary Ægean with its islands and peninsulas, formed, unless we except a few doubtful and scattered settlements on the opposite coast, the most distant sphere of Greek colonization in those seas, as it was the latest chosen of all the spheres of genuine Greek settlement, as distinguished from Macedonian conquest. It was through these lands, through wars and negotiations with their rulers, that Rome won her first footing on the eastern coast of the Hadriatic, and thereby found her first opportunity and excuse for meddling in the affairs of Greece. The land through which the Roman had thus made his highway into the eastern lands became, in the days when his Empire split asunder, a border-land, a disputed possession, of the Eastern and the Western Empire, of the Eastern and the Western Church. In days when Greek and Roman had so strangely become names of the same meaning, the cities of the Dalmatian coast clave as long as they could to their allegiance to the Greek-speaking prince whose Empire still bore the Roman name. In after times they became part of the dominion of the

mighty commonwealth which, itself as it were a portion of the East anchored off the shores of the West, bore rule alike on the mainland of Italy and among the islands and peninsulas of Greece. In our own day it forms part of the dominions of a potentate who still clings, however vainly, to the titles, traditions, and ensigns of the elder Rome, but whose geographical position calls him before all princes to be the arbiter, the conqueror, or the deliverer of the lands which still look with fear or with hope to the younger Rome. Dalmatia in all her stages, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Venetian, Austrian, has steadily kept up her character of a border-land between Eastern and Western Europe. And if we take into our account the great struggle of the early days of our own century, the short incorporation of Dalmatia by France, the still shorter occupation of some of her islands and cities by England—in days when England did not despise Montenegrin, and even Russian help—the long destiny of this coast as a debatable ground between the two great divisions of Europe is carried on in yet minuter detail.

The Dalmatian coast has thus always kept its character as a march-land between East and West, and the march-land of East and West has of necessity been also the march-land of rival Empires and rival Churches. But these coasts and islands have been a march-land in yet a further sense than this. Their history has made them in all ages the border, sometimes of civilization against actual barbarism, always of a higher civilization against a lower. And if their position has made them the march of the two great divisions of the Christian Church, it has also made them the march of Christendom itself, first against heathendom and afterwards against Islam. A glance at the map will at once show that the Dalmatian land, whose islands and peninsulas and inland seas make it almost a secondary Hellas, must have been from the earliest times the seat of a higher civilization than the boundless mainland from which its mountains fence it off. But here again its position as a border-land comes in with tenfold force. Dalmatia, with all her islands and havens, could never be as Greece, or even as Italy, because she did not in the same way stand free from the vast mainland behind her. That mainland, on the other hand, has been actually checked in the path of civilization by the fringe of higher civilization which has been spread along its edge. Civilization and barbarism have been brought into the closest contact with one another, without either distinctly gaining the upper hand. The barbarian has been checked in his calling as destroyer; the civilized

man has been checked in his calling of enlightener. The barbarian has not been able, as in lands further to the east, to force his way through the line of civilization which has hemmed him in; nor has the civilized man been able to force his way over the mountain barrier which has doomed the lands the east of it to an abiding state of at least comparative barbarism. The old Illyrian became the subject of the Roman; his land became the highway and the battle-field of the Goth; his name and race and tongue were swept away or driven southward by the Slave. The Slave again has been brought into bondage by the Turk. But, during all these changes, the cities and islands, Greek, Roman, Venetian, or Austrian, have remained outposts of civilization, fringing a mainland which has always lagged behind them. And at two periods again, difference of race and language, difference of higher and lower civilization, have been further aggravated by difference of religion. That the land has long been a debatable land between the Eastern and Western Churches is not all. Dalmatia has twice been a border-land of Christendom itself. The Slavonic immigrants of the seventh century were heathens; some of them long remained so. In the tenth century one Dalmatian district, the Narentine coast between Spalato and Ragusa, together with some of the neighbouring islands, bore the significant name of Paganía.* The heathen settlements gradually grew into Christian kingdoms, but a later revolution changed those Christian kingdoms into subject provinces of the Mussulman. As once against the heathen, so now against the Turk, Dalmatia became one of the frontier lands of Christendom. At some points the Christian fringe is narrow indeed; at two points it is altogether broken through. The mountain wall whose slopes begin in the streets of Ragusa fences off the land of the Apostolic King from the land where the choice of the Christian lies only between bondage and revolt. And at two points of the inland seas of Dalmatia, one of them fittingly within the bounds of the old Paganía, the dominion of the misbeliever reaches down to the Hadriatic shore itself.

The Dalmatian shore itself is therefore pre-eminently a border-land; but in that character it only carries out in a higher de-

* The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennétos, from whose works, 'De Thematibus' and 'De Administrando Imperio,' we get the fullest account of Dalmatia and the neighbouring lands, as they stood in the tenth century, defines (cap. 30, p. 145 of the Bonn edition) the limits of Paganía with great accuracy. It is the region of the famous Narentine pirates, and takes in the present bit of Turkish territory at Klek.

gree the character of the mainland which it fringes. The whole of Illyricum is, and always has been, in some sort a border-land. Its character as such is emphatically marked in the geography of the transitional days of the Roman Empire. In that great division into prefectures which formed the groundwork of the somewhat later division of the Empire into East and West, the name Illyricum has two meanings. There is the Illyricum of the East, which has strangely spread itself southwards so as to take in Macedonia, and that in the sense in which Macedonia takes in Greece. There is the Illyricum of the West, which in like manner stretches itself northwards, so as to take in a large part of the lands between the Danube and the Alps. Of the Western Illyricum, the Dalmatian coast forms a part; and it should be noted that the line between Eastern and Western Illyricum is drawn nearly at the point which separates the modern Dalmatian kingdom from the Ottoman province of Albania. That line is not an arbitrary line. The point at which the continuous, or nearly continuous, dominion of Venice stopped is one which is clearly marked in the coast-line. At that point the coast, which so far stretches in a slanting direction from north-west to south-east, turns in a direction nearly due south. North-east of that point, Venice was mistress of the whole coast, save only the dominions of Ragusa and the two points where Ragusa had deemed that the crescent of Mahomet was a less dangerous neighbour than the lion of Saint Mark. In the possession of that coast, the Austrian Archduke and Hungarian King has succeeded the two seafaring commonwealths. The dominions of Venice had not always ended at that point. South of it she had at different times held a dominion, sometimes larger, sometimes smaller, both among the islands and on the mainland. Even down to her fall, besides her possession of Corfu and the other so-called Ionian islands, she still kept one or two detached points on the mainland. But the point of which we speak, the point so clearly marked on the map, was the end of that abiding and nearly continuous dominion in which the Apostolic King has succeeded her. That point, once the frontier of the Eastern and Western Empires, is now the frontier of the Slave and the Albanian; that is to say, it is the boundary of the land within which the Slave thoroughly and permanently supplanted the old Illyrian whom the Albanian represents. The same point was, till the foundation of the modern Greek kingdom, actually the end of Christendom along those coasts. And though the

birth of that new Christian state makes it no longer the end of Christendom, it still is—for the two points of Turkish coast at Klek and Sutorina are hardly worth counting as exceptions—the beginning of Islam and the end of continuous Christendom. North-west of that point we are still on the borderland of Eastern and Western Europe; south of it we are undoubtedly in the eastern division. While the Dalmatian coast itself has been as it were an outlying piece of the West thrown out on the eastern side of the gulf, the mainland to the back of it shares, in a less degree, the border character of the coast itself. The whole land along the Danube and its tributaries, from the border of Rætia to the border of Thrace in the later sense, was all Illyricum in one sense or other of that ambiguous word. It has been within them, as a great border-land, that the greatest fluctuations to and fro have taken place between West and East in their various forms; between the Teuton and the Eastern Slave; between both and the Magyar; between the Eastern and the Western Church; between both and the Pagan and the Mussulman. The Old Rome strove hard for the spiritual dominion of the Bulgarian; she won the spiritual dominion of the Magyar. Of this last papal triumph we see the political results at this moment. Magyar and Catholic Hungary, called on by her geographical position to be, as of old, the champion of Christendom, cannot bring herself freely to cast in her lot with her Slavonic and Orthodox neighbours. The Orthodox Slave has sometimes deliberately deemed that the rule of the unbelieving Turk was less to be dreaded than the rule of the Catholic Magyar. The Orthodox Slave, placed on the borders of so many political and religious systems, has become the subject, sometimes of the Western Cæsar, sometimes of the Hungarian King, sometimes of the Venetian Commonwealth, sometimes of the Turkish Sultan. His independent being, which once took a form which promised to become the dominant power of south-eastern Europe, is now shut up in the little principality on the Black Mountain, that gallant outpost of Christendom, where the border character of the whole land and its people, gathered as it were together on the very march of Christendom and Islam, stands out more clearly than on almost any other spot of the Illyrian land.

We may thus set down Illyria as a whole, in all its senses, except perhaps that widest sense of all in which it takes in Peloponnésos, as being at all times essentially a border-land, and the Dalmatian coast as being the part in which its character as a border-

land comes out most strongly. The whole land, and especially the Dalmatian part of it, was a land which had cost Rome much trouble to win, but which, when won, became one of those parts of her dominion which had the greatest share in fixing her own destiny. It was through Illyria that Rome first made her way to Macedonia and Greece. It was in warfare with Illyria that she gained her first Hellenic allies or subjects. In the fourth century the Dalmatian coasts and islands had been studded with Greek colonies. The northern Epidaurus, the parent of Ragusa, and the island cities of Pharos and Korkyra the Black, had been planted, some of them, strangely enough, under the auspices of the tyrant Dionysios.* These spots, some of them famous in later times, and even in the wars of our own century, show how far the borders of the Hellenic world had now extended themselves, since the days, better known to most of us, when Epidamnus had been the furthest outpost of Hellas in those lands. In the next century, Skodra on the mainland and the island post of Issa became the strongholds of the Illyrian kingdom of Agron and Teuta, and Illyrian pirates became the dread of the Greek and Italian ports. One Greek of the Hadriatic islands, Démétrios of Pharos, has won for himself, by a series of treasons, a prominent place in the history of those times. In the interval between the first and second Punic wars, Rome broke the power of the pirate Queen. She received Epidamnus, Apollonia, and the elder Korkyra as her allies or subjects, and her ambassadors were admitted within the pale of Hellenic religion and Hellenic culture by the formal right of sharing in the Isthmian games. Rome thus became a power east of the Hadriatic; but it was not till a later generation, not till Rome was already great in Spain and in Asia, that Illyrian allies or subjects were directly incorporated with her dominion. Things had then changed. Roman protection was fast changing into Roman dominion. Macedonia, once the enemy of Greece, was now her bulwark, and Illyria was the ally of Macedonia. The overthrow of Perseus, the partition of the Macedonian kingdom, carried with it the overthrow and dismemberment of his Illyrian

ally, and the kingdom of Gentius, the kingdom of Skodra, became a part of Rome's dominion beyond the gulf.*

It is now that Dalmatia first comes into sight as a land with a distinct being. Dalmatia revolted from the rule of Gentius, to become a separate power, whose conquest was a far harder work for Rome than the overthrow of the kingdom from which it had split off. It was not till after more than a hundred and fifty years of intermittent warfare, warfare in which Roman defeats alternated with Roman triumphs, it was not till after the Christian era had begun, that the last Dalmatian revolt was put down by the arms of Tiberius, under the auspices of Augustus. The whole of the border-land, from the frontier of Italy to the frontier of Hellas, was now admitted to the bondage and the repose of the Roman peace; one part of the land, the Istrian peninsula, was formally taken within the bounds of Italy. The coast was now fringed with Roman cities, admitted to the rights of Roman municipal life, and striving to imitate the mighty works of Rome herself. Pola, under her new name of Pietas Julia, reared her amphitheatre beside her harbour: she crowned her hill with her capitol and adorned her streets and her forum with the temple of Augustus and the arch of the Sergii. Zara, Jadera, on her peninsula, became a Roman colony, and reared the arch and the columns which still survive among the more stately memorials of later times. Salona, on her own inland sea, with her own archipelago in front of her, with her mountain wall rising above her shores, became the greatest city of the Dalmatian coast, and one of the greatest cities of the Roman world. The land was now Roman; its chief cities were Roman colonies. In due time all its inhabitants, along with the other inhabitants of the Roman world, were admitted to the name and rights of Romans. And now it became clear that the Illyrian provinces and the Dalmatian coast-land above all, had received a special and important mission in the history of Rome and of the world.

It was in the second half of the third century that the Illyrian lands began to show themselves as charged with the special work of providing external champions and internal reformers for the Empire of which they

* Black Korkyra, now Cursola, was a colony of Knidos, and Pharos, now Lesina, a colony of Paros. See Strabo, vii. 5 (vol. ii. p. 104). For the help given to the Parians in this colony, and for his own colony of Lissos, see Diodoros, xv. 13. This is Lissos on the mainland, not the modern Lissa, the island. Issa which figures in the war between Rome and Illyria (see Polybios, ii. 8, 11; xxxii. 18). Epidaurus is not mentioned so early, but its name and the worship of Asklepios speak for themselves.

* The earlier Illyrian war is recorded in the second book of Polybios. Appian has a special book on the Illyrian wars. In him (chap. xi.) we get our first notices of Dalmatia as such: the name is not found in Polybios. There is also a shorter notice in Strabo, which has been already referred to.

formed a part. When all distinctions were broken down, when all the men of the Mediterranean lands were alike Romans, when the purple of the Cæsars became a prize open to every soldier who was enrolled in the Roman legions, it was from the Illyrian lands that Rome drew the greatest of her Emperors. And it was from the special Dalmatian land that she drew the Emperor who was to begin a new order of things, to establish her Empire on a new footing, and to leave behind him on his native Dalmatian shore the most abiding monument of Roman magnificence and Roman art. By this time all regard for special Roman birth had long passed away. The feeble tradition of hereditary succession which had once prevailed, and which was one day to prevail again, had fallen into abeyance. No lasting hereditary dynasty had ever been founded. The divine stock of the Jūlii, the seed of Aphroditē and Anchisēs, had been kept on only by successive adoptions which admitted Octavii, Claudii, and Domitii to the rights of the sacred house. The Sabine Flavii lasted but two generations. Under the adopted family which began with Nerva, the bounds of Italy were passed, and the dominion of Rome reached its greatest extent under the Spaniard Trajan. A series of desperate attempts were made to continue at least the name of Antonines, among princes who neither came of their blood nor represented them by any legal adoption. A fictitious succession was thus carried on till the fall of Alexander Severus and the elevation of the first Maximin. The throne was now open to 'every barbarian peasant of the frontier.*' So it was till one barbarian peasant found himself so safe upon the throne that he could dare, like Sulla, to lay aside his power, and even to withstand every prayer which called on him to take the burthen of empire again upon his shoulders. Through the whole of the time when Emperors followed each other so fast, and when, amidst all confusions and treasons, so many found their way to the throne by undoubted merit, it was among the barbarian peasants of the Illyrian frontier-land that Rome found her most valiant defenders and her wisest rulers.

The first of the barbarian Emperors came indeed from the lands east of the Hadriatic, but from a province which no stretch of geographical licence can bring within the limits of the land with which we are dealing. The first Maximin, born in Thrace, sprung, as it was said, of a Gothic father

and, an Alan mother, finds no place in our Illyrian series. His reign is simply a sign that old distinctions were broken down; though it would seem that the character of his reign caused a reaction which left its mark in the choice of the more strictly Roman Emperors who again followed him for awhile. The line of Emperors whose places of birth can be placed within Illyria in the wider sense begins more worthily with Decius. His birth in Pannonia brings him, in the laxer geography of the age, within the Illyrian border, and he stands forth as the first of the long line of champions of the Roman Dominion against the Goth.* The series which begins with Decius ends with Belisarius and Narses. The long list of the defenders of Rome takes in men from every province and of every race, till in Belisarius the championship has come back, not indeed to the same race, but to the same corner of the world. The work which had been begun by the Illyrian, perhaps by the Roman settled on Illyrian soil, was carried on by the Spaniard and the Vandal, and ended by the Slave and the Persian. But before Rome received her last Illyrian Cæsar, the days came when Valerian was led captive before the throne of Sapor, and when the Roman dominion was split in pieces by those endless pretenders, tyrants in the Roman sense of the word, who, by a somewhat forced analogy, reminded men of the Thirty at Athens. Out of this anarchy and chaos men once more came from the lands between the Danube and the Hadriatic to win again the lost provinces of Rome, and to drive back her Teutonic invaders. The Gothic Claudius won his surname from the first great check given to the Gothic enemy on the battle-fields of Dardania and in the passes of Haimos. His fasces and his mission passed to one whom the Illyrian lands might more distinctly claim as their own than either of the two Imperial champions whom they had as yet sent forth. Decius and Claudius at least bore Roman names, and boasted, truly or untruly, of Roman descent. But Aurelian, no man doubted, was sprung of peasant blood in the Danubian lands, and drew his Roman *cognomen* from the Roman patron of his father. The exact place of his birth is variously fixed, but all accounts place it at some point or other of the land whose duty as a border-land was then to be the march of the Roman against the Goth.†

* 'Decius Sirmiensium vico ortus.' Aurelius Victor, Cæs. 29. 'E Pannoni inferiore, Bubalimæ natus.' Epitome, 29.

† His different alleged birthplaces are col-

* Gibbon, vol. i. chap. vii. p. 287. Ed. Milman.

Whether he was Pannonian, Dacian, or Moesian, all those lands come within the wide sense of the Illyricum of those days; all come within the march-land of East and West. Perhaps from the banks of the Save, perhaps from a more southern point of the same region, came the man who won back Gaul from Tetricus and Palmyra from Zénobia, who drove back the Alemannic invader from Italy, and who girded Rome herself with the walls which still surround her. But the man who girded Rome with her new walls was also the man who withdrew the power of Rome from the lands beyond the Danube. The Dacia of Trajan was surrendered by Aurelian. The surrender of Dacia and the fortification of Rome were alike signs of the change which had come over the world since Trajan's day. The days of conquest are now past. The victories of Rome are now won only to defend or to secure old possessions, not to annex new ones. When Italy lay open to German invaders, when Rome had again to fight for her being on the old battle-ground of Hasdrubal and Nero,* it was vain to dream of defending Roman outposts on the Dniester and the Carpathians. Rome herself, not the Empire but the city, now needed bulwarks for her own shelter. And those bulwarks were given her by the Illyrian who had won his way to the purple from the lowest ranks of her army, and who, on the throne of her Empire, could recall the memory of the best worthies of her commonwealth. Aurelian, who had recovered alike Gaul and Syria, joined the laurels of Cæsar to the laurels of Pompeius. Men spoke of him as a stern and even a cruel prince; yet, in the moment of victory, he could imitate the clemency of Pompeius rather than the cold-blooded cruelty of Cæsar. The conqueror, in the car of the Gothic King, was drawn by his four stags up the ascent to the Capitol. But in the triumph of Aurelian, as in the triumph of Pompeius, none turned aside to the right at the point where the ascent began. The magnanimity which had no place in the soul of the divine Julius had a place in the soul of the peasant's son of Sirmium. As Aurelian went up to offer his thanksgiving to the gods of Rome, no captive was led aside to the Tullianum to share the fate of Cains Pontius and of Vercingetorix.

Among the many competitors whom Au-

relian had to strive against was one who arose in the Dalmatian land itself. But Septiminus, who perished by the hands of his own followers,* was but the Emperor of a moment, not a serious rival, like the ruler of Gaul and the Queen of the East. And the Dalmatian land, along with the rest of Illyricum, might well rejoice to have given Rome a prince whose name lives alongside of the name of the later heroes of her commonwealth, and even alongside of the name of the best beloved among her ancient Kings. He who traces out the changes which successive ages have wrought in the aspect of the local Rome finds two names which everywhere form his landmarks, the name of Servius and the name of Aurelian. The walls, the gates, the mighty temple of the Sun, were gifts which one great Illyrian left in the city of his Empire. We feel that we are drawing near to the times when an Illyrian greater still left monuments no less famous, alike in the city of his Empire and in the land of his birth. But, before we reach those days, the Illyrian land had yet to give Rome two more heroes. Aurelian died by the hands of soldiers who were misled by lying tales, and who presently repented of the deed. Then came that strange interregnum which seemed to recall the earliest mythical days of the Roman state.† The throne of Aurelian stood vacant, as legends said that the throne of Romulus had stood vacant. Aurelian had in truth given such new strength to his government that the machine could work for awhile after the hand of the reformer was taken away. For a moment soldiers and senators were at one; for a moment Rome was again ruled by a Roman; in the person of Tacitus the Emperor of the army seemed to have made way for the Prince of the Senate, the chief magistrate of the Roman Commonwealth. But in those days there was work to be done which called for the sword of the Emperor rather than for the fasces of the Princeps. Aurelian had won back the dismembered provinces, and had cleared Italy of barbarian invaders. But the undying enemies of Rome were still busy on her borders. The German was still threatening on the Rhine, and the Persian on the Euphrates. To meet them, the arms of the warriors of Illyricum were still needed. After the short reign of the Roman Tacitus,

lected in his life by Vopiscus in the Augustan history.

* *Juxta amnem Metaurum ac fanum Fortunæ*, says the Epitome which bears the name of Aurelius Victor, 35. Cf. Gibbon, vol. ii. chap. xi. p. 25.

* Aur. Vict. Epit. 35. 'Hujus tempore apud Dalmatas Septiminus Imperator effectus, mox a suis obtruncatur.'

† This is Gibbon's remark, chap. xii. vol. ii. p. 57.

Probus, another son of the warlike borderland, won back the Rhenish cities from the Frank, and girded the Empire itself with walls, as Aurelian had girded the city. We see indeed that, when Probus found it needful to put a physical barrier between the Frank and the Roman province, the true power of Rome was gone. The Frank was the advancing, the Roman was the receding power. It was no longer a question of adding new provinces to the Empire, but of guarding, by whatever means, the provinces which Rome still kept. Still the frontiers had to be guarded, and it was from Illyricum that the men came who guarded them, the men who gained fresh triumphs for Rome, if only in defending her borders. The triumph of Probus, the costly and bloody shows which marked his victorious return, live in the gorgeous rhetoric of the English historian of those times, and form one of the chief of the many memories which gather round the walls and arches of the Flavian amphitheatre. Another military sedition deprived Rome of another champion. But the revolution which overthrew Probus passed on his sword to Carus. Of doubtful birthplace, but boasting of his Roman descent, Carus is, with less certainty than Aurelian or Probus, but still with some probability, enrolled in the number of the Illyrian Cæsars.* As Probus had renewed the fame of Drusus on the Rhine and the Elbe, so Carus renewed the fame of Trajan on the Euphrates and the Tigris. He died, men said, like the mythical Tullus, by the stroke of the thunders of Jupiter; and the reigns of his insignificant sons paved the way for the rise of the man who was to rule the world which his predecessors had won back for him, and to leave his memory for ever on the shores of the land of his own birth.

In Diocles, Diocletian, Valerius, Jovius, we have reached the climax of our Imperial series. Not greater perhaps in himself than some who went before him, he has left a deeper personal impress than any other name on our list, alike on the polity and on the art of Rome. Alike in polity and in art, his successors carried on his work and applied it to uses of which he never dreamed. But it was from him that the first creative impress came. We speak,

and in some senses we speak with truth, of the first Augustus as the founder of the empire. But of the Empire as an avowed sovereignty, of the Empire which passed on, under so many forms, to the Greek and to the German, who alike boasted of their Roman heritage, Diocletian was the true founder. Earlier princes had wielded the fasces of the magistrate and the sword of the general. It is not absolutely certain whether it was the peasant of Salona who was the first among the rulers of Rome to bind his brow with the diadem which grew into the Imperial crown of Charles and Otto. But the glory or the shame belongs either to the peasant of Salona or to the earlier peasant of Bubalia.* But it is certain that Diocletian was the first to organize the complete system of a despotic court and a despotic government. Step by step the first magistrate of the Commonwealth had grown into the sovereign of the Empire. At the bidding of Diocletian all disguise was cast aside, and the fact that the Roman world had a master was openly revealed to the eyes of men. Was it in pride, was it in policy, that the son of the freedman decked himself with titles and ornaments which earlier princes of pure Roman, and even of divine, descent had never dreamed of taking to themselves? When we look to the whole career and character of the man, we may be sure that it was not pride but policy which dictated the change. No man ever showed fewer signs than Diocletian of having his

* The Epitomist (35) distinctly says of Aurelian: 'Iste primus apud Romanos diademæ capiti innexuit, gemmisque et aurata omni veste, quod adhuc fere incognitum Romanis moribus visebatur usus est.' But in the Cæsars (39) it is said of Diocletian: 'Quippe qui primus ex auro veste quæsitæ serici ac purpuræ gemmarumque vim plantis concupiverit. . . . Namque se primus omnium post Caligulam Domitianumque dominum palam dici passus et adorari se appellarique uti Deum.' Here the diadem is not distinctly mentioned. But there is a clear allusion to its use, seemingly as something contrasted with the older consular and triumphal ornaments, in the Panegyric of Mamertinus to Maximian (Pan. Vet. ii. 3). 'Trabes vestræ triumphales et fasces consulares et sellæ curules et hæc obsequiorum stipitio et fulgor et illa lux divinum verticem claro orbe complectens vestrorum sunt ornamenta meritorum pulcherrima quidem et augustissima.' So Eutropius (Hist. Miscell. x.; Muratori i. 70): 'Et si imperio Romano primus regis consuetudinis formam magis quam Romanæ libertati inixerat adorarique se jussit, cum ante eum cuncta imperatores ut judices salutarerentur. Ornamentum gemmarum vestibus calceamentisque indidit.' The whole subject is fully discussed by Gibbon, chap. xiii. Even if the diadem had been used before, there is no doubt as to the systematic organization of the despotic system under Diocletian.

* Gibbon decides in favor of the Illyrian Narbona, that is, Narona. *Ναρβόνα* seems to be a mere corruption in the text of Ptolemy; but the form used by Eutropius, 'Narbona natus in Gallia,' is an equally incorrect form of the Gallic Narbo. But Aurelius Victor (Cæs. 39) speaks of Carus as born 'Narbône.'

head turned by unexpected greatness. There was nothing about him of the insolence of the upstart, nothing of the vapidity which delights in the mere show of gewgaws and titles. The latest acts of his life seem quite inconsistent with the notion that he took that kind of delight in the mere symbols of power which has been a kind of madness with smaller minds. Like Sulla, he loved power; but, like Sulla, he could lay power aside. Sulla indeed was the champion, not of himself, not of any dynasty, but of an aristocratic party. In him therefore that love of the external badges of power which distinguishes Cæsar from him would have been utterly inconsistent. Sulla indeed wielded more than royal power; but he confessedly wielded it only for a season, till he could do a certain work; when he had done that work, he laid aside the power which he had grasped as the means for doing it. The case was different with Diocletian. He too, like Sulla, was clothed with power more than royal; but it was a power which, though still veiled under republican forms, was no longer only wielded for a season. Yet the two men were alike in this, that both could calmly and deliberately lay aside power. Diocletian could even deliberately decline to take it up again when he had the chance.* That he could do so seems to show that his assumption of the outward badges of power was, in his position, as much the result of a calm policy as Sulla's contempt of them had been in his widely different position. But Diocletian could not only lay aside power: he could, when he laid it aside, go back to spend the rest of his days in the land where he had dwelled before he rose to power. Augustus, Augustus no longer, could fix his resting-place on the very spot where men might still remember him as the freedman's son. The man who could do this must surely have been far above any paltry delight in feeling the fillet of eastern royalty upon his temples, or in having his ears tickled with the sound of 'numen' or 'æternitas vestra.'

The truth seems simply to be that a man of strong and vigorous mind, who had risen wholly by his personal merit, whose birth and earlier life would not fill him with any special reverence for Roman traditions and constitutional fictions, perhaps felt a real dislike to shams and disguises as such, and at any rate saw that the time was come for shams and disguises to be cast aside. The Emperor had practically become master of the Commonwealth. Everybody knew the

fact. Diocletian simply proclaimed what everybody knew, and proclaimed it by means of those symbols and badges which to a large part of mankind were the most intelligible means of proclaiming it. Pretence was cast aside; reality stood forth avowed. Why then, it may be asked, did he not, while taking to himself the badges of kingly power, also take to himself the kingly title? The first Cæsar had longed for it; why should not Diocletian bear it? Two reasons stood in the way, either of which alone would have been enough. The Romans were by this time well schooled to slavery. They were used to a master, and they felt no unwillingness to acknowledge him as a master. But there is some reservation in all such cases; there is always something, some name, some formula, which the slave himself will not bear. For eight hundred years the Romans had cherished a kind of superstitious hatred for the kingly title; the sound of the monosyllable *Rex* was hateful in their ears. They could bow to a lord; they could worship a godhead on earth; but they would not acknowledge a King. That there really was this superstitious dislike to the mere word *Rex* is plain from the fact that, while the derivatives of *Rex* are freely applied to the belongings of the Emperor, the word itself is never applied to himself.* This being so, a wise despot would humour the superstition. While he proclaimed his real despotism in every way that was not offensive to his subjects, he would forbear to proclaim it in that particular way which, whether reasonably or unreasonably, was offensive to them.

But this was doubtless not all. *Imperator*, *Cæsar*, *Augustus*, had once been humbler descriptions under which the reality of kingly power could lurk without ostentatiously displaying an unpleasant truth. The *Imperator*, the general of the Commonwealth, had veiled his power under the titles of the Commonwealth. But the usage of three hundred years had made *Imperator* a greater title than *Rex*. Kings were plentiful; the chief of every barbarous nation was a King. But there was but one Emperor; at least there was but one state which was ruled by Emperors. The Imperial power might be divided among two or more Imperial colleagues; but the title, and the power and dignity which the title implied, was peculiar to the Roman world. A King was chief of a nation; at most he was lord of some defined portion of the earth's surface. But Cæsar Augustus was not the chief of a single nation; he was the lord of the dominion in which so

* See Aurelius Victor. Epitome 39. Zösiomos, ii. 10.

* For instances, see Comparative Politics, 161, 449.

many nations had been merged, the dominion which professed to know no limits but those of the civilized world. Cæsar might rule from the Ocean to the Euphrates, and he might be equally at home in any corner of his dominion. A Roman King would have seemed to be shut up within the narrow seat of the Tarquinii; he would be at home nowhere but in the old home of Romulus on the Palatine hill.

Salona then gave Rome and the Roman world a lord, a lord who did not shrink from avowing his lordship; but she did not give them a King. And she gave Rome and the Roman world a lord who was the first to grasp the fact of the changed relation in which Rome now stood to the Roman world. The local Rome had become the victim of her own greatness. Now that the whole civilized world was not only Roman but Rome,* now that her outposts were not on the Janiculum and the Pincius, but on the Rhine, the Solway, and the Tigris, the hills by the Tiber were no longer suited to be the dwelling-place of the prince who had to guard those outposts against the Pict, the German, and the Persian. The fact was plain; it was but a short part of their reigns that any of the later Emperors had spent in Rome. But Diocletian was the first who ventured openly to act according to the new state of things, and definitely to establish the ordinary dwelling-place of the Roman Cæsars elsewhere than at Rome.† It may be also that he felt that his avowed despotism would be more in place on some other soil than on a spot like the ancient capital, round which the old republican traditions and memories still gathered. At all events, he saw the real state of the case, and he proclaimed it without disguise. The magistrate of the Roman city stood forth before mankind as the master of the Roman Empire. The whole of that Empire was alike his; his throne might be fixed in any spot which the interest of the Empire, or even the caprice of its master, might dictate. And the spot where his presence was most called for was certainly no longer in the ancient capital. But Diocletian grasped and avowed yet another truth, that the Empire had become too vast, its frontier too extensive, its enemies too many and too dangerous, for any one man to do the duty of

its guardian. The man who decreed that the Roman state should be most truly a monarchy, was also the man who decreed that it should be a monarchy no longer. The man who was in some sort the founder of the Empire, was also the man who took the first step towards dividing that Empire in twain. The burthen of ruling the world was too heavy for a single pair of shoulders, and Diocletian chose himself a colleague to relieve him of part of the weary task. Another soldier from the Illyrian land was called to be his fellow-worker. The Imperial brethren of this new order of things, Diocletian and Maximian, were, as the voice of the Panegyrist told them,* to be as Romulus and Remus, without the jealousy of the royal brethren of the old order of things. From a city of Hellenized Asia and a city of Romanized Gaul, from Nikomèdeia and from Milan, the brother Augusti were, like Roman Consuls or Spartan Kings, to guard the dominions which the gods had committed to their care. From the gods whom they worshipped they took new titles. The father and founder of the new system, the organizer, the ruler, the devising and ordaining spirit of the Empire, took his name from the Father of gods and men, and Salona might rejoice when her Imperial son was honoured, not unfittingly, with the proud name of Jovius. The colleague whom he had called into being, the stout soldier, the arm of the Empire while Diocletian was its brain, might well bear the name of the most renowned of deified heroes, and Maximian, under the name of Herculus, was enthroned by the side of his Olympian, or rather Capitoline, chief.† Jovius by the shores of the Propon-tis, Herculus at the foot of the Alps, could better guard against dangers from the east and north than if they had dwelled, like their mythical forerunners, on the Palatine and the Aventine. The old phrase of the 'Gaulish tumult' had won to itself a new meaning in the insurrection of the Bagaudæ,‡ and the Rhine and the forts beyond it were found to be a feeble defence against the German. Maximian overthrew both enemies, and came

* Mamertinus, Pan. Vet. ii. 18. 'Licet nunc tuum tanto magis imperium quanto latius est vetere pomœrio, quidquid homines colunt.'

† It is clear that some jealousy was thus awakened in the old capital. This comes out in several passages of the Panegyrics. See ii. 13, iii. 12. So Lactantius, if it be Lactantius (*De Mort. Pers.* 7), 'Ita semper dementabat Nicomediam studens urbi Romæ cœquare.'

* This idea is drawn out at great length by Mamertinus, ii. 18, iii. 7. He specially points out 'non fortuita vobis est germanitas sed electa.'

† So Mamertinus (ii. 11), addressing Maximian, says, 'Etiam quæ aliorum ductu geruntur, Diocletianus facit, tu tribuis effectum.' So Aurelius Victor (39) says of the other Emperors: 'Valerium ut parentem seu Dei magni suscipiebant modo.' And afterward: 'Valerius ejus nutu omnia gerebantur.'

‡ See Aurelius Victor, 39. Gibbon (ii. 117, ch. xiii.) aptly compares the Bagaudæ to the Jacquerie and the revolt of the villains in Richard the Second's time.

back to listen to the voice of the Panegyrist in their special home by the Mosel.* Yet the long line of threatened frontier needed nearer guardians till. Jovius watched from Nikomèdeia, while Galerius guarded the possessions of Rome on the Danube, or marched forth at the bidding of his father and master to win back from the Persian the provinces which Hadrian had surrendered to the Parthian. Herculius meanwhile watched from Milan, while Constantius kept his court at York, in the island which he had won back from her so-called tyrants.† Four men, all sprung from the lands between the Danube and the Hadriatic, bore away over the Roman world, and seemed to bring back the past days of Roman dominion and Roman conquest.

Illyria gave the world its rulers; ‡ and the chief of all, first in rank and fame, the guiding spirit of the councils and armies of his colleagues whom he had created, was he who had come from the special Dalmatian land, and who went back to his old home when the task of ruling the world had become a burthen too grievous to be borne.

To that home let us follow him, to the 'long Salona' of Lucan,§ the city stretching so far along the shores of its own inland sea. The old Illyrian fortress, with its Roman suburb greater than itself, with its walls, its theatre, its amphitheatre, its city of tombs without the walls, all that now lies in a mass of shapeless ruin, then stood in all the greatness and prosperity of the foremost city of the Hadriatic coast. The rushing Jader made its way into the gulf on one side of her; in front was the isle of Bua, guarding the entrance of her haven, an Euboia yoked to the mainland by the city and bridge of Tragyrion.¶ Behind was the height of Clissa,

* Of Trier, as a special home of the Panegyrist, we spoke in our former article, 'Augusta Treverorum.'

† Carausius, Allectus, and the rest were of course technically tyrants, as Diocletian might have been if he had failed; but it must be remembered that Diocletian and Maximian found it convenient to accept Carausius as a colleague.

‡ Aurelius Victor (Cæs. 89) remarks specially: 'His sane omnibus Illyricum patria fuit, qui quamquam humanitatis parum, ruris tamen ac militiæ miseris imbuti, satis optimi reipublicæ fuere.' So Mamertinus, Pan. Vet. ii. 2. 'Commemorabo nimirum patriæ tuæ in rempublicam merita? Quis enim dubitat quin multis jam sæculis, ex quo vires illius ad Romanum nomen accesserint, Italia quidem sit gentium domina gloriæ vetustate, sed Pannonia virtute?' § Lucan, iv. 404.

¶ Quæ maris Hadriaci longas ferit unda Salona, Et tepidum in molles Zephyros excurrit lader.'

| The island city of Traù figures as Τραγύριον as early as Polybios (xxxii. 18). Constantine Porphyrogennētōs (De Adm. Imp. 29, p. 138) gives a curious description of it by the name of Τετράγωνον.

guarding the mouth of the pass which seems to lead from the gentle shore of the inland sea to a wild and unknown land beyond the mountains. At no great distance from this his native city, but on a spot which did not come within sight of it, Diocletian built the house which, when Salona had perished, was to grow into a city in its stead. A rugged hill, a promontory between the gulf of Salona and the main sea, forms one horn of a smaller bay washing one shore of a small peninsula. It forms also a wall between Diocletian's native city and the spot which he chose for a dwelling-place. Fast by the bay, with the high mountain at its back, with the lower hills on each side of him, Diocletian built his villa, his palace of Salona. The prouder name, the name which savoured of the Rome which Diocletian had forsaken, clave to the spot, and the city which in after ages grew up within the *palatium* of Diocletian still bears the name of Spalato.* The city of Romulus had become the palace of the Cæsars, and the palace of the abdicated Cæsar became the city which supplanted his birthplace. The splendid remains of that palace, the long portico rising from the sea, the golden gate and its meaner fellows, the pillared court, the temple, the mausoleum, so strangely changed into a church, † and grouped with it is the noblest bell-tower of its own type, have all been described and engraved and commented on over and over again. We speak of them now simply as part of the work of the great Dalmatian Emperor, as the work which he reared in his own land, and which, alone among his works, has survived, in a nearly perfect state, to tell us how great a revolution he wrought in the domain of art, as well as in the domain of polity. Diocletian was a great builder in all parts of his Empire, and the cost of his buildings was set down by his enemies among the grievances of his reign.‡ Among other places he did not forget the ancient capital, and the baths which still bear his name were

* Constantine, in the same chapter, describes Spalato as τὸ Ἀσπαλάθου κάστρον ὅπερ παλάτιον μικρόν ἐρημνέσεται, ὁ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς τοῦτο ἔκτισεν: εἶχε δὲ αὐτὸ ὡς ἰδίον οἶκον, καὶ αὐτὴν οἰκοδομήσας ἐνδοθεν καὶ παλάτια. He adds, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πλείονα κατελύθησαν.

† There can, we think, be little doubt that the Metropolitan church of Spalato was really designed as a mausoleum, and not, as it is commonly called, the Temple of Jupiter. Constantine's account is curious, ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖον τοῦ κάστρον καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Δόμνου, ἐν ᾧ κατέκειται ὁ αὐτὸς ἅγιος Δόμνος, ὅπερ ἦν κοῖτὸν τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως Διοκλητιανοῦ. Either κοῖτὸν must mean tomb, or else the word points to some confused tradition as to the real object of the building.

‡ This point is strongly insisted on by the author De Mort. Pers. 7.

among the most gigantic works that Rome herself could show. Other buildings at Rome have been more utterly swept away; few have been more cruelly mangled by later architects. But there is reason to believe that Diocletian's work at Rome displayed the same great advance in construction which we can still study in its perfection in his work at Spalato. What Diocletian did in the way of art is the exact counterpart of what he did in the way of polity. In his artistic, as in his political creation, he cast away disguises and proclaimed realities. Hitherto a Greek mask had concealed the Roman body; the arch, the true feature of Roman construction, hid itself behind Greek disguises. In the peristyle of Spalato the arch stands out, for the first time among existing buildings, as the main feature of a great artistic design. It has pressed the slender shafts and gorgeous capitals of Corinth into the service of the great constructive invention of Italian skill.* In the buildings of Diocletian, as in his political constitution, the main feature of the fabric stood out before all men as the work of one who, whether as builder or as ruler, felt that the strength within him needed no disguise, no fiction, whether legal or artistic.

Spalato is unique among cities. In some sort indeed it may rank as a member of the same Imperial series as Trier and Ravenna. All indeed are links in a chain; all are among the memorials, Spalato the eldest among them, of the days when Rome, in her days of seeming decline, was really doing her work among the nations. But Trier and Ravenna were Imperial cities, seats of government, homes of the actual rulers of mankind. Men called the house of Diocletian a palace; but it was in strictness a villa, a country house, not the seat of rule, but the home of the man who had withdrawn from ruling. Constantine reigned at Trier; Theodoric reigned at Ravenna; but Diocletian, at Salona, lived in the enjoyment of dignified

ease, and bade those who would have had him go back and reign again to look at the cabbages which he had planted with his own hands.* Trier and Ravenna are the memorials of an epoch; Spalato is the memorial of a single man. No Emperor ever ruled the world from among the arches of the great peristyle. If the palace was ever the seat of rule, it was at most the seat of local rulers of Dalmatia only. Among the stately columns of its court, under the cunningly wrought cupola of its mausoleum, we think of Jovius, and we think of Jovius alone.

Yet in the home of Diocletian there is another thought which cannot fail to thrust itself on the mind. The man who gave a new birth and a new life alike to the power and to the art of Rome stands branded in history, as history is commonly read, as the most cruel of all the enemies of the faith of Christ. And, though the fact is one which has been not a little coloured by partizan writers, yet the fact of Diocletian's persecution is not to be denied. Still there is no doubt that Diocletian himself was not the chief mover in the matter, that the persecution was primarily the work of Maximian and Galerius. It needed much urging on the part of the subordinate Emperors before Jovius himself consented even to the first and less severe edict, that which, while treating Christianity as a crime and laying its professors under many disabilities, still touched no man's life on the score of his faith.† The second and harsher edict, the beginning of the actual persecution, was not put forth until Diocletian had some direct grounds for suspecting the Christians of distinct disloyalty to his throne. No blood was shed by his order, or even with his consent, till his milder edict had been torn down by a zealous Christian, and till he was, truly or falsely, made to believe that the burning of his palace at Nikomêdeia was the work of Christian hands.‡ Then the persecution raged indeed, and a prince whose rule had

* It is curious to read Gibbon's comment (chap. xiii. vol. ii. 176) on the palace of Spalato, as shown in the splendid and accurate work of Adam. 'There is room to suspect that the elegance of his designs and engraving has somewhat flattered the objects which it was their purpose to represent. We are informed by a more recent and very judicious traveller that the awful ruins of Spalatro are not less expressive of the decline of the arts than of the greatness of the Roman empire in the time of Diocletian.' For this he refers to Fortis, an useful writer in his way, but who looked at the building with the eye of classical pedantry, and saw only decline in the greatest advance that architecture ever made. Gibbon clearly admired; but he seems to have thought that it was the wrong thing to admire.

* The well-known story is told by Aurelius Victor. We have somewhere seen Diocletian, by a cruel confusion with Domitian, represented as spending his leisure in killing flies.

† Even the author *De Mortibus Persecutorum* (11) is distinct on this head. Galerius works on the mind of Diocletian for a whole winter: 'Diu senex furori eius repugnavit, ostendens quam periculosum esset inquietari orbem terræ, fundi sanguinem multorum; illos libenter mori solere, satis esse, si palatinos tantum ac milites ab ea religione prohiberet. Nec tamen deflectere potuit præcipitis hominis insaniam.' He is only brought round by a direct message from Apollo.

‡ The story is told by the writer *De Mortibus*. In his account the fire is got up by Galerius.

hitherto been marked by singular mildness won for himself a name of evil. Even one of his successors could forget the reverence due to a founder, and could, on the bare mention of Diocletian's native land, burst forth into declamations against the wickedest of mankind.* Now the persecution of Diocletian is remarkable from two points of view. It would have been in no way wonderful if Diocletian had been a persecutor of his own free will. Both Christianity and religious freedom must grapple as they can with the fact that, as a rule, the bitterest persecutors of the Church were found, not among the worst Emperors but among the best. It was under Trajan that Ignatius was thrown to the wild beasts; it was under Marcus that the martyrs of Lyons suffered their torments; it was under Valerian the Roman Censor that Cyprian died by the sword of the headman. On the other hand, under princes like Commodus and Antoninus Caracalla the Church had peace, and even some measure of Imperial favour. The days of persecution began when the days of reform began again; Decius was a persecutor as well as Diocletian. The cause of this seemingly strange phenomenon has often been pointed out. Princes who were bent on restoring the old laws and discipline of Rome could not fail to be bent on restoring her religion also. The worship of the gods of Rome was part and parcel of the very being of the Roman state, and it was deemed that he who was false to Jupiter and Quirinus could not be faithful to the prince who was High Pontiff no less than Emperor.† Add to this that the peasant-Emperor from Illyricum, to whom all that was Roman had the charm of wonder and novelty, no doubt accepted the creed of the Empire with far more of living faith than either the patricians or the philosophers of Rome herself. If then Diocletian had from the beginning

appeared as a persecutor like Decius, it would have been nothing but what one would have looked for in the ordinary course of things. The wrath of Jovius might have been expected to light in all its fulness on the enemies of Jove.

But we are met by the fact that Jovius was not a persecutor by his own act, that he was driven into persecution by the goadings and artifices of others, and that, in the first instance, against his own better judgement. The inference seems hardly to be escaped that the same far-seeing eye which could pierce through so many prejudices and traditional beliefs could also see the great truth which in after days was grasped by Valentinian and Theodoric, and a glimpse of which had made its way, in some lucid interval, into the mind of the frantic Caius. The saying of this last prince, mad perhaps, but very far from stupid, that those who did not own him as a god were rather to be called unhappy than wicked,* does indeed express, in a ludicrous shape, the same doctrine of toleration which the great Goth or his minister clothed in the guise of a more decorous formula.† We are strongly tempted to think that Diocletian, left to himself, fully understood the vanity of religious persecution, directly as religious persecution. We may believe that he would have left Jove to defend his own honour, had he not been made to believe, with at least some show of probability, that those who dishonoured Jove were conspiring against the life and throne of Jovius. Diocletian might have despised personal danger no less than the Dictator Cæsar; but the man who had organized the Imperial system anew could not brook aught that struck at the power or dignity of the Imperial throne. What Galerius urged in fanaticism Diocletian at first withstood through policy, and afterwards accepted through policy. Diocletian's persecutions of Christians had in truth not a little in common with our own Elizabeth's persecutions of Papists. To Roman Catholic doctrine and ceremony Elizabeth seems to have had no theological objection whatever; nor does she seem to have been at any time inclined to religious persecution as such. But the Papist often was, and might always be said to be, a conspirator against the Queen and her kingdom. She had heard mass without scruple at two periods of her life, and she would most likely have had no kind of scruple against hearing it again. But when the mass had become the badge

* Const. Porph. De Them. ii. (vol. iii. p. 57 ed. Bonn.) ἡ δὲ Δδλματιὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐστὶ χώρα, ἐξ οὗπερ ἐβλάστησεν ὁ πῦντων ἀνθρώπων ἀνοσιώτατος καὶ ἀσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανός. He is more civil in the work De Administrando Imperio.

† Aurelius Victor (Cæs. 89), who does not mention the persecution, who indeed does not mention Christianity at all, unless it lurks under the words, 'suppliciis flagitiosi ejusque,' says of the reign of Diocletian, 'veterimæ religiones castissime curatæ.' The motives of the persecution are clearly put forth in the last edict of Galerius. He sought 'juxta leges veteres et publicam disciplinam Romanorum, cuncta corrigere, atque id providere, ut etiam Christiani, qui parentum suorum reliquerant sectam, ad bonas mentes redirent.' Presently he complains that 'tanta eosdem Christianos voluntas invasisset et tanta stultitia occupasset, ut non illa veterum instituta sequerentur.' (De Mort. Pers. 84.)

* The story is told in Merivale, v. 411.

† See our former article on the Goths at Ravenna.

of Popery, and Popery had become the badge of disaffection, then the religious act was itself made a crime, a crime which brought on the criminal, not the penalties of the spiritual guilt of heresy, but those of the temporal guilt of treason.

Such a persecutor then was Diocletian, a persecutor not from fanaticism but from policy, a persecutor who would not have interfered with Christian doctrine and Christian worship, if he had not been made to believe that the organization and the objects of the Christian society were inconsistent with the safety of his Empire. And, at least while sojourning, whether in the flesh or in the spirit, on Dalmatian ground, we may be allowed to think that somewhat hard measure has commonly been dealt out to the mighty one of Salona. God forbid that we should defend or palliate persecution in any man or in any age. But let even justice be done. Trajan was in some measure a persecutor; Marcus was so in a far greater measure. Yet Christian writers do not let the fact of their persecutions interfere with a general admiration for the character of Trajan, with a more than general admiration for the character of Marcus. Surely any excuse that can be found for the mild philosopher, in whom we might have looked for some fellow-feeling for a moral system so nearly akin to his own, applies with tenfold force to the peasant-soldier who had risen to the throne by the sheer force of his personal greatness. If, in the case of Trajan and Marcus, merit of other kinds is allowed to be set in the scale against the guilt of persecution, we may fairly ask, at least while we stand on his own ground, that the same judgment of charity may be extended to Diocletian also.

Thus much, and no more, may we venture to plead in mitigation of the dark stain which rests on the fame of the man who withdrew from the rule of the Empire to which he had given a fresh life to seek for rest in his chosen home by the Dalmatian shore. And withal the triumphant faith might boast that, even in his lifetime, the work of Diocletian was undone. The counsel of Jovius, the arm of Hercules, could not avail to root up the creed which was before long to be pre-eminently the creed of their own Empire. Diocletian, like Julian, might have said with his dying breath, 'Galilean, Thou hast conquered.' For ten years the Sulla of the Church had withdrawn from persecuting and from ruling. For ten years he had paced that stately gallery which looked forth on the sea, the hills, the islands, which had been familiar to the eyes of his child-

hood. For ten years he had gazed on the matchless peristyle of his own rearing; he had prayed to the gods of Rome in the temple on his left hand; he had looked—with what faith or hope we cannot guess*—on the cupola on the right, girt with surrounding columns, where his own ashes were to rest. In the course of those ten years another Emperor, sprung, if not from his own Dalmatia, at least from Illyria in the wider sense, had arisen at once to finish and to undo his work. Constantine had come to cement yet more firmly his fabric of despotic rule; but he had come also to take the faith which Diocletian persecuted into close partnership with the polity which Diocletian founded. He had come to take his great artistic invention as the model of new temples of that hated faith, to supply the place of its earlier temples which Diocletian had swept from off the earth. In those ten years Constantius had reigned in our own island, and Constantine had gone forth from York to Trier, and from Trier to Rome. The persecutor Maxentius had fallen by the Milvian bridge, and his mighty basilica by the Sacred Way had learned to bear the name of his conqueror.† The persecutor Galerius, he who had goaded the unwilling Diocletian to deeds of blood, had confessed his error, and had joined with Constantine in proclaiming toleration for the Christian faith, in asking Christian prayers for the safety of the Empire.‡ All this Diocletian lived to hear of; he lived too to see his order of succession set aside; he lived to see his images overthrown:§ according to some accounts, he lived to receive yet deeper wounds in his dearest relations. It is certain that the daughter of the abdicated Emperor, herself the wife of his successor, that Valeria in whose honour a province had been named,|| was persecuted and put to death by the successive malice of Maximin and of Licinius. Certain it is that the man to whom so many princes owed their greatness lived to be treated with scorn by

* Sulla in his retirement looked forward to a paradise, and that not a sensual one; how much more might Diocletian.

† Aurelius Victor, Cæs. 40. 'Cuncta opera quæ magnifice construxerat [Maxentius], urbis fanum atque basilicam, Flavii meritis patres sacravere.'

‡ De Mort. Pers. 84. 'Juxta hanc indulgentiam nostram debebunt Deum suum orare pro salute nostra, et reipublicæ ac suæ.'

§ De Mort. Pers. 42. Constantine destroyed the pictures and images of Maximian. 'Et quia senes ambo simul plerumque picti erant, et imagines simul deponerentur amborum.'

|| Aurelius Victor, Cæs. 40. 'Cujus gratia provinciam uxoria nomine Valeriam appellavit.' She was married to Galerius, and the province called after her was part of Pannonia.

men who owed all their power to him, and to ask in vain for a milder treatment of his own guiltless child. But there seems no need to add the tragedy of his wife to the tragedy of his daughter, and it would seem that the last act of the drama was delayed till after Diocletian's own death.* The manner of his death is uncertain; but there is at least no need to believe that the halls of Spalato beheld the end of their founder by his own hand.† As far as we can see, the first rites of mourning within the mausoleum of Jovius must have been the rites which were paid to the memory of Jovius himself. And, when he had passed from earth, the highest honours of his own creed still followed him. Never before, so the men of his time remarked, had a private man—and Diocletian at Spalato had again become a private man—been enrolled among the number of the gods.‡

The Empire to which Diocletian had given a new life passed to Constantine and his house. The last persecution and the peace of the Church came alike from Illyrian hands. And, unlike as was the work of the two on earth, the complying polytheism of Rome placed Constantine no less than Diocletian among the objects of its worship. The elder Constantius, before he reached Imperial rank, had practised the art of government in the Dalmatian province, and the name of his son Dalmatius would seem to mark an abiding love for his former dwelling-place. And

now, in the hands of Constantine himself, the arts which Diocletian had planted by the Dalmatian shore were to make the artistic conquest of Rome and of the world. The palace of Spalato was no longer the dwelling-place of even an uncrowned Augustus; but the forms of its peristyle, the columns of Greece taught to support the arches of Rome, were now reproduced, as trophies wrested from a fallen faith, on the Coelian hill, on the site of the gardens of Nero, and beyond the walls of Aurelian. The forms of Diocletian's palace were now used to show how vain was Diocletian's boast that he had swept away the faith of Christ from among men. The peristyle of Jovius is the immediate artistic parent of the churches of St. John Lateran and of St. Paul without the Walls.* As we stand among the columns of Spalato, the likeness to a Christian basilica is so strongly forced upon the mind, that it is hard to believe that they always were as they still are, pent in by no wall, covered by no roof. Both the two great forms of Christian architecture are alike trophies won from the enemy. Wherever we see the round arch, from Rome to Kirkwall, we see the spoils of the court of Jovius. Wherever we see the pointed arch, be it at Palermo or at Westminster, we see in the same sort the artistic creation of the Saracen, barren on its own soil, but taught to bear the loveliest of fruit on Christian ground.

But the part of Illyria, of Dalmatia, of Salona, in the history of the Roman world, was not yet over. The house of Constantine passed away; but another Illyrian house—for Valentinian was of Pannonia—stood ready to step into its place. It was again from the lands between the Hadriatic and the Danube that the champion came who was once more to check the German from his palace at Trier, and to carry the Roman dominion within our own island further than Agricola himself had carried it. And if Valentinian himself, in his equal dealing between Christian and Pagan, between Catholic and Arian, might seem a forerunner of Theodoric and Akbar, his son was to serve the new faith much where Constantine had served it but a little. Gratian refused to be Pontifex Maximus—some said that, in that case, Maximus might be Pontifex; he took away the altar of Victory from the Roman senate-house, and some said that in her wrath she forsook the Roman eagles. The house

* There seems no reason to doubt the story told by the writer De Mortibus, 39, 40, 41, 50, 51, how Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian and widow of Galerius, on refusing to marry Maximin, was persecuted by him and banished to the deserts of Syria, that Diocletian's intercession for her was fruitless, and that she was at last put to death by Licinius, which must have been after Diocletian's death. But we see no reason to think that her mother, Prisca, the wife of Diocletian, was involved in the same fate. The writer indeed says in chap. 51, 'Comprehensa cum matre penas dedit.' But this is surely explained by the words in chap. 40: 'Erat clarissima femina . . . hanc Valeria, tanquam matrem alteram diligebat, cuius consilio negatam sibi suspicatur [Maximinus].' It is this adopted mother who was the partner of her sufferings; the wife of Diocletian, if she was alive, would surely have been safe at Spalato.

† According to the Epitome, 39, 'Morte consumtus est ut satis patuit, per formidinem voluntaria.' So Eutropius. The author De Mortibus makes him die for grief at the destruction of his statues; but stories of death by poison are always doubtful.

‡ This is the remark of Eutropius, Hist. Miscell. x. (Muratori, i. 70.) 'Contigit igitur ei, quod nulli post natos homines, ut cum privatus obliisset, inter divos tamen referretur.' He had just before said, 'Diocletianus privatus in villa quæ haud procula Salonis est pæculare otio senuit.'

* In both these churches the columns support arches throughout. In the old Saint Peter's the main range of columns supported an entablature, as in Santa Maria Maggiore, but the smaller ranges supported arches.

of Valentinian was merged, by female succession, in the house of Theodosius; but now an Imperial marriage brought back the crown once more to an Illyrian born. The name of Placidia carries us back to Ravenna; but her second husband, Constantius, the successor of her nobler Goth, came from the same land, and had risen to honour by the same paths as Claudius and Aurelian.* But before Illyricum had thus given Rome a third Constantius, more akin to the first than to the second, she had already begun to show her character as a border-land between the two great divisions of the Empire. In the partition of the provinces between the sons of Theodosius, Illyricum in the wider sense was divided between the two, and the exact extent of the borders of each became a subject of dispute, if not between the two puppet Emperors themselves, yet at least between their ministers. And the land showed its border character in another way. It was the marching ground of Alaric, as he passed to and fro between the great cities of the elder world in those inroads when men deemed that Athênê and Achilleus scared him from the walls of Athens,† but when neither god nor hero nor Christian saint could scare him from the walls of Rome. Before long, a glimpse of independent being was given to the Dalmatian land. Instead of giving Cæsars to Rome and Ravenna, she was for a moment ruled, if not by her own Cæsar, at least by her own Patrician on her own soil.

The dynasty of Valentinian, as continued by Theodosius, the dynasty of Theodosius as continued by the later Constantius, had not died out before Dalmatia, as a land, held for a time a more important place than she had ever held since the Roman conquest. Marcellian, Patrician of the West, flits like a shadow across the confused history of the fifth century. He appears as the ally of either Empire, as the friend of Aëtius and Majorian, as the foe of the Vandal at Carthage, as the victim of allies whom his discerning enemy affirmed to have, in slaying him, used their left hand to cut off their right. But he concerns us as the lord of Dalmatia, who in the land of Diocletian, most likely in the house of Diocletian, brought back again the worship which Diocletian had lived to see, not indeed proscribed, but brought down from its exclusive place of power. Marcellian, says one of the fragments from which his history has to be

patched up, was in faith a Greek.* Now that the Greek, like all other subjects of the Empire, knew no national name but Roman, the name of Hellen was used only in the sense in which we are familiar with it in the New Testament, to mark a votary of the falling heathen creed. It is said that, before his day, the palace of Jovius, with no Augustus to dwell within its gates, had already been put to meaner uses. As the entry in the *Notitia imperii* is commonly understood,† it had become a manufactory of female weavers; but we can hardly conceive a prince who ruled over Dalmatia fixing his throne anywhere else but in the house of Diocletian. And Dalmatia was yet to give one more Emperor to Ravenna. When Marcellian died, his nephew Nepos still kept his hold on his Dalmatian lordship. From Dalmatia he crossed, by the authority of Zeno, to supplant Glycerius on the Western throne, and to cause his deposed competitor to exchange the Imperial throne of Ravenna for the episcopal chair of his own Salona. Among the ruins of that city we still trace the ground-plan of a basilica and a baptistery, the see of the second ex-Emperor whom Salona received after a voluntary or constrained abdication. Strange indeed is the contrast between Diocletian withdrawing of his own will, and Glycerius withdrawing at the bidding of his conqueror. Stranger still is the difference between the Church trembling under the edicts of Diocletian, and the Church whose great offices had risen to such a height of wealth and secular power that a bishoprick might be used to break the fall of a deposed Emperor. But the Italian reign of the last Dalmatian Emperor was short and stormy. When Orestes marched against Ravenna, Nepos again sought shelter in his own land, and then died, by the intrigues, so men said, of the fallen competitor whom he so had strangely turned into his neighbour and spiritual pastor.‡ But this was not till the first Empire of the West had passed away. Nepos, in his Dalmatian home, lived to see the Patrician Odoacer dwelling in the

* The story of Marcellianus or Marcellinus comes from the fragments of Priscus, 156, 157, 218. Prokopios, *Bell. Vand.* i. 6. Damascius ap. Photius, 842, ed. Bekker. It is from this last writer that we get the proverbial saying, which is also applied to the death of Aëtius, and the singular description of Marcellian as *Δαλματῶν ἢ χώρας αὐτοδέσποτος ἡγεμῶν*, "Ἐλλην τὴν δόξαν."

† 'Procurator Gynæcii Joviensis Dalmatiæ Aspalato,' is the entry in the *Notitia Occid.* chap. x. p. 48.

‡ So says the fragment of Malchos in Photius, p. 5. The whole story examined in the articles Glycerius and Nepos in the Dictionary of Biography.

* So says Olympiodoros (p. 467, ed. Bonn). *Ἰλλυριὸς ἦν τὸ γένος, ἀπὸ Νάισου πάλαιος τῆς Δακίας*; that is, Aurelians Dacia, south of the Danube.

† See the well-known story in *Zōsimos*, v. 6.

palace of Ravenna, in name the lieutenant of the single Emperor at the New Rome, in truth the first of the Teutonic lords of Italy.

Of the end of this separate Dalmatian principality of Marcellian and Nepos we have no record. But the border-land of Eastern and Western Europe soon again plays its part in the great strife by which Italy and Rome were won back to their allegiance to the translated Roman dominion. Dalmatia passed under the rule of Theodoric, and, when he was gone and the Gothic kingdom had lost its strength, it was the first part of his dominions to come again under the Imperial power. The capture of Salona by Mundus was the first success, its loss was the first failure, of the Imperial arms in the great strife between Goth and Roman.* Won back again to the Empire, the city played its part as the great haven of the Hadriatic through the whole of the Gothic war. It was from Salona that Narses set forth on that last expedition which was to bring that last long struggle to its end.† Taken and retaken, half ruined and restored, Salona still kept its place among the great cities of the earth, and men in after times believed that the circuit of its walls had once taken in a space equal to one half of the extent of New Rome.‡ The sixth century in truth seems to have been a time of special prosperity for the cities of the Eastern Hadriatic shore. But it was the last bright day before the final storm fell upon them. The revolution was at hand which was wholly to change the face of the world south of the Danube, and to give those lands settlers who have formed the main part of their inhabitants down to our own day. In the sixth century the Slaves began those incursions into the lands east of the Hadriatic, which were carried far to the south of the Dalmatian border, which for awhile caused Peloponnêsos itself to be spoken of as a Slavonic land.§ While the armies of Justinian were going forth to win back provinces in Africa, and Spain, and Italy, the Slavonic invaders were traversing the Eastern peninsula at their will, and carrying the fear of their presence to the gates of Constantinople.|| In the next century the policy of Heraclius gave them a permanent settlement in the lands where they still

dwelt;* and from that day the Dalmatian cities have been what they still are, outposts of Roman Europe, fringing the coast of a Slavonic land. But with the Slave came the more terrible Avar, and the seventh century beheld the fall of two of the ancient cities, the rise of two of the modern cities, which stand foremost in the history of the Hadriatic coast. Jadera, Diadora, Zara—such are the various forms of the name—lived through the storm. But long Salona became a forsaken ruin, and the old Hellenic Epidauros was more utterly swept away from the face of the earth. For the homeless refugees of Salona a shelter stood ready hard by their own gates. They had but to cross the gentle hill which forms the isthmus of what we may call the Jovian peninsula, and the house of Jovius stood ready with its walls and gates, at once to take the place of the fallen city.† As Salona fell, Spalato arose; the palace gave its name to the city, and itself became the city, as it still remains, within the almost untouched square of Diocletian's walls, the largest and most thickly inhabited part of the modern town. The peristyle of Diocletian became the piazza of the new city: his mausoleum became the metropolitan church of the new arch-bishopric. And between the two buildings, a thousand years after the days of Diocletian, arose the great bell-tower which first strikes the eye as the voyager draws near to the bay of Spalato. Separated as it is by so many ages from the works of the first founder, it still shows, in artistic forms which so strangely harmonize with the buildings on either side of it, how deep and lasting was the impress which the genius of that founder stamped on all later works of the building art.

For the fugitives of the fallen Epidauros no such shelter stood ready. They had to seek a home for themselves, and to call into being a wholly new dwelling-place of man. Raousion, Ragusa, the city on the rocks, the city of argosies, now rose into being; and, by a strange turning about of names, a faint memory of Epidauros is kept up under the name of Old Ragusa. The history of Roman Dalmatia may now come to an end. The maritime cities still claved to their old allegiance to the Empire, but they claved to it only as Venice did on the opposite coast, as Naples did on the further sea. The land was now Slavonic; the old Illyrian was driven southward to press upon Epeiros and upon Attica; the Roman survived only in

* Prokopios, Bell. Goth. i. 5.

† Ibid. iv. 26.

‡ Const. Porph. De Adm. Imp. 29, pp. 126, 141.

§ Const. Porph. De Them. ii. 6, *ταχυβάσθη πᾶσα ἡ χώρα καὶ γέγονε βάρβαρος*. Cf. De Adm. Imp. 49, 50.

|| See, among other places, Prokopios, Bell. Goth. iii. 29, 38.]

* Const. Porph. De Adm. Imp. 29, pp. 128, 129. The Imperial geographer's etymology is of the very strangest.

† Ibid. p. 141.

the scattered outposts of the maritime cities. It is not the Dalmatia of Diocletian or Marcellian of which the Imperial geographer gives us the most minute of his topographical pictures. The Dalmatia of Constantine Porphyrogennétos is the Dalmatia which has gone on ever since. His description opens many passages of varied and stirring, if somewhat puzzling history, in which Slavonic, Hungarian, Venetian, and Turkish rulers dispute the possession of the border-land of East and West. On that history, so deeply connected with the events of our own day, we cannot now enter. Our subject is the Dalmatia of the Emperors, and the Dalmatia of the Emperors in truth comes to an end with the fall of Epidauros and Salona.

E. A. F.

ART. II.—*The Unseen Universe.*

The Unseen Universe; or, Physical Speculations on a Future State. Second edition. Macmillan and Co.

AMONGST books which have recently made a sensation in the literary world (and of late there has been a not inconsiderable number), perhaps not one is more remarkable than that whose title stands at the head of this article. A true product of the age, in dealing with the relations of Science and Religion, free from conventionalism, and noticeable for the boldness and originality of its views, it seems to point out the direction in which we must look for the sweeping away of present artificial barriers between Science and Religion. If its conclusions be accepted, the horizon of scientific inquiry will be extended, and Christ and the future life will be brought into more intimate and vivid connection with the visible material universe. Hitherto the theological world has regarded Christ only in His relations to the moral and spiritual needs of mankind, but the authors of the 'Unseen Universe' find a need for Him also in the general economy of the universe, and strive to prove their point, not without some plausibility, even from the Scriptures themselves.

Their chief aim, they tell us, is 'to endeavour to show that the presumed incompatibility of Science and Religion does not exist; to show, in fact, that immortality is strictly in accordance with the principle of continuity (rightly viewed); to address themselves to those who see strong grounds for believing in the immortality of man and the existence of an invisible world, but who at the same time are forced to acknowledge the

strength of the objections urged against these doctrines by certain men of science.' But at the same time, they seem to have gone beyond this, and to have attempted some sketch of what as a whole the universe may be, or rather perhaps some sketch of things and processes that may occur therein. Whether they have succeeded in their design, and with what measure of success, it will be the endeavour of the following pages to examine. In doing this, however, we shall not confine ourselves to the exact arrangement of their argument, nor shall we have space to notice all the collateral points of interest.

At starting, the authors assume the existence of a Deity, who is the Creator of all things; also that 'the laws of the universe are those laws according to which the beings in the universe are conditioned by the Governor thereof, as regards time, place, and sensation.' These are assumptions which the class of readers addressed would certainly allow; yet it seems to us that by adopting them the authors at the very outset of their inquiry have contravened their proposed method of proceeding, viz., to argue from *purely* physical data; and this is the more to be regretted in that, without greatly enlarging their plan, they might have given physical reasons for the existence of a Creator; indeed they do try to strengthen their position by quoting Herbert Spencer. We should not, however, have touched upon this here, were it not for the use made of it in the argument. In approaching the consideration of the universe from the scientific side, we must take the laws thereof—well defined as in this work we find them—and argue backwards as far as we can to the First Cause; but by no means may we use teleological arguments, such as our authors employ when they affirm what the intention of the Creator was. We cannot conceive of God as conditioned in any way, neither ought we, indeed we are not able, to judge of His manner of action or thinking—'My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord';—but, reverently regarding nature as the expression and outcome of His laws and working, we should attempt to arrive at such knowledge of them as we can by earnest, honest seeking and following the Truth wherever it may lead—taking care that it is the Truth—well knowing that, as dealing with works of the same Being, scientific inquiry and true religion cannot be at variance.

In connection with this a remark may be necessary on the limits of scientific inquiry. Some good people resent the intrusion of Science into questions concerning the origin

of life and things, whilst others, who allow the right of inquiry, would perhaps not go so far as to say, 'We think it . . . the bounden duty of the man of science to put back the direct interference of the great First Cause—the unconditioned—as far as he possibly can in time.' Further on the authors say: "If, then, two possible theories of the production of any phenomenon are presented to the man of Science, one of these implying the immediate operation of the unconditioned, and the other the operation of some cause existing in the universe, we conceive that he is called upon by the most profound obligations of his nature to choose the second in preference to the first." The first statement, it must be granted, is rather startling in its bareness, and certainly requires to be 'conditioned;' but the second, we think, is not far wide of the truth, provided the theory proposed is easily conceivable.

The principle of continuity, the great guide of our inquiries into the past and future, is one of those magnificent generalizations which are the most striking results of modern science. Almost a truism, when its meaning is once grasped, it is remarkable for the great light it has thrown on problems heretofore regarded as practically unsolvable. It asserts that no phenomenon can happen without naturally flowing from a cause antecedent to it; that in passing from one state to any other, a body must pass through intervening states; that there must not be a sudden break without any connection between an event and the preceding one, such, for instance, as would happen if matter were to disappear for a time from the universe. It follows that if the principle of continuity be true, it is 'the heritage of intelligence that there shall be an endless vista, reaching from eternity, in each link of which we shall be led only from one form of the conditioned to another, never from the conditioned to the unconditioned.' Lest this view of things should frighten the ordinary reader, the writers ask in the chapter on Physical Axioms, 'Is it less reverent to regard the universe as an illimitable avenue that leads up to God, than to look upon it as a limited area bounded by an impenetrable wall, which, if we could only pierce it, would bring us at once into the presence of the Eternal?' This is a question we cannot answer, but, being willing to learn, we will pass on.

These remarks being premised, we proceed to give a short and concise statement of the line of argument.

With respect to the present visible universe, the authors come to the conclusion that it had its beginning in time, and must

come to an end in time; at least, to an end so far as present modes of life are concerned. At these two barriers they must by their principles allow no discontinuity, and therefore the present universe must have been *developed* out of, and will again sink into, some one older and more lasting, which can be nothing else than the unseen universe of ether. How it has been developed they do not know, but having assumed a theory of matter, they proceed to show how this development *might* have taken place, though, 'for the sake of bringing our ideas in a concrete form before the reader, and for this purpose only.' This being settled for the visible material universe, their argument for the possibility of immortality is as follows. For continuous life two things are essentially requisite: First, 'the capability of retaining some sort of hold upon the past, and, inasmuch as we are unable to contemplate such a thing as a finite disembodied spirit, it is farther evident that this hold implies an organ of some sort.' Secondly, the capability of action in the present. 'The living being need not always be in motion, but he must retain the capacity of moving. He need not always be thinking, but he must retain the capacity of thought.' Next, if there be a future life, we have three suppositions: (1) a transference from one grade of being to another in the present visible universe; (2) a transference from the visible to some other order of things intimately connected with it; (3) a transference to an order of things entirely unconnected with it. The first cannot be held, because the present visible universe is not eternal, at least, they think they prove it is not; but some considerations we shall have to bring forward seem to show that it is only probably not eternal. The last would contradict the principle of continuity; we must therefore fall back upon the second. If this be true, the principle of continuity asserts that in that other order of things life must still be conditioned, and since there must be an organ of memory and power of action, there must be a body of some kind. In order to explain memory, it is supposed that every thought and impression, which is known to produce changes in the brain, also affects a spiritual body, which is in some mysterious manner connected with the present material body, and which lives on after the latter has passed away. For this idea of spiritual bodies the authors quote the authority of the Christian writings: e.g., St. Paul says, 'There is a natural body and a spiritual body.' There is nothing here that contradicts the principle of continuity, therefore a future state is not impossible.

But further, the principle of Biogenesis

asserts that life does not arise except from previous life, and hence life seems to be something essentially different from matter and energy. If, therefore, even the most advanced evolutionary theory be the true one, that all living things have developed from a single primitive germ, we cannot allow that it suddenly came into existence, since life is something *sui generis*. The principle of continuity asserts that it must have existed before; and since it could not exist in the visible universe, it must have done so in the previous invisible one. Hence there is not only the possibility, but even the strong probability, of a future state, inasmuch as there is no more reason for expecting a break of continuity in the future than in the past. Such, stripped of illustrations, proofs, and digressions, is the outline of the argument.

Interspersed with the reasoning, several questions are treated of, not bearing *directly* on the argument; as for instance, miracles, 'Are there beings superior to man in the present visible universe?' &c. Also at the end of the book comes a consistent theory of the universe in general, the truth of which, it is allowed, is very problematical, but which is given for the purpose of fixing the reader's ideas.

Before criticising the successive steps of the above reasoning it will be necessary to glance at the conservation of energy and other allied principles. It is impossible within the limits of this article to explain these fully, yet a short statement may perhaps be desirable for those who are not well acquainted with physical science. So far as our observation goes, matter is indestructible; however we may change its forms and states, the quantity of matter cannot be altered. We may call this the law of conservation of matter. Now matter is not the only thing conserved in the universe; there is besides what scientific men, after Young, have termed energy, of which they recognise two kinds—kinetic and potential. The former depends upon the motion of matter, the kinetic energy of any small portion of matter being proportional to the product of the number representing its mass (or quantity of matter) into the square of the number representing its velocity. The latter—potential energy—is due to the configuration of matter, whereby it possesses the power of doing work, or of producing kinetic energy. Thus, a ball held at the top of a house has energy owing to its position. If it be let fall it will strike the ground with a certain velocity, depending upon the height fallen through, and therefore with a certain kinetic energy. If we consider it at any point of

its downward path, it will have the kinetic energy due to the space it has already fallen through, and the potential energy in virtue of the space it has yet to fall through; and the sum of these is constant, i.e., the energy is conserved. All physical phenomena are the results of transformation of energy in matter. Thus heat consists of motion of very small parts of bodies; light, of motion of small parts of the ether; electric and magnetic phenomena depend, some on the motion of this ether connected with matter, others on certain states thereof. Now we find that in all cases the sum of the two kinds of energy in the universe is constant; if one form disappears it reappears in some other form, but no energy is destroyed. This is what is meant by the conservation of energy.

Closely connected with this is another principle—the dissipation of energy. To do work, we must have transmutation of energy from one state to another. Thus in an engine we must transfer heat from the boiler to the condenser by means of steam—that is, we must transfer heat from a hot source to a colder one, and on the way *some* of the heat is converted into work. All the heat transferred is not converted into work, and there is therefore a waste of energy so far as work is concerned; or since no energy is destroyed, it would be more correct to say that there is a waste of available energy. This is always taking place. Energy is continually being dissipated; not destroyed, but having its power of doing work destroyed. Let us apply this to the universe. The planets and the sun gradually lose their heat by dissipation into space, and hence in some finite time will become cold. Besides this the ether resists their motions; the planets therefore will gradually approach nearer and nearer the sun, till at last they fall into it; they will then be heated by the collision, and will form a single but larger mass, whose newly-acquired heat will a second time be dissipated into space, until it again becomes a cold lifeless mass. This process will be repeated, until all the planets have fallen into the sun, and the energy of the present solar system shall have been transformed into rotatory motion of this one mass, and heat dissipated into space, and therefore lost. Even this energy of rotation will be lost in the end, if the ether possesses friction. But long before this our system will have become quite unfit for life such as we know it, and therefore, so far as our present life is concerned, it must come to an end. After this other systems will approach each other, go through the same process, and finally be reduced to one cold mass. Now the authors of the Unseen Universe have

assumed that the quantity of energy and matter in the universe is finite. If this be so, then within a *finite* time all the matter must be gathered into one aggregation and all the energy be dissipated. But what reason have we for believing that those quantities are finite: is it not rather probable that practically they are infinite? Space is infinite, and if space be filled with systems of worlds, then the matter in the whole universe will be infinitely great. Thus, whether the present order of material things comes to an end, depends on the question whether the quantity of matter in it be finite or not. It is therefore important to know what Science has to say upon the case as thus put.

Olbers found that if the number of stars were infinite and no light were absorbed, then the sky at night would be as bright as at noonday. We all see that it is not so; therefore either the stars are not infinite, or light is absorbed. The latter supposition is perhaps the more probable, and some observations and calculations of Struve point to this; the stars therefore may still be infinite. But further, even supposing Struve's hypothesis not to hold good, the quantity of matter might be infinite, for the greater number of stars might be in the cold state, or in the nebulous state. Thus there is still a possibility of the quantity of energy being infinite, and therefore we cannot certainly deduce, from the principle of dissipation of energy, that the present visible physical universe will come to an end in time. This, as we shall point out, will compel a modification of the author's theory of immortality.

It is then clear that it does not necessarily follow, from the principle of dissipation of energy, that the universe must end in time. Is, then, the correlative statement that it began in time, to share the same fate? If we travel back through time, we see that the same processes must take place in a reverse order, and since the aggregations in the universe at present are *not infinitely great*, there must have been a time, not infinitely distant, when matter was everywhere in a nebulous condition, and all its energy in the potential form. Further back than this the principle of the dissipation of energy cannot carry us, but we can see that some change must then have taken place; for if not, the nebulous condition must have existed prior to this, and the gradual transformation of the potential into kinetic must have begun earlier, and therefore must have advanced further at the present time. Hence at that time some change must have taken place.

These are the two barriers beyond which we cannot pass with certainty, but as some guide to our reasoning a chapter is given to

the consideration of what matter is, and to the relations between matter and ether. Here we cannot refrain from expressing our admiration at the masterly treatment and lucid statement of the physical laws which are discussed. Were it only for the sake of becoming acquainted with the magnificent principles and generalizations of modern physical science, and with the different theories of matter that have been propounded, we should strongly advise our readers to study this book. One of the authors at least must be a mathematical physicist of no mean order, and we think we recognise in many ideas and forms of expression the hand of one of our foremost investigators in this domain of science.

Among speculations on the constitution of matter, the vortex theory of Sir W. Thomson is by far the most probable, and our authors have adopted it, with some important modifications.

The mathematical treatment of the motion of fluids is extremely difficult, but in one particular case there is a simplification, viz., when the velocity and its direction at any point can be determined from a single function of the position of that point. When this is not the case, the problem is far more difficult, and was to a great extent neglected by mathematicians, till Helmholtz brought his brilliant powers to bear upon it. This second case can be divided into two parts, and the general principles of each treated separately. The first part is nothing more than the ordinary theory, the second is called differentially rotational motion, as it is found that each small portion of fluid rotates round some axis through it. It has long been known that if motion of the first kind existed in a fluid, then, so long as the motion continued, it would remain of the same nature:—also, that motion of this kind could be generated or destroyed. But Helmholtz has proved that if the second kind exist it must always have existed and always continue to exist. He showed besides that the axis round which each portion of fluid rotates touches a system of curves, which curves must either be closed or terminated at the boundary of the fluid. These filaments of rotating fluid are called vortex rings. The foregoing theorems are, of course, true only on the supposition that the fluid is frictionless.

Thomson applied this to the theory of matter, and assumed that matter consists of small vortex rings in the ether.

But if this were the case, these vortex rings could not have been *developed* out of the ether: either they must have existed from eternity, or they must have been created.

Now, we have seen they could not have existed from eternity, therefore they must have been created. This could not have been done by a finite conditioned intelligence, and therefore the Great First Cause must have worked directly. But this breaks the principle of continuity which our authors have assumed always to hold good. How do they get out of this difficulty? We shall see directly.

The principle of continuity has been seen to hold universally in the present visible order of things, and hence to be a law of the Creator; but if we assume that the Great First Cause acted at the first barrier, the law of continuity would have been then first promulgated; and inasmuch as from that time forwards it has not been broken, we can see no difficulty in supposing that the creation then took place—the very beginning of all present visible things, from which they have all flowed;—nor does this impair our belief in the universality of the action of continuity. At the same time, what reason have we, *a priori*, except that everything since has developed therefrom, for asserting that there really was a break in continuity? so that if any reasonable hypothesis can be proposed which puts back the action of the Unconditioned, we, as was said before, ought to accept it with welcome. We think it a strong reason for supposing the principle still to hold, that it always has held back to that time, and that there is no reason why it should not have held prior to it. But the authors also seek confirmation of their theory from teleological reasons; thus, that the Creator could never have intended to introduce intellectual confusion into the universe—by which is meant, that He would never have acted in such a way as that His finite intelligent creatures might not be able, by the use of their faculties, to investigate and understand all the laws and history of that universe. We have before referred to this method of argument, but we must confess that we do not quite like it. So, while asserting that such a break in continuity, as would be implied by the direct action of the unconditioned First Cause, can be held with undiminished faith in the universality of its action, we ought also to inquire whether the creation of matter could not be explained in some other way. In criticising the argument, too, we must remember that the fundamental idea from which the writers have started is the universal application of the principle of continuity both in time and space.

Allowing, then, this principle to hold, let us see to what conclusions our authors are led with respect to the origin of matter.

Assuming, what is certainly true, that vortex atoms could have been developed out of a frictionless fluid by an unconditioned Being alone, and also that this Being would not thus act, they are driven to modify Sir W. Thomson's hypothesis. The indestructibility of the vortex rings depends on the supposition that the ether is perfectly frictionless; if it were not so, they would ultimately disappear, and consequently must have been developed; moreover, they could have been developed by conditioned beings. Thus even we ourselves may easily produce vortex rings in air, water, or other fluids,* because they have a considerable amount of friction; while at the same time the very friction makes them exceedingly short-lived. If the friction were less they could not be produced so perfectly, but they would last much longer. Hence, if we assume that the ether possesses friction, we must also assume, since those vortex atoms must exist for an exceedingly long, though finite time, that this friction is very small. So far all is pure assumption; let us see what confirmation can be gathered from the little knowledge we have with respect to the ether. In the first place there are Herschel's and Struve's observations, referred to before, which though not worth much, yet, so far as they go, tend to the above conclusion. Secondly, we have Tait and Stewart's experiments on the heating of a disc by rapid rotation *in vacuo*, which they refer to ethereal friction, but which we think can be more easily explained in a different way. Lastly, there is the anomalous motion of Encke's comet, which can scarcely be accounted for unless by the action of some kind of resistance, though it is doubtful whether friction can produce much of the inequality, as if so it would be masked by the far greater influence of ordinary fluid resistance. Thus, though Science does not lend much support to the theory of ethereal friction, yet what it does afford tends in its favour; and there is nothing against it, provided we assume that the friction is extremely small; while, if we reason from analogy, we shall be led to think it probable that the ether is to some extent subject to friction.

So far, then, we are quite justified in adopting the theory; but what have we gained? We have dispensed with the necessity of the

* The reader may easily produce the rings in the following way. Make a hole about 1 inch or 1½ inch in the middle of the side of a tin biscuit box, and fill the box with tobacco smoke. If now the box be tapped on the side opposite the hole, vortex rings will be projected from it. The smoke is only for the sake of rendering the rings visible.

interference of the unconditioned, but we must have some agent for developing the atoms. This agent must either be dead or living, blind or intelligent. Maxwell, in a lecture before the Chemical Society, drew attention to the fact that atoms have all the characters of manufactured articles; and this character we cannot conceive to have been impressed on them by the blind working of natural forces. We must then assume that the developing agent was an intelligent being.

Here we should like to make some further remarks. This intelligent being either worked for a finite time or for eternity. If for a finite time, then that time must have been shorter than the period for which any single atom can now last. To illustrate this, suppose the agent to have stopped working 100,000 years ago (the numbers are of course quite imaginary), and the life of a single atom to be 1,000,000 years. Then at present that atom has, at the most, only 900,000 years to live, and the time during which the agent was working could not have been greater than 900,000 years; for if so he would have begun more than 1,000,000 years ago, and therefore at present atoms would be daily disappearing in thousands, and we could never have arrived at the conclusion that matter is indestructible. It hence follows that he could not have been working in the same region of space from eternity; since, on our present suppositions, the atoms are not eternal, and we can scarcely conceive him creating new matter where old is disappearing, for that would require him to be omnipresent, and therefore unconditioned with respect to space. But we might consider him as working from eternity, if we suppose he is also working progressively from point to point of infinite space. Now this is important, for we think that of the two suppositions, whether he works for a finite time and then ceases, or through eternity, the latter is, *a priori*, the more probable. And if this were so, it is evident that the present order of things would never come to an end, but that there would always be throughout eternity systems in every stage of development and decay, and therefore fit for life as we know it. Thus we should arrive at the same conclusion as before, and contrary to that of the authors.

But another objection may be raised to this theory of matter, and one, we think, not without weight. Suppose the atoms to have been developed, they at once begin to decay, of course exceedingly slowly when they have to exist for, it may be, millions of millions of years, but still they will always be in a state of decay; the intensity of the

vortex motion will decrease, and from all analogy we should expect that with this some of their properties would also change. We have not recognised any such change, therefore we should be led to deny the decay. To this it might truly be replied, that the change would take place so slowly, that we could never expect to have recognised it within the time since scientific investigation has begun. But there is another test—supplied by geology. *As far as we are aware*, there is nothing in the rocks and foundations of the earth to prove that when they were laid the chemical or other properties of matter were different from those it possesses at present. If it were so, it would be a strong proof of a progressive decay. It seems, then, that on the whole we ought to consider the properties of atoms to depend on their shape alone, which is not likely. A friend has suggested that it is possible that atoms were developed at different times, but always of the same kind, and that the various elements owe their peculiar properties to being in different stages of decay, due to their respective ages. If this were so we should have one metal changing into another, and the philosopher's stone becoming a reality, though it is likely the less refractory metals would change to those more so.

We should like to draw attention to another theory, which will dispense with the action of the Unconditioned, allow the eternity of matter and energy, and yet account for the beginning of things. It was, we think, first pointed out by Sir W. Thomson in 'Nature,' that if we suppose every particle of matter to have its motion reversed, all nature would travel backwards over its former path. Rivers would flow from the sea and dash up cataracts; heat instead of being dissipated would be amassed; in the spring dead leaves would fly up to the branches, become greener as the summer advanced, in the autumn become buds, and finally be absorbed into the trees; living things would grow less and less, men would be born from the grave, and the general economy of things be totally reversed, and after running back to the beginning, would proceed again to develop according to the same laws as at present. In such a state, if life were dynamical alone, living beings would know nothing of the past, but would see into the future of their own lives, as if they were viewing a landscape stretching into misty distance, and in everything cause would follow from effect: *e.g.*, if a stone struck a person the bruise would show before the actual blow, or if a man wanted to say something, he would speak some words

and afterwards have the intention to do so. This seems to be a *reductio ad absurdum*, and therefore life cannot be purely dynamical. But to explain the physical universe, we have only to suppose that periodic reversals of this kind do occur, and that the beginning of the present order of things took place at the end of a former period of reversal, and when the dissipation of energy again began. We should thus have two dispensations of nature, alternately existing, in both of which the principles of Continuity and Conservation of Energy are true, but in one the dissipation of energy holds, in the other its opposite, shall we say, *colligation* of energy; in the one change of potential into kinetic; in the other, change of kinetic into potential. The only point to settle is the cause of the reversals, which we think can be naturally explained in the following manner. We know that if a pendulum oscillates between two limits, in one portion of its path potential energy is changed into kinetic, in the other kinetic into potential; or, an elastic bar will vibrate in the same way. Cannot we suppose something similar to take place in the universe? If gravitation and similar forces always remain the same, then, provided the universe is purely dynamic, and all its small parts frictionless, the above is what would certainly take place: we say if the universe is purely dynamic, for life seems to have some disturbing or guiding influence on matter. The principle of reversibility is a fundamental idea of dynamics, and if life were dynamical it ought to be capable of reversibility. If this happened, we saw above what would take place, and as we cannot for a moment believe life possible under such conditions, we must allow life to be *sui generis*. This appears to us a strong argument, and we shall make use of it again. For the above theory of the universe we claim that it explains everything we want, from what we certainly know as to the physical universe, and that it seems worthy of some notice: its weakness is its failure to explain life.

We have seen to what our authors have been led by loyally following the principle of continuity. At the end of the book they propose a theory to show how the development they require might have taken place, though without insisting on the truth of it; in fact, they acknowledge the chances are greatly against it. We give it in their own words:—

‘Let us begin by supposing an intelligent agent in the present visible universe—that is to say, a man—to be developing vortex rings, smoke rings, let us imagine. Now these smoke rings are found to act upon one an-

other just as if they were things or existences; nevertheless their existence is ephemeral, they only last a few seconds. But we may imagine them to constitute the grossest possible form of material existence. Now each smoke ring has in it a multitude of smaller particles of air and smoke, each of these particles being the molecules of which the present visible universe is composed. These molecules are of a vastly more refined and delicate organisation than the large smoke ring; they have lasted many millions of years, and will perhaps last many millions more. Nevertheless let us imagine that they had a beginning, and that they will also come to an end similar to that of the smoke ring. In fact, just as the smoke ring was developed out of ordinary molecules, so we may imagine ordinary molecules to be developed as vortex rings out of something much finer and more subtle than themselves, which we have agreed to call the invisible universe. But we may pursue the same train of thought still further back, and imagine the entities which constitute the invisible universe immediately preceding ours to be in themselves ephemeral, although not nearly to the same extent as the atoms of our universe, and to have been formed in their turn as vortex rings out of some still subtler and more enduring substance. In fine, there is no end to such a process, and we are led on from rank to rank of the order imagined by Dr. Thomas Young, or by Professor Jevons, when he says, “That the smallest particle of solid substance may consist of a vast number of systems united in regular order, each bounded by the other, communicating with it in some manner, yet wholly incomprehensible.”’

This theory irresistibly reminds us of Dr. Johnson’s—

‘Big fleas have little fleas
Upon their backs to bite ’em;
And little fleas have lesser fleas,
And so, *ad infinitum*.’

We must allow that it is an attractive theory, especially when applied to the scheme of immortality; still we cannot by any means conceive that an atom is composed of an infinite series of atoms such as is described above. However, passing over this, the great question now to settle is, what is this ‘mysterious, infinitely energetic, intelligent, developing agency residing in the universe, and therefore in some sense being conditioned’? Science knows not; the authors therefore refer to the Christian records, from which they deduce the, at first sight, startling result that this agent is none else than Christ. We cannot here go through all the statements they bring to bear upon the question, but will strive to give a rapid sketch.

The Godhead consists of a plurality of Persons, but one Substance.

First, God the Father—the unapproacha-

ble Creator (John i. 18; Rom. xi. 36; 1 Cor. viii. 6; Eph. vi. 6; 1 Tim. vi. 16). He is the unconditioned First Cause of all things.

Second, God the Son (John i. 1; 2 Cor. v. 10; Col. i. 15; Heb. i. 1). This being important, we give the authors' words.

'It is, we believe, a prevalent idea among theologians that these passages indicate, in the first place, the existence of an unapproachable Creator—the unconditioned One who is spoken of as God the Father; and that they also indicate the existence of another Being of the same substance as the Father but different in person, and who has agreed to develop the will of the Father, and thus in some mysterious sense to submit to conditions and to enter into the universe. The relation of this Being to the Father is expressed in Hebrews^{*} in the words of the Psalmist, "Then said I, Lo I come: in the volume of the book it is written of me, I delight to do thy will, O my God: yea, thy law is within my heart." In fine, such a Being would represent that conditioned, yet infinitely powerful, developing agent which the universe, objectively considered, appears to lead up to. His work is twofold, for in the first place he develops the various universes or orders of being; and secondly, in some mysterious way He becomes Himself the type and pattern of each order, the representative of Deity, as far as the beings of that order can comprehend, especially manifesting such divine qualities as could not otherwise be brought to light.'

And again:—

'It would thus appear that what may be termed the Christian theory of development has a twofold aspect, a descent and an ascent: the descent of the Son of God through the various grades of existence, and the consequent ascent of the intelligences of each led up by Him to a higher level—a stooping on the part of the developing Being, in order that there may be a mounting up on the part of the developed. Thus it is said (John iii. 16), "And no man hath ascended up into heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven." Again (Eph. iv. 9), "Now that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things."'

The necessity for such a Person in the Godhead was recognised by the early Christian and Neo-Platonist philosophers of Alexandria, and it is remarkable that no reference is made to them in the book. Numenius, who lived in the second century, says: 'The primary God must be free from work, and a King, but the Demiurgus must exercise government, going through the heavens. Through him comes this our condition, through him Reason being sent

down in efflux, holds communion with all who are prepared for it.' . . . This was the difficulty of the philosophers of old, to reconcile the fact of an unconditioned Being working in time and space and subject to its laws. 'Philo,' says Kingsley,^{*} 'offered a solution in that idea of a Logos or Word of God, Divinity articulate, speaking and acting in time and space and by successive acts, and so doing in time and space the will of the timeless and spaceless Father, the Abysmal and Eternal Being, of whom He was the perfect likeness.' The Evangelist John especially identifies this Logos of Philo with Christ in the well-known opening of his Gospel, and so strongly is it there set forth, that Amelius† the Platonist inserts it almost word for word in a certain book of his. In his 'Confessions' also Augustine‡ expressly states the help he received from the writings of the Neo-Platonists, in freeing him from Manichæan heresies, although at the same time he draws a distinction between the Platonist and the Christian writings. From the former he learnt the Divine nature of the Logos, in the latter alone he found the fact of the humiliation thereof, in the incarnation and death of Christ.

Before we are able to consider the office of the third Person in the Godhead, we must retrace our steps and take up the argument for immortality. If the reader will refer to the outline we gave on p. 38, he will see that the authors begin by laying down two essentials of continued life. We might perhaps conceive life possible without the second, but the first is clearly essential. After this follow three suppositions, of which the first and last are assumed to be out of court. The first, because the visible order of things must come to an end; the last, because it breaks the principle of continuity. But the reader has gathered, from what we have said in the preceding pages, that it does not follow that the present universe will come to an end; but it is quite conceivable, nay possible, that there may be even systems of worlds in all stages of development, and therefore it is possible that death might be only a transference from one system to another. We say possible, at the same time it seems very unlikely; the second supposition, therefore, is the more probable. So that instead of being restricted to one supposition, we have the choice of two. Its greater probability leads us to choose the second.

^{*} 'Schools of Alexandria.'

† Euseb., *Præp. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 10 (Old Edit.).

‡ 'Confess.' bk. vii.

This second supposition is that death is a 'transference from the visible to some other order of things intimately connected with it,' and therefore still conditioned. The invisible order of things must be the ether, which, as we have seen, receives the waste energy from the visible universe. A great difficulty of philosophers has been to reconcile this apparent waste in nature with the idea of an intelligent and benevolent Creator, but on this supposition we see at once that energy is not wasted ultimately, it is stored up for the use of this invisible world. Moreover it may be considered to be storing up a memory of what has hitherto happened in the visible universe; for the motion of every molecule affects the whole universe, and an intelligent mind may be conceived able to unravel back the 'threads of time' by this means; or it may be, since every little motion communicated to the ether is travelling onwards into infinite space, that the whole boundless universe is one huge picture of past events, just as by looking at the stars it may be imagined we are remembering what happened there hundreds of years ago. Of our soul might not Byron's words hold:

* * * *

'Then unembodied doth it trace
By steps each planet's heavenly way?
Or fill at once the realms of space,
A thing of eyes, that all survey?

'Eternal, boundless, undecay'd,
A thought unseen, yet seeing all—
All, all in earth or skies displayed,
Shall it survey, shall it recall:
Each fainter trace that memory holds
So darkly of departed years,
In one broad glance the soul beholds,
And all that was at once appears.

'Before creation peopled earth,
Its eyes shall roll thro' chaos back;
And where the furthest heaven had birth
The spirit trace its rising track'?

* * * *

There are two ways of supposing memory, which is one of the essentials of continuous life, to exist; but on this point also our authors have a new theory to propound. They suppose that we possess a frame, or rudiments of a frame, called the spiritual body, connecting us with the invisible world. Thought, when it affects the brain and produces a material organ of memory, also affects this spiritual body; and so at death, while the material organ of memory is destroyed, that of the spiritual body remains. The possession of this body would also satisfy the second essential condition of life. Objections might of course be raised to this, and several have been anticipated and answered in the book. It follows from the

preceding arguments that immortality is quite possible, and hence the aim of the authors has been attained. They say, 'What we have done is to show that immortality is possible, and to demolish any so-called scientific objection that might be raised against it. The evidence in favour of the doctrine is not derived from us. It comes from two sources—from the statements made concerning Christ, and from that intense longing for immortality which civilised man has invariably possessed.' Nevertheless they urge two considerations in its favour. One, shortly put, is as follows: The invisible universe existed before this; we cannot consider it as other than fully conditioned; if so, we cannot conceive a dead universe to have existed from eternity, for a dead universe is not fully conditioned; hence this universe must have contained intelligent beings; an argument, we fear, rather too refined and metaphysical. The other has been referred to before, and depends on the truth of the law of Biogenesis. If that law be true, we are as inexorably driven to the conclusion that life existed before its first introduction into the world, and that it will exist after the final dissolution, as we were driven to the same conclusion with respect to energy and matter.

The authors assume the law of Biogenesis as absolutely proved, and say nothing of recent discussions on it—that of Pasteur some time ago in favour of it, that of Bastian more recently in refutation of it. At present, however, it stands more firmly than ever, for, rightly interpreted, Bastian's experiments go to strengthen it, as has been most remarkably demonstrated within the last few months by the experiments of Tyndall and of Dallinger and Drysdale. We have also above given an argument in favour of the distinct nature of life, drawn from its non-reversibility.

As in the case of the development of energy we required an intelligent agent to introduce it, so also we do here. Again, recourse is had to the Scriptures, and the reader has doubtless by this time a shrewd guess that this is a part of the sphere of action of the Holy Spirit. We will again let the authors speak for themselves.

"If we now turn once more to the Christian system, we shall find that it recognises such an antecedent as an agent in the universe. He is styled the Lord and Giver of Life. The third Person of the Trinity is regarded in this system as working in the universe, and therefore in some sense as conditioned, and as distributing and developing this principle of life, which we are forced to regard as one of the things of the universe, in the same

manner as the second Person of the Trinity is regarded as developing that other phenomenon, the energy of the universe. The one has entered from everlasting into the universe, in order to develop its objective element, energy; the other has also entered from everlasting into the universe, in order to develop its subjective element, life.' (Gen. i. 2.)

We have now set before our readers the two most striking lines of argument adopted, but have been obliged to omit a host of subsidiary matters, full of interest, treated in an extremely original and liberal manner, and with a reverential spirit which is not always met with in such speculations. Such are, communication with the unseen, angels, heaven, hell, personality of the devil, &c.; but we cannot refrain from giving the writers' explanation of the miracles of Christ.

The position of Christ in the universe is that of an infinitely powerful Being, yet at the same time subject to its laws; none of His works therefore can infringe the great fundamental law of Continuity. Now from the connection of the invisible universe with the visible, a Being in the position of Christ 'could easily produce such transmutation of energy from the one universe into the other as would account for the events which took place in Judæa. These events are therefore no longer to be regarded as absolute breaks of continuity. . . . When we dig up an ant-hill we perform an operation which, to the inhabitants of the hill, is mysteriously perplexing, far transcending their experience, but we know very well that the whole affair happens without any breach of continuity of the laws of the universe.'

A question naturally arises here: If the conclusions of our philosophers be accepted, what influence will they have on the present conception of the Deity and the Messiah? From the arguments in their book nothing can be gathered as to what the essence of the Godhead is, nor, if we may be allowed the expression, what His character may be; on this point they insist. Nevertheless it must have at least an indirect effect on current modes of thought. We have seen that the Creator must be unconditioned, that He has determined not to work directly on the course of development of the universe, and that, as the authors say, creation belongs to eternity, development to time. From this we derive an impression of vastness, of serene and strong repose, of an unapproachable Majesty, of a Being dwelling in the light that no man can approach unto; which also we learn from the New Testament writings and the sayings of Christ, and which the Jews felt with their name for God never to be spoken. Beyond this we can gather nothing more

from physical arguments, nor is there anything in it opposed to what we learn from revelation; nay, the above view even removes many difficulties, such as those clinging to the doctrines of the benevolence and infinite power of God, and the presence of evil in the world. On the whole we think it will tend to raise the general conception of the Almighty, and to clear away many of the extraordinary anthropomorphic ideas common to many good people.

But if it tend to raise the Father to a greater distance from human passion and modes of working into a higher atmosphere of awe and reverence, it also brings Christ into closer relations with the universe and unmanity than has yet been believed. Connected on the one side with the unconditioned Father, and on the other connected with man by consenting to be conditioned in order to work out the will of the Father, and to declare Him to His intelligent creatures; we see more clearly *how* He is the means of approaching the Father, and *why* there must be such a mediator between God and man. But above everything it will bring into prominence the intimate connection between all the works of God; that as everything flows from Him nothing should be held common or unclean, and that religion belongs not alone to the feelings and spiritual part of man, but has the closest relations with the experiences and duties of daily life — 'In everything give thanks;' 'whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God;' that politics, and merchant shipping acts, arts and science, are no less active modes of religion, than worship, morality, and prayer are the springs of it. If this were realised, then, indeed, would the 'knowledge of God cover the earth as the waters cover the seas,' and 'the earth be filled with the glory of God.'

The chief result, let us hope, will be the removal of that insensate suspicion with which religious and scientific professors regard each other. Religious people will believe (what at present they only *say* that they believe) that the *whole* universe is the work of God, and that therefore the pursuit of science never can be at variance with true religion. Men of science will see, as indeed the best of them already do see, that all their science points to God, and leads their souls with wonder and awe to that eternal intelligence which has created and which governs all things. Certainly the authors of 'The Unseen Universe' speak nothing but the truth when they say:—

'We are led to regard it as one of the great merits of the Christian system, that its doctrine is pre-eminently one of intellectual liberty, and that while the theologians on the one hand,

and men of science on the other, have each erected their barriers to inquiry, the early Christian records acknowledge no such barriers, but, on the contrary, assert the most perfect freedom for all the powers of man.'

ART. III.—*The Revolution and Catholicism.*

Essays on Catholicism, Liberalism, and Socialism. Considered in their fundamental principles. By JOHN DONOSO CORTES, Marquis of Valdegamas. London. 1874.

It is the singular misfortune of society on the Continent that it is under the dominion of general ideas or dogmas that are conceived with a narrowness and applied with an absoluteness utterly alien to all the dictates of reason and experience. Catholicism, as a scheme of life, represents the principle of authority; the Revolution represents the principle of liberty; but each refuses to recognize the validity of the other, and there is no other principle or element in the society they influence to deaden the shock of too vehement opinion, or to act with mediating force between them. Their antagonism is not like that of two constructive but neutralizing forces in politics, which preserve society in a path between the extremes of anarchy and despotism; and therefore the tyrannical predominance of either, even for the shortest period, inflicts an amount of evil that can hardly be conceived of in a stable society like ours, in which every imaginable idea is so fully represented, that the mischievous or exaggerated action of any single force is scarcely to be feared. The progress of time seems only to add new intensity to the forces on either side, for while the Revolution abates nothing of its bitterness and scorn, Catholicism sharpens more and more the points of that terrible discipline that comes into contact with progress and the world. We observe the effects of this increasing separation in the literature of the two parties, for each can see no redeeming qualities in its rival, and applies its criticism with an extremeness as uncritical as it is false.

The Revolution, according to the Catholic view, destroys the moral spring of nations by proscribing worship, and substituting an intellectual abstraction called Humanity in place of God. It destroys, in the name of scientific truth, the harmony that God has established between the intellectual and moral order of the universe; and, with a contempt for authority and organization which threatens the very life of society, it

welcomes every new theory as true in the degree that it is unprecedented, with no limitation to credulity, save that it must be as disruptive as possible of all existing ties. With no respect for the past, in fact, regarding all history as an organized fraud, and starting with the axiom that all the institutions of a society originally based on Catholicism are presumptively bad, it offers to reconstitute society, *ab initio*, without a moral basis. In the belief that a mere change of institutions will work those miracles that are but the slow and painful product of individual virtue and energy, the Revolution tries everywhere to raise the standard of an ideal and impossible Republicanism, based upon the abstract rights of man; but after sending a series of shocks through the framework of society, it has only succeeded in introducing anarchy and helplessness into all political relations. It cannot be doubted that this picture is not without some striking traits of truth, but it is deceptive and partial, as it assumes that the Revolution represents a single compact body moving together, instead of a great straggling host, of which one battalion marches far in advance of the rest; while it purposely omits to acknowledge that when religion ranged itself on the side of ignorance and despotism, the sceptics of Revolution fought the battles of justice, science, and political freedom.

On the other hand, it must be confessed that the adherents of the Revolution take a very unfavourable view of Catholicism as a factor in modern civilization. They view it as still breathing the spirit of the Middle Ages, with little more capacity for initiating progress than the Chinese system itself; as the sworn foe of all the varied elements of modern life; as fettering intellect, and setting little value on intelligence; as competing vigorously for the control of education only where it exists already, and where others take in hand to do what the Church has neglected, but leaving vast populations under its sole control absolutely without instruction; as representing everywhere mental stagnation, moral decay, and political depravity. They further see it as a destroying fiend, involving nations in war; at one time allying itself with despotism, and grasping at every shred of power within its reach; at another, fomenting civil discord, sowing the seeds of disaffection, and recoiling at no manœuvre that can further its purposes; becoming itself a revolutionary force, leaguering itself even with Socialism to destroy those who dispute its authority; always showing that there is that in Catholicism that is incompatible with an honest acquiescence in any

kind of secular supremacy. They see it likewise in the interests of Legitimacy using frauds and fictions that it would be imbecility to credit, in order to support pretensions that the growing enlightenment of the age laughs to scorn.

This picture is not perhaps so deceptive or partial as the other, but it fails to acknowledge the place of Catholicism in ancient civilization—accepting, perhaps too readily, the popular contempt of the Middle Ages—and is still more peremptory in depreciating its influence in the modern world. They who destroy our faith in all religion take away, at least, one security for our submission, and facilitate the subversion of governments. This is, perhaps, their intention; but they fail to see that if society is to exist at all, atheism is hostile to those loving subordinations which are the bond of family life, and which render a state capable of freedom without anarchy. It is the moral character of citizens that mainly determines the state of order or disorder prevailing in a community; and it is for the philosophers of the Revolution to show, in the absence of historical precedents, how national cohesion or solidity can be maintained without religion.

This account of the attitude of the two parties who divide society on the Continent enables us to estimate how far the work assigned by Guizot to the nineteenth century has as yet failed to be accomplished. But a few years ago, this eminent writer observed that 'to reconcile liberty and authority; to secure perfect toleration without sacrificing the rights of the state; to give its due weight to free thought as well as tradition; and to reconcile the Christian revival with religious progress: this is the work of the nineteenth century.' The great characteristic of this age is certainly compromise—not that compromise which is based upon religious indifference, for spiritual questions have a very vital interest to this generation, but that which is based upon the self-distrust which springs from wider knowledge. This spirit, however, is little manifest in the mutual relations of Catholicism and Revolution on the Continent.

Catholic writers have always been in the habit of charging the Revolution with a tendency to destroy society by introducing principles of anarchy, and the object of this article is to inquire how far the charge can be justified, and also how far, in case the state of society becomes critical or desperate, the Catholic Church, in its present attitude, is in a position to ward off the threatened destruction. Our object is political rather than theological, and will tend, perhaps, rather to allay than to increase the alarms

caused by the exaggerated representations of writers out of sympathy with the progressive spirit of our age. It is no injustice to class among them the Marquis of Valdegamas, a Spanish writer, whose work we have named at the head of this article, not on the ground of its intellectual ability, but because it represents the spirit in which Catholic writers of a certain school* criticise the Revolution under the names of Liberalism and Socialism, while they set forth the Church as at once 'the foundress, mistress, and life of nations.' Nearly thirty years ago, another Spaniard of much greater ability, the Abbé Balmeiz, published a work in which he boldly challenged for the Church a pre-eminence among the factors of modern civilisation. But the present writer has lived in an age full of disasters to the Church, and his speculations are therefore tinged with a bitterness to which the Abbé was a stranger. He has been gazing, with a bewildered and melancholy air, on the *écroulement* of schemes and systems of policy which have been the construction of ages, and is amazed to see society everywhere constituting itself anew, with politics and statesmanship fallen away from the faith, and the laity everywhere repudiating the principles on which the ecclesiastical power is founded; while he sees power after power, once subservient to the Papacy, compelled to abandon its obedience, and the Papacy itself bereft of its temporal possessions. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Revolution is in his eyes a name synonymous with atheism and anarchy; and that, like Catholic writers generally, he fails to appreciate its true place in the history of modern progress.

In estimating the truth of Catholic representations, the first point to be settled is, What is meant by the Revolution? We know that it is sometimes spoken of as a theology or as a philosophy, sometimes as a system of politics or government, and sometimes, again, as a social experiment. Catholic writers often use the word in all these senses, but without properly distinguishing them, though the theological sense is mostly paramount in all their discussions of the subject. But what after all is Revolution? In one sense it is nothing but change; it has no construc-

* The Catholicism referred to throughout the whole of this article has little in common with the Catholicism of this country, which not only accepts the principles of constitutional government, but takes a due place in the working of our free institutions. There is, no doubt, an Ultramontane party here as well as on the Continent, but it does not seek the overthrow of the political ideas identified with British liberty.

tive character whatever; and it must therefore be regarded either as good or bad only according to the character of what it supercedes or makes way for. Catholics themselves have no natural or necessary repugnance to revolutions, or political changes, so long as they do not affect Catholic kingdoms. They promoted the Revolution in the Netherlands, which ended in the separation of Catholic Belgium from Protestant Holland; and the laity, in gratitude to the Church for her help after they had established the principle of religious equality and freedom in the new constitution, allowed her as unbounded an ascendancy as she could contrive to base upon her compact organisation. The Liberals now acknowledge it was a great mistake to cast off the Protestant power, by which alone the friends of freedom could fight Ultramontaniam successfully; while they feel that they unwittingly committed a crime against the security of Europe by the partition of an influential kingdom, of which one part is now threatened to be absorbed by Germany, and the other by France. But the Catholic party never repented their share in this Revolution. The clergy, again, encouraged the Revolution in Spanish America, which destroyed the colonial empire of Spain, not through any love of liberty, or any theory of colonial independence, but because they desired to preserve untouched the system overthrown by the Revolution in the mother-country. They favoured separation, from a fear that the restrictions imposed on the priesthood at home might be introduced into America; but they soon had occasion to change their attitude, and Pope Leo XII., by his Bull condemning the rebels, showed his dislike of a Revolution that limited the ecclesiastical power. Dr. Dollinger has told us in eloquent terms how, by violence and fraud, by foreign invasion and civil war, the Popes laboured to break up that fabric of political independence which the Tudors had established in England, adopting without scruple the worst weapons of political and temporal warfare. Prince Gorstchakoff has published documents to show how they have favoured insurrections in Poland. It is important, then, to know that Catholicism does not deny the right of Revolution. If this right does not abide in human society, despotism is the true theory of human government, and humanity is hopelessly prostrate at the feet of existing authority. Any crowned Nero or Philip may better or kill us. But then this right is not to be exercised in Catholic countries. Catholic nations are to have no remedy against oppression; but wherever in any non-Catholic country in which a

Catholic minority is oppressed, or its just rights restricted or denied, the right of Revolution exists in all its integrity. It seems, then, according to Catholic writers, that there are two kinds of Revolution—the one to be encouraged, the other to be condemned, just as they tend respectively to strengthen or to weaken the authority of the Church. But we are mainly concerned with that Revolution which Catholicism condemns, and we must now see whether its real tendency is to destroy or to ameliorate society.

The theological element is very rife in Catholic discussions, and therefore we may suppose that great weight will be attached to the so-called atheistic tendency of the Revolution, by way of discrediting it as a system of political liberty. Now, so far as it is found to be atheistic, we admit that every successive triumph of Revolution contains within itself the seeds of a speedy reverse. No society, as we have already said, can exist except on a religious basis. Edgar Quinet himself admitted that the republic could not establish itself firmly in France for want of a moral foundation similar to the basis of the republic in America, and he imagined that the State could promulgate and diffuse a new religion for the purpose. Certainly one chief cause of the Revolution not securing for some nations a secure and well-ordered liberty, is to be found in a disintegrating scepticism. But we altogether deny that there is any necessary connection between Revolution and atheism; for many of the best ideas of the Revolution are to be found in Liberal schools of the Church itself, and especially, more or less directly, in Günther's philosophy. It was during the devoutest ages of the Church that Italy was covered with republics, and that Switzerland asserted her independence. The liberty and equality that brought Charles I. to the block were generated among Puritans and Covenanters; and the revolted colonies of England in America were composed of the most religious people in the world. In general, indeed, among ourselves, we have not found the most liberal views held by our sceptical philosophers, such as Hobbes and Hume. It was our religious men, not our sceptics, who founded our liberties. The Liberals of England and America are not atheists. How is it that Liberals should be atheists in a Catholic and religious in a Protestant country? This is a problem we commend to Catholic writers like Valdegamas.

It is more important, however, to consider the Revolution as a system of politics and government. Catholic writers are eager to

prove that it always tends to the disruption of society and that Socialism is its last word.* They seem to forget that schemes of policy, however elaborately framed, are not rigidly logical in their practical processes. Neither nations nor individuals carry out their principles with the rigour and exclusiveness which shut out many of the accidental considerations which come to be of importance in shaping a course of action. But, as matter of fact, the Revolution has developed neither Socialism nor anarchy in England, America, Holland, Italy, or Belgium; and if Socialism is an actual, energetic, and even formidable reality in France, there must be exceptional causes for its existence. Let us try to present the leading ideas popularly identified with the Revolution, that we may the better judge how far they threaten the dissolution of society. They are usually summed up by continental writers in the two principles—the sovereignty of the people as opposed to the divine right of

* It is curious to find Catholic writers heaping their praises upon Socialism, especially for its stern logical consistency, while they reserve all their contempt and bitterness for Liberalism. 'The Liberal school,' says Valdegamas, 'has necessarily to abdicate in favour of the Socialistic, or in favour of the Catholic schools.' And again: 'It follows that the Socialistic schools have logic and reason on their side when they maintain, against the Liberal school, that if the evil is essentially in society or in government, there is nothing to be done but to disturb government or society, without its being either necessary or convenient, but, on the contrary, pernicious and absurd, to attempt the reform of man' (p. 197). It is not difficult to discover the secret of the encouragement given by Catholic writers to Socialism, for they feel that it everywhere discredits the cause of rational liberty, and they know that if society could become socialistic, the Church would be almost universally hailed as a saviour. The Jesuits do not scruple at present to use the Socialists, till the time comes to crush them; for an association was formed in the end of July, 1874, between the Ultramontanists and the Socialists at Berlin, when M. Hasselmann himself was present at the meeting of the Ultramontanists, and joined with them in voting the articles of agreement. (See a despatch of the 'Agence Havas,' July 31, 1874.) We know that the Socialist deputies in the Reichstag have always voted with the Ultramontane deputies, and that Catholic ecclesiastics are the editors of a new paper at Aix-la-Chapelle, with the suggestive title, 'Christlichsocialen Blätter.' (See the 'Mercure Allemand,' January 30, 1875.) The 'Opinion Nationale,' July 28, 1874, publishes a letter from an honest Ultramontane who went to fight with Don Carlos in Spain, in which he states that he found refugee Communists of Paris fighting with the Carlists, with the knowledge of the military leaders. We find signs of the same alliance in Holland and in Switzerland. Thus, Catholicism is found ready to associate itself even with the enemies of all society, in order to destroy those who dispute its authority.

kings, and the reign of equal justice as opposed to class privileges—but we may significantly distribute them under five heads.

The first idea of Revolution is popular government represented by certain permanent institutions, which place liberty beyond the invasions of power. There is no question involved of monarchy or republicanism, for a participation on the part of the people in the functions of government is compatible with either; neither is it a question of the delegation of the right of managing their own affairs, inherent in a people, as distinct from the actual exercise of this undoubted right by themselves; neither is it a question of social equality, so that every man shall be like every other man. All that is included in the idea is that the administration shall be conformable to the sentiments and wishes of the great body of the people; while the forms of the constitution are expected to provide some means for the regular, constant, and authentic expression of these sentiments, to which it is the undoubted duty and the obvious interest of the executive to conform. All the Revolutions of history have arisen from the want of some such contrivance for ascertaining the interests and inclinations of the people, and providing for their ready operation upon the immediate agents of public authority. Now, Valdegamas finds the root of all modern evils in that Liberalism which seeks to conciliate the rights of every class in a system of popular government. He says:—

'There is none of its principles which is not accompanied by a counter-principle which destroys it. Thus, for example, it proclaims monarchy, and immediately ministerial responsibility, and consequently the omnipotence of the responsible ministry, which is contradictory of monarchy. It proclaims ministerial responsibility, and immediately the sovereign intervention, in matters of government, of the deliberative assemblies, which is contradictory of the omnipotence of the ministers. . . . It proclaims the right of insurrection of the multitude, which is to proclaim its sovereign omnipotence, and immediately it establishes the laws of electoral eligibility, which is to ostracise the sovereign multitude. And with all these principles and counter-principles, it aims at one thing—to discover, through artifice and industry, an equilibrium which it never discovers, because it contradicts the nature of society and the nature of man.'

Thus, the whole system of representative government, which has so happily established the liberty, prosperity, and happiness of modern nations, is ignorantly condemned, together with all those political guarantees which almost every European nation, and none more than Spain, inherited from its

ancestors, in the form of a Cortes, Parliament, or States-general. It is no question with such writers as to whether there may not be an idea of Revolution which has nothing in common with disruptive theories. We shall presently see whether popular government has generally tended to anarchy, and perhaps it may be possible to show that its dissensions, of which Valdegamas makes so much, are rather the preventives than the occasions of popular disorder.

The second idea of the Revolution—implied, indeed, in that of popular government—is LIBERTY, whether we see it manifested in that freedom of thought which no tyrant can restrain, or in that freedom of speech which no laws can easily reach, or in that freedom of printing which no enlightened government will discourage. Now, so far from liberty tending to destroy society, as Catholic writers allege, we agree with De Tocqueville in the statement: 'I have never been more entirely convinced that liberty alone can give to human society in general, and to the individuals who compose it in particular, all the prosperity and all the greatness of which our race is capable.' Independently of the external advantages with which it may be attended, it promotes the development of genius and talents, both by the unbounded career it opens up to the emulation of every individual in the land, and by the natural effect of all sorts of intellectual or moral excitement to awaken great capabilities. But it has in no way tended to mar the solidity of nations. Catholic writers say that liberty always tends to anarchy. We admit that the love of liberty sometimes takes the form of a contempt for law and regular authority, and we hold that one of the main conditions of the effectual working of a government is a deeply-seated habit of obedience in the population, which of course implies a generally-diffused knowledge of what is demanded of them, and a certain acquired adaptability on their part to fall in with the demand. But it is very singular that this contempt for authority exists exclusively in Roman Catholic countries, or in countries subjected from time immemorial to Catholic influences and training. The anarchy, then, cannot be attributed to liberty, for the spirit of obedience to law and authority exists in perfection only in the lands most distinguished by all kinds of freedom; but to the fact that Catholicism left the populations under its care without the needful discipline to secure or exercise a well-ordered liberty, when at last its blessings were placed within their reach.

Another idea of the Revolution is the separation of Church and State, a political fact,

which, in a general sense, is understood to imply that the Church will no longer be allowed to use the power of the State for carrying out its ideas or decisions. The Revolution makes every man free of ecclesiastical control, to which he may submit himself if he pleases, but it does not allow the Church to restrict either religious or civil liberty. But the separation of Church and State is understood in very different senses in this country and on the Continent. We understand by it the withdrawal of state support from an ecclesiastical body, as in the familiar case of Ireland; but on the Continent statesmen speak of a separation when they merely signify that the Church, still in possession of state endowment or support, is no longer in a position to use the power of the State to carry out its decisions, while the State interferes no longer with the Church in the exercise of her government and discipline. In Italy, and in Belgium especially, the separation of Church and State simply means that the State resigns all control over the Church, while the State gains nothing in turn. There are many besides Mr. Fitzjames Stephen who look on the separation of the spiritual and temporal power as impracticable, and use such phrases as 'a free Church in a free State,' as a mere veil for the fact that of the Church and the State the one must rule the other. It is difficult to see, for example, how France could encounter the problem of a perfectly free Church. The predominance of any single force does not depend so much upon the resources of the force itself as upon the want of power in its neighbours, and it may always find its match in an antagonist force. But it has always been the fault of French institutions, under a singularly centralised administration, that they make it possible for any particular force to become excessive without providing another to measure and check it. But we altogether fail to see how the separation of Church and State, as already explained, tends to involve society in the perils of anarchy, because the Church still enjoys almost boundless power to carry on her own proper work. If she demands the restoration of her old status, so that she may once more not only dictate state action, but hold in her hand the practical control of public and private life, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that logically it would lead to the re-establishment of force in the hands of Churchmen. There has been no tendency to anarchy either in Great Britain or America, where Church and State are very distinct powers, and the statesmen of both countries have found it wise to regard religious differences as matters concerning

merely the individual conscience, to which it is therefore their duty and their policy to give free play.

The Revolution has always assumed an attitude of hostility to monastic institutions—perhaps as part of its general policy in relation to religion—and Catholic writers like Valdegamas see in the secularization of monastic property a sign of the coming abolition of property of all sorts. He is confident that ‘the ecclesiastical and civil abolishment of property, tumultuously proclaimed by Liberalism, carries with it, in some time more or less proximate, but not very distant, considering the pace of modern events, universal spoliation.’ But he forgets that devout Roman Catholics have been as actively engaged in spoliation of this sort as the Liberals themselves, and that the security of civil property has never been affected in the slightest degree by the abolition of monasteries at any time during the last three hundred years.

Another idea of the Revolution—and which the year 1848 brought into remarkable prominence—is that of nationality; for there was then a strong and instinctive tendency on the part of races speaking the same language, owning the same literature, and sprung from the same origin, to rearrange themselves anew, according to their natural ties, in distinct and comprehensive nationalities. We see the issue of this movement in the unity of Italy and of Germany within the last few years. Blood is thicker than water, and a tie of a common origin has been found stronger than any despot or any treaties. But Catholicism has always, with certain well-understood exceptions, looked upon nationality with the greatest dislike, because it is easier for the Papacy to deal with governments than with nations. Long before the Reformation, the development of the national spirit in the English laity proved antagonistic to ecclesiasticism; and there is hardly in existence a greater obstacle than nationality to the restoration of the political unity of Christendom under the suzerainty of the Pope. This idea has, indeed, been gaining power and distinctness every year, and as races rise in the scale of humanity their peculiar characteristics are magnified also; but there is reason to hope they will not on that account be more separate, but more deeply assured that they are complementary to each other. Catholic writers say truly that nationality has led to bloody wars, but it has not led to anarchy. Society will in the end be strengthened rather than weakened by it.

The last idea of the Revolution which deserves notice is its attitude in relation to educa-

tion. There never was any real attempt made in France to construct a truly national system till after 1789. Catholic writers are exceedingly indignant at the educating policy of the Revolution; yet it must in fairness be remembered that Catholicism never attempted popular education till the Revolution had laid the whole Papal world in ruins. In countries wholly Roman Catholic, like Spain, and Spanish America, and Italy, the people were left in ignorance, plainly showing that it was no part of the policy of the Church, when left wholly to herself, to promote the universal diffusion of knowledge. But when successful opposition seemed hopeless, the idea was taken up of making education subservient to the maintenance of the Church, or, as the atheists of the Revolution said, the Church took it into her hands only to mar it. We need hardly inquire whether education tends to the disruption of society, and the inquiry is the less necessary, because in all continental countries, and in France particularly, the Church has at present a leading influence in the direction of public instruction.

■ We have thus touched upon five ideas commonly identified with the Revolution, and we shall now see whether history throws any light upon their influence or effects upon the happiness and prosperity of nations. The question is, then, whether Revolutions—and especially such as Catholicism condemns—have been found to be uniformly prejudicial to the interests of nations. The facts of the case are without dispute. Three hundred years ago the Dutch asserted their independence of Spain, and they prospered; the Swiss revolted from the House of Austria, and they prospered; Great Britain revolted against the despotism of the Stuarts; and it prospered; and the North Americans revolted against the Monarchy of Great Britain, and they prospered. All these experiments have turned out well, and have secured a greater share of human happiness within the sphere of their operation than has ever been exhibited among any similar portions of the race. No difficulty seems to have been experienced in these cases in restraining the excesses of popular violence. The profound remark of Machiavelli appears for once to fail, that ‘every Revolution contains the seeds of another, and scatters them behind it.’ How absurd is it, then, because one or two experiments—that of France, the principal, and that of the South American Republics, of an inferior order—have failed, to entertain a prejudice against all Revolutions, however urgent the circumstances which call for them, when so many more have succeeded; and above all when the exceptional instances

—though there is a sense in which even the Revolution in France has not failed—afford such instruction with regard to the causes of their failure, that statesmen will yet be able to learn wisdom from past disappointments!

How has it happened that the English Revolution has never tended to anarchy, and that it has developed constitutional government into still stronger and more abiding forms? How is it that the English people have been so well able to work a system of representative government, to understand the delicately complex workings, the balances and checks in their constitution, which ensure the stability of all our liberties as a nation? It is customary to explain it by the habitual respect for established law, by what Carlyle calls 'our inveterate and inborn reverence for the constable's staff,' engraved in the hearts and dispositions of a self-governing population. We have, besides, a reverence for the authority of our statesmen—a great and admirable quality of the national mind—which gives stability to a popular government, and forms the check which keeps popular impulse from infecting the counsels of the state with sudden and ceaseless change. We observe exactly the same peculiarities in the people of the United States, living under a more democratic government than ours. The very novelty, no less than the form of the American constitution, was of itself sufficient to generate and keep alive a condition of feverish restlessness and insubordination, because there is a subtle element in the very form of government which works its way into the national character. Yet the principle of authority has there been maintained in all its integrity since the Revolution. The civil war was in itself an attempt to maintain it, and has left no trace of anarchy behind it. The American people cannot divest themselves of their acquaintance with the laws of nature, with history, and with the inexorable conditions of human affairs. They have always appreciated the perils of anarchy, and therefore from the first they have deprecated all change but what was natural, and organically adapted to the national temperament. How is it that there is no Socialist propaganda in America? Socialism has been tried there in many different forms, but, as the work of Charles Nordhoff proves, it has been a dead failure.* Why is it that, in a country in which industrial interests are so strong, Socialism has never assumed a pre-

ponderance in politics, much less attempted to seize the administration? The Humanist Grün says that America has never yet come to the split that has gone through the heart of the old world; but he ought to consider that England has never, any more than America, shown a taste for Socialist theories. How comes it to pass, then, that the principle of authority and the respect for established law have been maintained so admirably in England and America, two countries whose religion is based upon the right of private judgment, and that they have been so singularly wanting in countries whose mental and moral discipline was acquired under a system based upon authority. This is really one of the paradoxes of history. Why, in a word, did the English Revolution succeed, and the French Revolution fail? Guizot supplies at least one answer which is pertinent to a discussion in which Catholic writers make much of theological questions. 'The French Revolution followed on a sceptical and philosophical movement of men's minds. The English Revolution followed on a period of deep religious excitement. The English Revolutionists were even more attached to their religious faith than to their political opinions. They fought for liberty of conscience even more than for civil rights.' This explanation must appear somewhat curious to writers like Valdegamas, who affirm that the Revolution is owing to Protestantism, for, says he, 'Protestantism, free-thinking, and philosophy, are three heads of one Cerberus.' How singular that Revolution should be so little hurtful to Protestant, and so very injurious to Catholic countries! He says 'all the Proudhonian contradictions are in the last three hundred years;' yet, singularly enough, their disturbing influence is entirely confined to Roman Catholic communities!

We have now reached that point in the present discussion which requires us to consider how far, in case society is in danger of being destroyed by the Revolution, Catholicism is in a position to save it. We mean Catholicism as understood by Ultramontane writers like Valdegamas, and as interpreted by the propositions of the Syllabus. The first question to be decided is, on what principles or conditions this service is to be rendered; because nations that have imbibed the ideas of the Revolution might be unwilling to sacrifice the unquestionable advantages they at present enjoy as the price to be paid for the cure of the evils of anarchy. Twenty-five years ago the monarchs of Europe, threatened by the people, called in the Church to save society; and the Church at once consented to league her priesthood

* 'The Communistic Societies of the United States,' &c., &c. By Charles Nordhoff. London. 1875.

with despotism, and blessed the princes in breaking the oaths by which they bound themselves to bestow a measure of freedom on their subjects. The Church thus became triumphant for a time against ancient legislation and standard rules of action; but (as if to illustrate that irony of Providence that sows the seeds of failure in the very acts that seem destined to command success) within ten years the monarchs had, one and all, begun to make terms with their subjects, and now the alliance with the Church is practically at an end. We may be perfectly confident that the nations will never consent, in the greatest exigency, to call in the Church on the terms of that old alliance.

Catholic writers are evidently under a great delusion in imagining that if the atheism of society could be uprooted, the ideas of the Revolution could be easily overturned; because, as we have already seen, these ideas had their origin in ages of faith rather than of scepticism. Italy has accepted the ideas of the Revolution without becoming more sceptical. If there is a sceptical spirit in Protestant countries, it does not somehow touch the springs of national life, and has never threatened them with anarchy or moral disorder. The most sanguine Ultramontane in Europe cannot imagine that the extinction of atheism could bring back the nations to despotic government, to the Inquisition, to the Index, to the suppression of literature, to the right of sanctuary. How absurd, then, it is to regard atheism and liberty as synonymous terms.* A Belgian advocate has just published a pamphlet to show that society is perishing for want of Catholicism and authority.† Protestantism is either Cæsarism or anarchy: it is self-contradictory.

‘For the last hundred years France has been Voltairian and infidel. Spain is dying because it has rejected Catholic unity. . . . The Protestant nations will not be able to maintain their civilization unless they reject their horrible doctrines of the Reformation; and the nations which are Catholic only *in name* are on the verge of ruin, because, having rejected the Catholic principle, they are

a prey to the revolutionary demon.’ There is something in this warning voice that reminds us of what our friends on the Continent, both Ultramontanes and Socialists, have been for a long time repeating for our comfort; that the fabric of English constitutionalism is honeycombed by the slow, but constant, action of Socialist doctrines; that it looks solid enough to look at, but is ready to collapse when the hour comes for applying the revolutionary force. All we can say is that if there is danger it does not disturb our equanimity, and we may probably succeed, on the principles of private judgment, in keeping our civilization a few centuries longer.

But the question is, If the cure of scepticism is necessary to the safety of society, is Catholicism in a position to effect that cure? The task of re-establishing the principle of authority, which Voltaire did so much to weaken, if not destroy, in France, is one of a really formidable character, because the Revolution has become strongly entrenched behind a powerful literature and philosophy, vastly superior to anything that Catholicism can boast of. In a word, Can Catholicism convert the sceptics of continental society into good Catholics? There is no question of its success in converting English Protestants, but the reason assigned by Mr. Froude for the almost exceptional facility of this conquest is by no means flattering to Catholicism. He says: ‘It fails to see that its success is its deepest condemnation. Protestantism alone has kept alive the sentiment of piety, which, when allied with weakness of intellect, is the natural prey of superstition.’* How does it happen that the sentiment of piety is allowed to become extinct in Catholic nations? Why does atheism spring up at all under the shadow of the Church? All Catholic writers, without exception, lay the blame upon Protestantism. But we suspect there were sceptics before Luther. Hallam adduces abundant evidence to this effect in his ‘Introduction to the Literature of Europe,’ and if it should be affirmed that he was mistaken, there is the further evidence that numerous vindications of Christianity appeared even in those ages when the Church was most triumphant. It is not usual to write replies where there is no attack. Catholic writers tell us that Voltaire borrowed his creed from the English deists; but we should like to know what kind of education he had previously received from his Jesuit teachers, to make him so susceptible of injury from English free-

* While Catholic writers trace back modern ideas of liberty to the French Revolution, others attribute them to the discussions on the rights of nations and the expediency of reform, to which the American War gave birth. But a more careful scrutiny of ideas will carry us back to the Revolution of 1688—or, if you will—to 1647, when the Republicans of that bold age, such as Harrington, Milton, Needham, and Whitelocke, had the merit of originating those great questions which the French tried to solve after their own manner in 1789.

† ‘Le Protestantisme: courte réponse à M. de Lavelaye,’ par Jules Camaner, avt. Closson et cie., Bruxelles. 1875.

* ‘History of England,’ by J. A. Froude. Vol. xii. p. 536.

thinkers. Gioberti tells us that the Jesuits trained all the Encyclopedists, Voltaire, Diderot, Helvetius, Marmontel, St. Lambert, Lamettrie, and others. We suspect, however, that the French had got the germs of a materialistic philosophy from Gassendi, before Chubb, Tindal, and Toland had begun to attack Christianity in England. But let this point be settled as it may, it seems a singular fact that while English Protestantism vanquished deism in argument by its Paleys, Butlers, Lardners, and Watsons—and, more than all, perhaps, by its Wesleys and Whitefields—so that society among us is at this hour, to use the words of Dr. Döllinger, 'free from that cold, blunt indifference which on the Continent lies like a poisonous blight on whole classes of the population,' Catholicism seems hardly to have recovered an inch of lost ground, but continues to bewail the wide-spread and disorganising effects of atheism in continental society. It will always remain a significant fact that it was a Catholic, not a Protestant nation, that once abolished Christianity; and though Protestantism has its free-thinkers as well as Catholicism, there is little sign of its losing the Christian inheritance that it has derived in large measure from the revolt of the sixteenth century. We believe that the difficulties of conversion on the Continent are increasing rather than diminishing, on account of the political attitude assumed in the Syllabus. Father Hyacinthe says: 'My profound conviction is that if France in particular, and the Latin races in general, are delivered up to anarchy,—social, moral, religious—the principal cause of the calamity is certainly not in Catholicism itself, but in the manner in which Catholicism has for a long time been understood and practised.' The allusion is evidently to certain recent developments of the system which tend to create a wider and wider gulf between its dogmas and the thought and vigour of the world. There is no possibility of Catholic nations going back to a feudal state of society, or surrendering the liberties which they have purchased with their blood.

It would be hazardous to express an opinion upon the probable issues of the contest between Catholicism and the Revolution, and every day shows more clearly the difficulty of a *modus vivendi* being established between them. Is there no possibility of a reaction within Catholicism itself, such as that which once inspired Lamennais and Montalembert with the hope of chivalry and Catholicism becoming the natural ally of liberty and political emancipation? Is the school of Neo-Catholic Liberalism extinct? We know it was the excesses of the Revolu-

tion that destroyed Gallicanism and perfected the unity of Catholicism; but if the Revolution should become more temperate and tolerant in its spirit, would there be no chance of an answering movement within the bosom of the Church? At present the prospect is by no means hopeful. It is true that we find Catholicism using the weapons of popular government in Belgium, but it is only to crush the Revolution. The Liberals there imagined that the Church would be ruined by religious liberty, and they now see the institutions they created for the purpose of propagating the modern spirit turned against them to prepare the way for the definitive triumph of the Church. They see the tide of Ultramontanism rising higher and higher, and threatening to overspread the whole country, with only a few large towns able to keep their heads above water. It is in reference to this powerful movement that M. de Lavelaye says:—

'To fight the Church is to attack its creed. That is what Voltaire did in the eighteenth century. That has succeeded hitherto in France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. But it cost them dear, for in spreading scepticism you have weakened the moral spring, and so prepared that confused and morbid state from which Roman Catholic States have so much trouble in emerging. If the country preserves its faith, like Belgium and Ireland, it falls into the hands of the clergy. If it forsakes its faith, it falls into anarchy like Spain and Mexico.'

The fault of the Liberals, as they have begun to discover, especially in Belgium, has been too great a reliance on their own power, too reckless a contempt for their adversaries, too thorough a confidence in the readiness of the people to go any lengths with them. It is the success of Ultramontanism in Belgium that has inspired the hope in Catholic bosoms that it is still possible for the Church to recover its hold upon the revolted classes of French society. Vast efforts are being made to control the higher as well as the lower education of the people, and the project of the new Catholic university, which is 'to prepare a generation that will not apostatise' suggests the confident expectation that the Revolution will be stamped out within the compass of, at least, two generations. The pupils of the Jesuits, however, do not always reflect credit upon their training, as we have already seen in the case of the Encyclopædists;* and

* It is somewhat remarkable that the *sans-culottes* of 1793, as well as the Communists of 1871, were trained by the clergy. (See M. Simiot's speech in the National Assembly, March 16, 1873.)

their aims are so much more political than religious, that a reaction that depends upon their influence can have no great depth or permanence. The world has certainly begun to lose faith in their invincibility. If we may follow the historic guidance of Dr. Döllinger, the Jesuits have had many disappointments and failures in their work. 'The experience of three hundred years proves they have no lucky hand; on their undertakings rests no blessing. They build assiduously and indefatigably, but there comes a whirlwind and overthrows their building, or a torrent breaks in and washes it away, or the worm-eaten timbers fall in pieces under their hands.' If the Jesuits, however, confined themselves simply to the task of education, the philosophers of the Revolution would have little reason to complain, because they have always included free education among their principles. But politics will be wielded as vigorously as education, though the efforts lately made by the Jesuits to revive Legitimacy on the Continent, show less evidence of hidden strength than of their utter barrenness of all true resource. Sincerity is one of the elements of permanent success, but it is singularly wanting in a policy that seeks the alliance of Socialism in the attempt to overthrow existing institutions. There is as little wisdom as sincerity in such a course; for if in the destruction of legitimate authority the Church could obtain an ascendancy from the decision with which a strong and absolute organization like herself may always be expected to act in moments of temporary confusion, the victory would be dearly purchased, and would be followed by a terrible revenge.

We do not believe that the Revolution is destined to wreck society or to reduce it to anarchy; for it is a clear deduction of history that no great vital interest of mankind, pertaining to civilization, has ever been destroyed either by Revolution or by the ravages of war. But Revolution to be legitimate must be a movement against what is bad, worn-out, or oppressive, for there is always a strong presumption in favour of established institutions. The time must come, however, when movements of this kind will be no longer necessary, and when society will cease to be the drunken horseman to whom Luther compared it, falling now on one side and now on another. Its oscillations will become fewer and more limited as time reconciles the rights and duties of sovereigns and subjects, and enlarges that circle of moderate and intelligent minds that constitutes its self-regulating power. There is little sign at present of a diminished range in its oscillations; but those who ob-

serve the direction in which the current of civilization is running, who watch the onward flow of civil and religious liberty, who mark the successful vindication of national and individual freedom in countries hitherto most opposed to these principles, must believe that the time cannot be far distant when society will have solved the problem of reconciling stability with progress, order with liberty, the widest freedom with a powerful nationality, and indomitable individuality with a religious respect for authority. It is, at least, a significant fact that the order, the governing power, and the strength and impulse of the world, are now mainly concentrated in the nations which have already satisfactorily solved the problem.

ART. IV.—*The Independence and Integrity of the Ottoman Empire.*

- (1.) *Reports of Her Majesty's Consuls.*
- (2.) *Our Special Correspondents.*
- (3.) *Etude sur la Question d'Orient.* Par ROBERT NORTH. 1876.
- (4.) *Lettres sur la Turquie Ubicini.*
- (5.) *Foreyth's Slavonian Provinces of Turkey.*

THE father of the last and present sultans, whose name was Mahmoud, was the greatest radical of the last generation, but, like most such, he was too sanguine and impatient of human frailties. He endeavoured to walk in the footsteps of that successful reformer, Peter the Great, and failed egregiously, for circumstances were too strong for him. He found his empire in a state of chaos, he was nominally sovereign, the real power lay not in the hands of an orderly legislature, but in those of a turbulent military caste, the Janissaries, once the terror of Christendom, but now formidable only to domestic order and good government. These troops were massacred by a bold and skilful *coup d'état* in 1826, but ere the newly-enrolled Nizam could take the field with any efficiency, misfortunes fell heavily on the Turks. Greece was in full rebellion, the Allies destroyed the Turkish fleet at Navarino, and the Russians declared war, and in two disastrous campaigns dictated a treaty within a few marches of Constantinople. This Treaty of Adrianople was a heavy blow to the Ottoman Empire and an immense boon to humanity. Before its date (1829) the Black Sea was closed to all nations, almost the only commerce consisting of the transit of slaves from Circassia to Constantinople. Now the ports of Sulina, Varna, Odessa, Kertch, and Ber-

diansk are crowded with European, especially English, shipping. Sultan Mahmoud died broken-hearted just as his great vassal, Mehemmed Ali of Egypt, had rebelled and defeated his armies, and the admiral commanding the remnant of his fleet had treacherously gone over to the enemy.

The eldest male of the House of Osman was Abdul Mejid, Mahmoud's son by a Georgian kidnapped slave. He was girt with the sword of Osman (*i.e.*, he came to the throne) in 1839, and at the age of sixteen succeeded to a *damnosa hæreditas*; for although the chief drastic reforms had been effected by Mahmoud, who, in his indignation at seeing vast provinces practically detached from the empire by such insubordinate vassals as Ali of Yanina, Ali of Stolatz, Kara Osman of Oghlou, Khaznadar Oghlou, and sundry others, and in his rage for French centralisation, had nearly destroyed the Asiatic feudalism that had defied the authority of the Porte; there remained still the great Egyptian, Mehemmed Ali, besides sundry grave and deep corruptions in the body politic.

Had the Ottomans occupied California or Borneo, instead of their historic lands, it is probable that a better government would have been evolved out of the struggles between the governors and the misgoverned. Nature has implanted certain instincts in the human mind which tend towards improvement of condition. If the land groans under a tyrant whose ferocity is such that he dare not be approached with a grievance, that tyrant's life is but a short one: some one amongst his many victims avenges himself and his oppressed countrymen. If the country is oppressed by some aristocracy or powerful clique, they, in their blind greed for immediate advantage, reduce the land to the condition in which a foreign invader is welcomed; and so, after a longer or shorter period, something like freedom from oppression is secured. But woe to the land whose government is protected by some vastly more powerful nation. The fact of that government requiring protection from without is its worst condemnation.

Turkey lay across our path to India: it was better for England to have a road lying through a weak dependent country than through a jealous strong one. In the former case the worst that could occur might be a temporary obstruction of mails by marauding nomads: in the latter case an entire prohibition of transit from some political complication might ensue. Hence then came the axiom of English foreign policy, 'that the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire must be maintained.'

In 1839 Mehemmed Ali of Egypt revolted from the nerveless control of the Sultan and defeated the armies of his suzerain lord. Syria came under his rule, and for about two years that province was, in Eastern fashion, admirably governed. We have heard natives declare that under Mehemmed Ali a child might cross the Lebanon with gold in his hand. But this suited not the policy of England, so our fleets were sent to restore Syria to the Sultan. Our admirals battered down Acre, and, in spite of the French, we maintained or restored 'the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire.' A swarm of pashas, caimacams, and mudirs descended from Constantinople, like a flock of obscene vultures, to prey upon the unhappy province; and as the voices of thanksgiving for our glorious victories arose from our cathedrals and churches, they mingled with the shrieks of outraged virgins and the groans of tortured peasants, for amidst the applause of British mobs we had restored anarchy and oppression. The massacres of the Nestorian Christians, of the Christians of Aleppo and of Jeddah, and the bloody scenes of the Lebanon and the destruction and massacre of the Christian quarter of Damascus, not to speak of the depopulation of vast tracts of country, attest the result of the policy of Christian England; Christian in name and profession, but often heathen beyond example in her selfish foreign policy, guided as it is by the traditions of an unreformed Foreign Office, and tacitly supported by a House of Commons which cannot be expected to be well informed in these matters. The new Sultan, Abdul Mejid, was an amiable, weak voluptuary, who, content to wallow in sensual indulgence in his palace on the Bosphorus, a sort of Moslem Paradise, handed over his empire to Reshid Pasha and Sir Stratford Canning. These did their best to carry out the projected reforms of the defunct Sultan Mahmoud. The chief event of the reign was the solemn publication of the Tanzimat or Hatt-y-humayom of Gulhané, the great Turkish Reform Bill. Any one reading this in the light of European experience, which teaches us that such documents mean what they say, would have looked forward, as many did, to a new and prosperous era for Turkey, as the edict abounded in promises of liberty, equality, and fraternity. It was in truth the Magna Charta of Turkey, but an abortive one.

The new era was nevertheless marked by radical changes in the government of Turkey. Before the advent of Sultan Abdul Mejid each province was governed by a pasha, who, although professing to be the slave of the Sultan, was, nevertheless, more or less

an hereditary pasha, and a man of the province, born and bred in the seat of his government and knowing its wants and capabilities. He was endowed with immense power, and, as the representative of the Sultan, could, and often did, make heads fall at his discretion. It was his interest to pay his tribute, and he usually did so, though he was often in arrears; but in several instances these pashas were tempted to give themselves the airs of independent sovereigns, and were not easy to reduce to obedience. In a rough and irregular way they sometimes governed comparatively well, and built and kept in repair bridges, roads, and khans. But with the Janissaries, these semi-independent governors had to be got rid of; and so by force or fraud, by the bowstring or the poisoned coffee-cup they were all disposed of, and a new era of centralization began.

Under the new *régime* each pasha is sent direct to his provincial governorship from Constantinople. The new governors are the creatures of the clique that surrounds the Sultan. Often, nay, perhaps usually, they are slaves from Georgia or Circassia, or the offspring of such. Without a particle of independence, without an idea of administration but what they have learned in that city of debasing intrigue, the whole end and aim of their administration is to keep in favour with their Constantinople patrons by bribery, and to fill their own coffers; for their tenure of office is uncertain in the extreme, depending as it does upon the caprice of the Grand Vizier, who in his turn is frequently changed by his irresponsible master.

Arrived at his provincial post, the new pasha finds himself, from his ignorance, absolutely in the power of the provincial *mijlis* or council, which is composed of the notables of the place, men whose idea of patriotism begins and ends with themselves.

The principal tax is the agricultural tithe, the most oppressive and destructive in its action of any fiscal burden that has ever been invented. The right of collecting this is farmed to an official, the tax-farmer, who has sent in the highest tender. These provincial councils usually arrange the matter amongst themselves. They agree not to compete with each other, and use their joint endeavours to prevent others from outbidding them. This tax is collected in kind, and no farmer is allowed to touch his crop until the tax-farmer has valued it. This personage is in no hurry to commence his valuations. The crops, being ripe, begin to shed the corn, or to be spoiled by the weather, the birds, or wild hogs. The peasant entreats the tax-farmer to come and allow him to commence reaping. Meantime prices are falling in the

market, from the daily increasing abundance, so the poor fellow offers more than the tithe; and at last, driven to despair, has been known to promise half the crop, in the hope of saving some. The poor man is forced to carry the tax-farmer's share to the nearest town without remuneration, to give him presents of poultry and lambs, and to feed his numerous followers, who during all the delay have probably been living in the village, feeding at the cost of the peasants, and offering too frequently every indignity to the women.

Under this system it is no wonder that vast tracts of land have gone out of cultivation, and that travellers see in Syria villages and even towns in excellent preservation (owing to the climate), with doors swinging on their hinges, and all ready to be occupied, but absolutely deserted, with vast tracts of land abandoned to the gazelles or the scanty flocks of the wandering Bedouin.

One of the reforms of the *Tanzimat* was the admission of Christians to these provincial councils, and in accordance with the edict Christians are admitted. There is usually one in each council. He sits, of course, in the lowest place, helps to fill the pasha's pipe, but is absolutely silent, not daring to give an opinion. He is nevertheless bound to affix his seal to the ordinances, often most oppressive to his fellow-Christians.

Mahomedanism is the state religion, and though other faiths are recognized and tolerated, the orthodox alone are trusted or supposed capable of patriotism. This theory, when acted on, goes far to produce its realization. When a man finds in his native country all progress to honour and dignity barred to him; when he finds the poorest and meanest member of the state Church preferred to himself; when he finds his oath rejected in a court of justice; he may be excused if his patriotism does not burn as brightly as it might do under other circumstances.

So late as the close of the Crimean war the Sultan again solemnly and publicly promised religious equality, involving of course the recognition of the Christian's oath in a court of justice. About four years afterwards a paper of queries was sent to each British consul, asking, amongst other matters, how this pledge had been fulfilled? With scarcely an exception the consuls answered that the edict had remained a dead letter; that the Christian oath was not received, or, if accepted in one court, the case was removed to the *Mehkémé*, a purely Mahomedan court, where of course the Moslem suitor has it all his own way.

Under such a *régime* it might be supposed

that each Christian's life and property would be at the mercy of every Moslem rogue, and that no Christian woman could preserve her honour; but an imperfect remedy has been found. 'Certain lewd fellows of the baser sort,' Moslems by birth, have adopted the profession of false witnesses. Some of them are always to be found hanging about the purlicus of the *cadi's* court, and when a case between a Moslem and a Christian comes on, these witnesses will swear on the Koran to anything they are told. The *cadi* receives the testimony, and then decides according to the weight of the evidence, which has usually been presented to him the night before, in the form of a heavy bag thrust under the pillow of his sofa.

The character of the Moslem peasant at home in his village is not to be judged by that of his corrupt and oppressive government. He is usually an excellent man in all the relations of life, cleanly, self-respecting, honest, and sober. All unprejudiced observers must allow that a Moslem village in Asia Minor will compare most favourably with an English village, the latter being decidedly less cleanly, sober, and chaste. Corruption begins with the government dignitaries, and pervades all classes of officials. The lower ranks might be excused much from the smallness and irregularity of their pay. When a rural policeman with a family is only paid about two pounds a month, and is often in arrears for six months, the poor man must starve or plunder. He usually chooses the latter, and endowed as he is with almost irresponsible power among the peasantry, he has not a bad time of it. When two or three of these are seen approaching a Christian village, the women hide themselves in all sorts of places, only the grandmothers venturing to appear, while everything portable is thrust out of sight. The *zaptiés* (police) ride up to the biggest cottage, and are at once waited on by the chiefs of the village, who obsequiously take the horses, and prepare carpets and cushions for their masters. Chickens or lambs are prepared, and the finest pilaf is set before the unwelcome guests. It will be well if the villagers get off with being thus taxed in a small way. The grossest insults, cruel beatings, and even criminal assaults on the honour of the family, are far from uncommon.

When the threatening embassy of Mentchikoff first aroused the fears of England against Russian aggression, the people of this country knew no more of Turkey than of Japan, but what little was known was favourable. About five years before, the Sultan had made a gallant stand against the cruel and haughty demands of the Russian

and Austrian emperors, when they insisted on the hunted Hungarian refugees being handed over to the Austrian hangman. The unknown Sultan seemed a beneficent being compared with the bloodthirsty despots, and so we drifted into the Crimean war in defence of the menaced 'integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire.' As time went on, and hundreds of our officers and intelligent civilians came in contact with Turkish officials and Turkish *rayahs*, or Christians, during the war, an uneasy sensation came over the national mind, that while we were defending the Turks from the Russians we were riveting the chains on some millions of Christians; that the maltreatment of these formed the pretext for the czar's interference, an idea which we had laughed to scorn and called hypocrisy, had somewhat of truth in it after all. The writer of this paper was employed in a corps of Turkish irregular cavalry, which patrolled the banks of the Danube, and whose duty was to defend the peasantry from the inroads of marauding cossacks. Each village he entered was empty of inhabitants, hogs and domesticated animals were prowling wild about the deserted homesteads. Not villages alone, but such places as Turtokai, the doors of which were torn off for fuel, the windows destroyed, and the vineyards desolated. And where were the inhabitants? Had they fled further inland from the enemy? No; but they had fled to the enemy for protection against their protectors. The warriors of the Crescent had desolated several villages, committing horrible excesses.

All these facts made a due impression on the British mind, and not unfrequently portions of the press spoke out, avowing that the Crimean war was a mistake, and that England would never again draw the sword for Turkey. This latter power seemed to breathe more freely after the signal discomfiture of her hereditary enemy. The European powers tacitly adopted the policy of non-interference in her internal affairs, and so the Christians had a bad time of it; while the Turks had discovered an almost unlimited gold mine, in the shape of European loans, which were spent in crushing the Montenegrins and Herzegovinians, in building a magnificent fleet of armour-clads; and last, not least, in the erection of several gorgeous marble palaces on the Bosphorus, filled with gaudy French furniture and costly Circassian beauties.

In 1859 Russia once more spoke after a long silence, when Gortchakoff issued a manifesto complaining of the treatment of the Christians in Turkey, and giving instances of gross outrage and cruelty. The English

ambassador, Sir Henry Bulwer, issued a circular of questions, to which we have already referred, asking each consul how the Christians were treated; and this circular was accompanied by a covering despatch, in which the consuls were made to understand that the government would prefer answers favourable to the Turkish government. To the honour of the consuls, this flagitious attempt to make things agreeable at the expence of truth failed. Almost without exception the reports of the British consuls confirmed the circular of Gortchakoff.

The Syrian massacres of 1860 followed, and made a deep impression on the mind of Europe; and in 1862 the bombardment of Belgrade, an important European city, in the midst of profound peace, still further disabused those who thought that Turkey was progressing towards civilization. Those, too, who knew anything of the country, and the character of its rulers, gave themselves no credit for extraordinary prescience when they said that bankruptcy was not far off; that any sort of domestic convulsion would hasten it; and that a host of unpaid soldiers, sailors, and civil servants, swollen to an exaggerated number by the fatal facility of loan raising, would produce a crisis which would be but the beginning of the end.

Meanwhile the exhausted voluptuary Abdul Mejid died in 1861, and it was hoped that his successor would be a manly prince, who, like his father Mahmoud, would play the rôle of a great reformer. But these hopes were doomed to be disappointed. Sultan Abdul Azeez came from a lifelong imprisonment with the mind of a wilful lad of ten years of age. Owing to the jealous policy of the family of Osman, he had been kept a close prisoner ever since his father's death in 1840. His confinement was made as endurable as possible for him. He had every conceivable form of indulgence in the shape of slaves, horses, steam yacht, concubines, &c, but each child born to him was murdered, with the exception of one whom he contrived to secrete. Thus were the best years of his life passed in the society of slaves and eunuchs; when suddenly, on the death of his brother, this intellectually mutilated being was endowed with despotic power, and a whole nation (containing, we may suppose, intelligent men of the world as well as fools) bows down and worships him, consults him in the gravest affairs of state, and obeys his slightest behests. What wonder then that his viziers have been incessantly changed, that his expenditure is boundless, and his caprices those of an idiot. As might have been anticipated, the gravest troubles have broken out in that part of the

Sultan's dominions which is most exposed to European influences. The example of successful revolt against Italian tyrants has not been lost upon the Slavonians of the opposite coast; especially as they have, on the other side, the splendid example of Serbia, a country which, sixty years ago, was exactly in the present position of Herzegovina.

European Turkey should be considered as a whole and also in detail. Bounded on the north by the rivers Danube and Save, on the west by the Adriatic, on the east by the Black Sea, and on the south by the Mediterranean and the frontiers of Greece, lies a region which comprises various populations, but all under the rule of the Sultan, all deeply discontented, and, therefore, a source of danger to the European political system. Throughout the greater part of this country, the population is ethnologically homogeneous, by far the larger proportion being Slavonian, numbering perhaps about eight millions; but in one corner, north of Greece, there are about half a million of Albanians. Throughout the country are some hundred thousands of Turks, Tartars, Greeks, and Zinzars. Classed according to their dialects of one language the southern Slavonians may be divided into two nearly equal parts, the Eastern Bulgarians and the Western Croato-Serbs. But there is a still more important classification, and that is the religious one, since these populations are intellectually much in the condition of those mediæval people who organized crusades and burned heretics alive. About two millions of these Slavonians are Romanists, 780,000 Mussulmans, and all the rest belong to the Slavonic branch of the Eastern Church. These are serious elements of dissension. The Moslems are Unitarians, and regard all Christians as idolaters, and unworthy of fair treatment. The Catholics believe in the Trinity, but they believe that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father *and the Son* (*filioque*) and, therefore, damn all who, like the Greeks, believe that the Holy Ghost proceeded solely from the Father. History tells us that when Constantinople was in its last agony, when its walls were crumbling under Turkish cannon, the Greek defenders could scarcely be restrained from flying at the throats of their Latin auxiliaries, and that their clergy were mainly engaged in cursing them. Much the same spirit remains at the present day, perhaps somewhat modified by Moslem oppression, and this religious division of Christendom has doubtless been a great ally of the Turk.

Before the Turkish conquest, the feudal system was in force in these provinces, which at one time had attained the force and dig-

nity of a powerful kingdom, and opposed a formidable barrier to the Turkish arms which were steadily advancing into this part of Europe long before the conquest of Constantinople. The battle of Kossovo, in 1389, attended by a well-known romantic incident, often the subject of song and poem, established the Moslem supremacy up to the Danube and Save. Then it was that the powerful aristocracy of the kingdom of Czar Dnshan deliberately accepted the Crescent in lieu of the Cross, in order to maintain their feudal privileges, which were solemnly guaranteed to them by the conqueror Ilderim.

Thus it will be seen that the Moslems in these Slavonian provinces, unlike what obtains in many other parts of the Turkish Empire, are of the same race as the Christians, who love them no better on that account; and though Moslems sprung from the race of Osman are tolerably numerous in Bulgaria and Roumelia, still the bulk of the followers of the Prophet in these provinces are of native descent. Religious terms have been confused with those of nationalities. A Turk, strictly speaking, means a man of Turkish race, but as all such are Moslems, Turk often means a Moslem; so that in Bosnia it may be said that the Turks are not Turks, but Moslem Slavonians. Again, of the Greeks, many races of various kinds throughout the Ottoman dominions are termed Greeks merely because they profess the Greek religion; and until the ethnological passion set in throughout Europe about forty years ago, the Slavonians of whom we are speaking were termed Greeks, being served by Greek bishops and priests. The upper classes had adopted Greek as their refined language, just as the Hungarian aristocracy spoke German, and the Russians French.

The feudal system lasted in these provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina until 1850, when it was partially broken down by the renegade Croatian, Omer Pasha, as the haughty Bosnian landlords rose in revolt in consequence of an attempt to restrict their feudal privileges, and include them in the new Constantinopolitan scheme of centralization. In spite of the landlord defeat, the country is still very feudal: the people are divorced from the soil, and cultivate only under landlords. The land tenure varies in different parts. In the districts of Nisch and Leskowatz the tenant is obliged to sow two okes of grain (covering two acres); he is also compelled to cut the crop arising from this quantity of seed and to house it for the benefit of the landlord. In addition to this, he is bound to give up one-ninth of his own crops to the landlord, who finds him neither

house nor seed, but often advances him the means of purchasing his ploughs, oxen, and farming necessities. The landlord pays the 'virgu,' or property tax. He has not, however, the power of ousting the tenant, *i.e.*, not the legal power. In Slavonia, and some other parts, after a tenth has been paid to the Sultan, seed is put aside for the coming year, and of what produce remains, the landlord gets half.

European Turkey, then, at least the western part of it, differs from most other parts of the empire in its intense form of landlordism. When an enlightened traveller in the eighteenth century foretold the French revolution from the miseries of the peasantry, he saw precisely the evils the traveller now sees in Herzegovina and Bosnia, and in addition to these, the miseries which invariably follow the dominance of a state religion.

In most parts of Turkey the Moslem peasant is at least as much oppressed by the grinding tyranny of government officials as the Christian; here, in Europe, the Moslems are landlords or shopkeepers, tolerably well off, while the Christians are crushed to the level of serfs. And what are the nobles of the country? The writer of this article traversed these countries some months ago, and was brought into contact with several of these beys. They live in large and dilapidated wooden houses in Moslem fashion, their women being partially secluded, but not to the same extent as amongst the Asiatic Turks. Unlike these latter, they retain also their family names joined with their Moslem prefix, as Ali Vidaitch, Mehemed Begovitch, or Mustapha Babitch. Their houses are usually wretched tenements, devoid of comfort or elegance, their luxuries consisting of arms and horses. They are both ignorant and barbarous, their religion having cut them off from all European culture, while they have never cordially accepted the fellowship of the Constantinople Turks, of whom they have ever been jealous. The Christian peasants have thus had to endure the contumely of the Moslem combined with the grinding tyranny of the irresponsible landlords. The latter are invariably poor. They are the last European aristocracy who have yet to learn that more wealth can be acquired by the co-operation of freemen than by the unwilling labour of serfs. The general aspect of Bosnia and Herzegovina is quite as barbarous as that of the wildest part of Kurdistan.

On the south of Herzegovina lies a range of mountains inhabited by a grand race of free mediæval Christian warriors. The Montenegrins have contrived to preserve

their independence, and have existed, like Noah's ark, when all the rest of the world around them was submerged in the Mahomedan deluge. The population is estimated at some figure between 200,000 and 300,000, and is governed by a prince, who is subsidised by Russia. The physique and warlike bearing of the Montenegrins are magnificent. It would be difficult to find any population in Europe to compare with them, and yet they are very poor, and feed mainly on milk and oatmeal. Assuredly they are a proof that the human body can reach a high degree of strength and beauty without a diet of flesh meat. These mountaineers are the most troublesome neighbours the Turks have, for they have never been recognized as independent either by the Turks or their allies, so that a sort of border warfare is almost incessantly carried on, culminating from time to time in a great invasion by the Turks, who have never yet been able to subdue the mountaineers. These latter, like most mountaineers, leave their homes to seek for remunerative work at Constantinople and other large cities; but whenever there is war or rumour of war with the Turks, these industrious workmen disappear, and by various routes find their beloved hills, to assume the warrior's costume, rifle, and yataghan. The morals of these men are remarkable. On the mountains, a young maiden may travel from village to village with a crock of gold on her head, unhurt by word or deed, but away from home the Montenegrin is ready to compromise with the Decalogue according to circumstances. He is a thoroughly orthodox Christian of the Greek faith, always ready to fight with the Moslems. The Montenegrins have lately acquired a considerable number of mountain pieces, and many have changed their picturesque smooth-bore guns for more effective European rifles.

To the south of Montenegro lies Albania, the country of Pyrrhus and of the great mediæval hero, Iskander Bey. These mountaineers are much mixed in religion, and though the Moslems have the moral support of those belonging to the state religion, some of the Christian tribes are as proud and independent as the Moslems. The Albanians are as warlike as any race in Turkey; they were the indomitable defenders of Arab Tabia during the defence of Silistria. Small and active in person, unencumbered by any strong religious convictions, and poor and enterprising, they have ever been the paid swashbucklers of the East, and are to be found everywhere in the Levant, as guards, irregular troops, and the like. They have furnished Turkey with several successful

soldiers of fortune, amongst whom Mehemed Ali of Egypt and Ali Pasha of Yanina are notable examples. Probably Albania has as little to complain of on the score of oppression as any part of the Ottoman Empire, since its poverty and dangerous character are its defence.

The free State of Servia has a most interesting history of its own, which we need not enter into, inasmuch as it was the subject of an article in our January number. Suffice it to say, that in 1798 Servia (then like Herzegovina) rose in insurrection against the Turks. This rebellion was a tumultuous rising of the peasantry, driven to despair by the cruelties of the Turks. In no sense did it differ from the present rising in Herzegovina, and in the latter province there are probably no more Turks than there were in Servia seventy years ago. This country, after many vicissitudes, gained its independence, and the Turks gradually emigrated.

On the east of Servia lies Bulgaria, a province whose Slavonian population is said by ethnologists to be mixed with Tartar blood. These people are perhaps the most downtrodden and oppressed of any in the empire. The range of the Balkan excepted, the country is flat, and covered with fortresses well garrisoned, so that any insurrections to which the despair of the people may have driven them have quickly been crushed. The Bulgarians are a steady, industrious, and ingenious people, worthy of a better fate. Their carpets, cloth, and other tissues show an admirable artistic capacity, while their land is well tilled, and the best gardeners in Servia and on the Bosphorus are Bulgarians. Within the last few years these people, after a desperate struggle, have freed themselves from the trammels of the Greek Church, and have set up a Church of their own. Up to 1865 the authorities of the Greek Church at Constantinople were in the habit of furnishing the Bulgarians with their pastors, who often were ignorant of the language of the people, and were wolves in sheep's clothing in every sense; in fact, precisely such clergy as used, one hundred years ago, to be appointed to the Irish Protestant Church.

The mass of the Bulgarians are Christians of the orthodox Greek faith, but there is a considerable Moslem population among them of Slavonian and Ottoman Turks, Nogai Tartars, and latterly of Circassians.

When Circassia was conquered finally by the Russians, about twelve years since, there was a vast emigration, a sort of national suicide, for many thousands of the fugitives died on their flight. The Ottoman government planted a large number of them on the

frontiers of Servia, to hold in check the Christian populations. These were made to build huts, and in various ways to prepare for their unwelcome guests. The Circassians proved quite as bad as was expected. They are truculent savages and fanatical Moslems, and are frequently engaged in plundering the Christians of their cattle.

Since the outbreak of the Herzegovinian insurrection last summer, the Turks are said to have lost about 30,000 men. Probably not 3,000 of these have been shot in combat, but thousands have perished from starvation, neglect, and disease. The insurgents, knowing the difficult ground, and with the friendly countries of Servia and Montenegro ready to retreat into, have kept up a harassing warfare, requiring on their part but a few active and daring men, but on the side of the Turks a large force. Owing to the dreadful impecuniosity of the Porte, shiploads of men have been landed which the government have been unable to support, and so they have perished of disease and starvation. The believers in Divine right and passive resistance, who are yet numerous amongst us, complain loudly of outsiders, declaring that the insurrection has been fomented by such. We have heard this before on the occasion of every outbreak. There is, doubtless, much truth in the fact that sympathisers aid such movements. But there must first be a soil richly prepared by the direst tyranny before outside revolutionists have a chance. What chance would agitators have amongst the wealthy squires or smug shopkeepers of England? but when they descend to the hovels of the agricultural labourers they are listened to.

The seat of war in Herzegovina is a mountainous region. Owing to the want of roads, the frightful defiles, and the geographical position of their natural enemies, the Montenegrins and the Servians on either flank, the Turks can attack the insurgents only from the sea. Mean time, disembarassed for the most part of their women and children, deriving courage from despair at first, but latterly from substantial victories, and aided greatly by Montenegro and Servia, into which they can retreat, the rebels will be ready to attack the enemy at all points, and keep alive the insurrection until the European complication they hope for happens.

Much was expected of the Austrian note, but when it appeared in the columns of 'The Times,' middle-aged men recollected having seen the same document often before, only this time enlarged and somewhat modified. The reply to it was also but a plagiarism of sundry documents that used to issue

from the *chancellerie* of Reshid Pasha in the time of 'the great Elchie.' Turkey is prepared, and always has been prepared, to make any promises in the world that will suffice to stave off the evil day. She is desired to establish religious equality; she has already done so, *in words*, more than twenty years ago; and still the Christian's oath is not received in a court of justice, no Christian is entrusted with arms, and no share in the provincial government is really accorded to the dissidents from the state religion.

If Turkey could not carry out these reforms when she was comparatively solvent, how could she do so now, with an unpaid army and civil service, with a half-crazy Sultan, and rebellious provinces? She could accomplish these reforms only by the material aid of those powers who have dictated them. Then what becomes of her independence? The reforms demanded of Turkey are radical and revolutionary. The established religion is that of Mahomed, which has flourished more than twelve hundred years, and the national codes of law are framed in accordance with the Holy Book of the people; and now she is bidden by unbelieving Franks to disestablish the true faith and found a secular government, thus ignoring the God of her fathers.

The government assents, as it always has assented, and at once issues its edicts and iradis; but surely there is a 'Conservative party' in Turkey, and a very strong one, who would resist to the death rather than that any one of these promises should be put in practice; and this Conservative party comprises the whole Ottoman population.

The position of Austria is most dangerous and embarrassing. If she were to permanently occupy these Slavonian provinces, she might not only come into contact with Russia, but she would add to her population a mass of barbarism that would embarrass her government and disturb the balance of power, already so difficult to hold amongst her Hungarians, Wallachs, Czechs, Croats, and Germans. At present Austria mainly counts upon a compact nucleus of Germans, who have introduced civilization into the empire, and have been the mainstay of good government. Bismarck has already hinted to Austria that she had better move on Eastward, leaving the Germans behind; and if she were to absorb another million of Slavonians, Bismarck might see his idea realized, for her Reichsrath would be overwhelmed with these half-savage members, whose chief ideas of statesmanship would consist in putting down the Hungarians and Germans. Hungary has never forgotten or forgiven the part these Slavonians played in the struggle

of 1848, when the Ban Yellachich brought his red-mantled hordes of Croats to crush the patriot bands. Austria has, then, a difficult game to play. She dreads insurrections as men who live in crazy houses dread earthquakes; and so, not daring to assist the Turks to crush the rebellion she detests, she has hitherto compromised, and allowed arms to pass the frontier, and has afforded immense help to the miserable fugitives.

And what is the interest of Great Britain? We should be only too glad to see Austria take these distracted provinces, and put them in order. But there is Russia to be reckoned with, and of her England is intensely jealous. If Austria were to take the western half of the peninsula, Russia would demand some eastern compensation, probably Constantinople.* Neither can Austria contemplate the possibility of the mouths of the Danube falling into the hands of Russia. The abominable practices of that power on the Sulina mouth were sufficiently notorious during the Crimean war, and the idea of Russia possessing Constantinople has ever been considered by English statesmen as altogether inadmissible. For our own part, we think the time has come when England should learn to look that idea in the face, as one that our children, if not ourselves, will have to grapple with. It is scarcely possible that a huge power that reckons its soldiers by more than a million will for ever restrain its yearning for an opening into the southern seas, when these are debarred only by a miserable decrepid nation of barbarians. Surely she will take advantage of the first great European embroilment, as she did five years ago when she tore up the Black Sea Treaty. Our only interest lies in having a free road to India, and that we can always secure by occupying Egypt, which we must do when Russia advances towards Constantinople.

But what are the views of those chiefly concerned? When Europe has decided what is best for each and all of the Great Powers, perhaps she may deign to listen to the voice of the millions who are groaning under the Asiatic yoke. Their desires seem to us to be just and reasonable. They say: 'Look at Roumania and Servia, and let us copy them. Give us the self-government that has been accorded to these principalities, and let us manage our own affairs, still under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Break gently with the past, consider our territory still part of the Ottoman Empire, and respect it as such, and we shall be only too glad to pay a liberal tribute to the Sultan; only let no Turk have any power or authority over us. Let Macedonia be given to

Greece on these terms, and let Bosnia, Herzegovina, and the rest of the Slavonian lands be federated, and receive an autonomy and self-government.' This has been done in some provinces. Why not in all? Such is assuredly the best and most reasonable solution of the difficulty, though it is by no means devoid of problems hard of solution.

The chief if not the only one of magnitude is, 'What is to be done with the Moslems?' Why is this a difficulty? Because they will not consent to live under a Christian or even a secular government. Like the slave-masters of the Southern States, they must have liberty, by which the Americans understood the liberty of whipping their niggers. The Moslem must rule on Moslem principles, and we have had abundant illustrations of what that means. As this form of government is absolutely incompatible with the peace of Europe, and is a scandal to the age, it should be peremptorily put an end to by the civilized powers; and the Moslems can then follow the example of their brethren in Hungary, Roumania, and Servia, who sold their possessions and emigrated eastward.

Long before the Salonica murders, warnings were not wanting which bid us look out for such outbreaks of Moslem fanaticism. Indeed, these are doubtless to be apprehended in such a crisis as the present. We all know how profoundly ignorant of the outer world, of the relative strength of different nations, is the ordinary British peasant. He is enlightenment itself compared with the Moslem citizen of the interior, the member of council, the well-to-do shopkeeper of cities such as Damascus or Aleppo. Cut off from all knowledge of the world beyond his neighbourhood, by his isolated position, by his language, and above all by his religion, he cherishes the belief that the Sultan is 'Lord of the two Continents', and that the Frankish chiefs or kings are tributaries to the caliph at Constantinople. What wonder, then, that he should be ready at the instigation of dervishes and softas, to rise, and, sword in hand, slay the 'enemies of God,' as the Christians are termed in the books of the law. We have of late years in Aleppo, Jeddah, Damascus, Belgrade, and sundry minor places, had outbreaks of this dangerous fanaticism. On each occasion troops sent from the capital have obeyed their commanders and restored order; but what if the soldiers should join the mob, as at Damascus, before the arrival of Fuad Effendi with reinforcements? Then indeed the Eastern Question would be forced upon unwilling Europe in a ghastly form. Such a catastrophe is, however, but a possibility.

Great political changes are usually effected gradually, and even the mob are taught by events that circumstances are too strong for them, and that their conservative instincts must give way to the inevitable.

There has been amongst European statesmen a disposition to shirk this great question, and no wonder, for the rivalry and jealousy of the chief powers have menaced Europe with a gigantic war. The late conferences at Berlin and elsewhere, not to speak of the incessant interchange of dispatches amongst the powers, show that Europe is now however fully alive to the danger of the rocks ahead; and we can but hope that we may at least be spared a European war, whatever bloody scenes may occur in the unhappy land of the Osmanli.

Even as we are writing, the long-expected news arrives of the deposition of the Sultan, followed, as a matter of course, by the so-called suicide of the unhappy monarch. When the writer lived in Constantinople, five and twenty years ago, the lives of inconvenient little princes about to come into the world were dealt with precisely as those of puppies in well regulated kennels. This is a part of the system of that empire which now occupies the fairest portion of the old world, which it has almost turned into a desert. The new Sultan, Murad, will of course commence his reign with new promises, but we have heard them all before: they have been formulated in Hatti Scheriffs and Tanzimats again and again, and still the mass of the most intelligent and industrious non-Mussulman subjects of the Sultan are persecuted and ruined because they are not of the established religion. A large English fleet is assembled in Besika Bay. England has isolated herself from the rest of Europe on this question, and when taxed as to our policy, the prime minister answers in a platitude. Is it possible that we are again drifting into a war in defence of the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire?

ART. V.—*Drunkenness and Proposed Remedies.*

- (1.) *Reports of the Committees of the Convocation of Canterbury (1869) and York (1873).*
- (2.) *Report of the Select Committee on Habitual Drunkards (1872).*
- (3.) *The Cantor Lectures on Alcohol.* By Dr. B. W. RICHARDSON. Sixth Edition. Macmillan and Co.
- (4.) *Christendom and the Drink Curse.* By

the Rev. DAWSON BURNS, M.A. London. Partridge and Co.

- (5.) *The Temperance Reformation and its Claims on the Christian Church.* By the Rev. JAMES SMITH, M.A. London. Hodder and Stoughton.
- (6.) *The Permissive and other Liquor Bills.*

THE above publications deal with a question which cannot with honour or safety be longer put aside, whether by the leaders of the Churches, or by those who have influence in the councils of the State. It concerns immediately the moral life and social condition of a large portion of the English people, and bears not remotely on the vocation of the English race in the future history of the world.

Intoxicating drinks have, for many generations, been liberally used by us as beverages and articles of diet. A large majority of all classes have used them with a moderation, which, though of uncertain standard, has been compatible with self-control, and not inconsistent with energetic and successful application to the affairs of life. But a considerable number, including representatives of all classes, have acquired a fierce and insatiable appetite for alcoholic stimulants, to which they have sacrificed health and virtuous affections and every prospect of honour and usefulness. It is not possible to ascertain the number of confirmed drunkards, and we advisedly abstain from quoting the random estimates which have at times been hazarded; but the number is such that there is no town of the United Kingdom, if, indeed, there be any village, which is not dishonoured and burdened by the reckless intemperance of a larger or smaller number of its inhabitants. Drunkenness is a prevalent vice among our people, putting us to shame in the presence of foreigners, and heavily weighting us in the race of nations. Can it be uprooted or checked in its growth? The question has long pressed upon those who are seeking to promote practical religion among their fellow-countrymen, and it is now recognised as the capital difficulty of social reformers, and as one of the many problems which disturb the dreams of statesmen.

We propose to consider the several leading expedients which have been suggested for ridding the nation of this reproach and peril. But before doing so we shall glance at some of the results of recent investigations, that we may ascertain the proportion which the evil has assumed, and how it is at present affecting the whole economy of English life.

The chief sources of information are the government returns for excise and customs,

certain parliamentary blue-books, and the reports of the Committees on Intemperance of the Convocations of Canterbury and York. These publications belong to the class which a recent writer describes as 'cemeteries of facts.' The description is alike true and felicitous if regard be had to the aspect which their elaborate tables of figures present to the minds of ordinary readers; but to the patient and thorough student, whose imagination, fired by some philanthropic or religious purpose, has lent itself to the investigation, the driest statistics of the phenomena of intemperance become not only lucid but pictorial, and move his heart with a touch almost as penetrating as if he were an eye-witness of the crimes and tragedies which they enumerate.

We shall deal sparingly, however, with the figures, as other aspects of the question are better suited to our pages. According to a parliamentary return obtained by Sir Thomas Bazley, the income which the national exchequer received from the manufacture, sale, and consumption of intoxicating drinks for the year ending the 31st of March, 1875, was £33,052,568. In the year 1874 the total consumption of alcohol—not of intoxicating drinks, but of the spirit which is their seductive and intoxicating property—was 78,200,714 gallons; nearly two and a half gallons for every man, woman, and child in the United Kingdom; a quantity sufficient, as the Rev. Dawson Burns has calculated, to have killed all the inhabitants of the globe if drunk off at once. This indulgence is purchased by the consumers at an annual cost of £130,000,000. One hundred and thirty millions! We confess our inability to grasp the fact which these figures represent, and to the most of our readers they will be a mere barren arithmetical expression. Nor does the attempt of Mr. Burns to bring them to the level of our capacity much help us, though the results of his calculations are perhaps worth quoting. 'This sum,' he says, 'is sixty millions in excess of the national revenue; one-sixth of the national debt; one-fifth the value of all the railway property in the United Kingdom; equal to one-fourth of the income of the wage-receiving classes; and one-eighth of the income of all classes united. It is equal to a yearly expenditure of £4 per head or of £22 per family in the United Kingdom.'

This is an enormous expenditure; and, considering that it will probably be admitted, even by those who are least inclined to a puritanic view of our drinking usages, that nine-tenths of the whole amount are spent on a use of intoxicating drinks which is

neither dietetic nor medicinal, but conventional or luxurious if not vicious, it may well awaken solicitude in regard to the moral tone which our national life is assuming. This all the more that, while our direct contributions for moral and religious uses are all but stationary, the expenditure on intoxicating drinks goes on swelling in amount from year to year. The consumption of British spirits alone, chiefly gin and whiskey, for the three years 1872–1874, was as follows: for 1872, 26,872,183 gallons; for 1873, 28,908,501 gallons; and for 1874 29,875,401 gallons. The consumption for 1874 was 7,261,911 gallons in excess of the consumption of 1870, or thirty-two per cent. on the consumption of that year.

That there has been a corresponding increase of drunkenness cannot be reasonably questioned. Certain statistics of committals for drunkenness, and of convictions for petty crimes arising out of drunkenness, have been quoted to prove the contrary. But these statistics are practically worthless as guides to an estimate, whether of the comparative drunkenness of different towns, or of the comparative prevalence of drunkenness at different periods. The action of the police has not been regulated by one and the same principle in all places. Here the influence of some local tradition, and there the mutable temper or it may be tentative policy of the authorities, has introduced special laxity or rigour into the administration of the law. Until we have a uniform and continuous policy in dealing with persons found drunk, the statistics of drunkenness in different towns cannot be safely taken as a basis for calculating the comparative prevalence of drunkenness in those towns. Far more trustworthy is the testimony elicited by the Committees of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, and by the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Habitual Drunkards. That testimony, emphatic and all but uniform, is to the effect that specially during the last decade drunkenness has materially increased. This increase does not appear to be equally distributed. In the great centres of population, and in manufacturing districts, where prosperous times have placed large sums of money in the hands of the working people, drunkenness has largely and manifestly increased. There are some large employers, however, who believe that among skilled workmen, specially in the more delicate forms of handicraft, the habit of excessive drinking is giving way; and in agricultural districts, where the landowners have used their influence to limit facilities by removing public-houses and beer-shops from their estates;

vicious indulgence seems to have diminished. The drinking habits of the aristocracy and gentry of the present generation it is generally admitted compare favourably with those of their fathers, and still more favourably with those of their grandfathers; though some concern is expressed by well-informed witnesses whether a reaction has not set in in the direction of a more liberal and degrading indulgence. In regard to the better classes, commonly so-called,—defined by one witness as including ‘shopkeepers, professional men, attorneys and barristers,’—there is a considerable amount of evidence to show that they are using intoxicating drinks more freely than they did, and that the excessive use is more common than it was a few years ago. ‘Drunkenness,’ said one medical witness summoned by Mr. Dalrymple’s Committee, ‘is on the increase among what we understand by the better classes of society. I should say that drunkenness is getting up in the social scale.’ The Committee of the Convocation of York, with an immense mass of evidence before it from clergymen, magistrates, physicians, and others who have special means of knowledge, says ‘that the higher classes are not nearly so free from this vice as is currently stated, the facilities possessed for evading public notice disguising the real facts of the case.’

The most alarming and humiliating disclosure made by the Committee of Convocation, however, is that drunkenness is steadily, and even rapidly, on the increase among women. The following testimonies are culled from those borne by clergymen of the province of York, in regard to women of the working classes—chiefly, as we judge from the terms of the reports, in manufacturing and mining districts. ‘There is very little actual drunkenness among women here, but a good deal of tippling.’ ‘There is a good deal of intemperance here; female drunkenness, too, is very common.’ ‘Women, here, drink more than formerly.’ ‘Women generally drink on the sly.’ ‘It is difficult to determine the number of female drunkards, but private drinking (among women) exists to an alarming extent.’ ‘Drinking among females largely on the increase.’ ‘During the last few years I have been brought face to face with intemperance in such a form as was altogether unknown to me in my previous ministry. And when at length I have endeavoured to gauge its extent among my people, I am appalled and overwhelmed with what I discover. There is one corner of my parish containing about one hundred houses, where more than half the adults are drunkards.

The men drink, the women drink, the children drink. There are in some streets in this district as many women as men addicted to this vice.’ ‘We have a vast number of female inebriates, and they are as bad or worse than the men.’ ‘In reference to the working classes, I believe that the relative percentage of drunkards in this parish is seven and a half per cent. of adult males, and ten per cent. of adult females.’ ‘Amongst the male population intemperance is very great occasionally; less so occasionally amongst females, but more so habitually.’

It is not, in the nature of the case, possible to obtain equally explicit testimony in regard to the prevalence of intemperance among women of the other classes of society. The comparative seclusion in which they live, and the reluctance of those who, in the confidence of private or professional life, may have been witnesses of their degradation to speak of what they have seen, combine to take their lapses alike out of the range of vulgar observation and of statistical inquiry. But for some years there has been a growing uneasiness of feeling on the part of eminent members of the medical profession and others who have means of special knowledge. The existence of this feeling first became known by the prevalence of vague rumours touching new forms of indulgence which were creeping in among women of the better classes, but it has lately revealed itself in definite and startling allegations. The ‘*Lancet*,’ the ‘*Pall Mall Gazette*,’ the ‘*Saturday Review*,’ and other newspapers supposed to circulate chiefly among the professional and upper classes, some time ago raised a cry of alarm and warning. They treated it as a matter of notoriety that the daily use of sharp intoxicants by ladies, in the way of ‘nips and sips,’ had lately greatly increased, and was increasing, to the detriment of their health and the weakening of their power of self-control. The evidence laid before the Select Committee on Habitual Drunkards, and that communicated to the Committee of the two Convocations, confirms the allegations of the newspapers. ‘It is an alarming feature of the age,’ says the report of the Committee of the Convocation of York, ‘that female intemperance is greatly on the increase.’ Here the strain of fashionable life, there the burden of motherhood, in one case the worry of domestic management, in another the pressure of some great sorrow, seeks passing support or alleviation in the wine-cup. At first this is innocently and openly done, under the guidance of the popular belief that alcoholic beverages are good creatures of God provided for this

very use. But the stimulant thus resorted to at a pinch is apt (especially in the case of women) to produce a bodily condition which craves further stimulation, and which, if the craving be indulged, becomes incompatible with a sense of vigour apart from the application of the alcoholic spur. The craving thus grows by what it feeds on, and if there be not considerable force of character it will, by insidious advances, acquire the mastery. The open will give place to the stealthy and disguised indulgence; then will follow rapidly the failure of self-control, the loss of self-respect, confirmed inebriety. Nor are there any cases of drunkenness more intractable than those of which this is the history. One of the witnesses examined by the Committee on Habitual Drunkards, a physician practising in London, on being asked, 'Is this habit of secret drinking amenable to moral or religious influences, or does it defy them?' answered, 'It defies them. I have known many instances of women, amiable, respectable, and eminently religious, who nevertheless were the victims of this habit from physical or moral causes.'

Drunkenness is of various types. To the eye of the common observer the drunkard is simply a person addicted to the excessive use of intoxicating drinks, but on a careful examination of the phenomena of drunkenness, certain well-defined types reveal themselves; and an exhaustive study, specially if the steps by which different persons have been led to excessive indulgence were included in it, would probably require a somewhat elaborate classification for the statement of its results. One distinction may be said to be well established—that between the sot and the dipsomaniac. Sottishness is vice, but dipsomania is disease. Scientific men who have studied the subject substantially agree as to the distinctive features of the two. According to Dr. J. Crichton Browne, the essential distinction is that the indulgence of the sot is voluntary, while that of the dipsomaniac is involuntary. 'I find,' he says, 'as a rule that dipsomaniacs urge the internal craving as an excuse: they say, "We cannot resist it." The drunkard, as a rule, urges some external excuse for his debauch—he met a friend, or it was his birthday. With the dipsomaniac it is the *vis a tergo*, with the drunkard it is the *vis a fronte*. The dipsomaniac is driven into the debauch by an impulse, the drunkard seeks the intoxicating effects. Then, in the dipsomaniac, the intemperance very frequently presents morbid and periodical characteristics: it comes once a month or once a fortnight in paroxysm, or is liable to exacerbations, and is not determined by oppor-

tunities. I have known dipsomaniacs who in the intervals between their attacks would not take stimulants when placed before them, but the common drunkard will always take a stimulant when he can get it.' Similar testimony is borne by Dr. A. Peddie, who says 'that no considerations, temporal or spiritual, will have the slightest effect in checking the dipsomaniac's progress if ways and means, foul or fair, can be found to gratify the desire for alcoholic stimulants.'

The distinction thus made between the sot and the dipsomaniac connects itself with a theory of treatment. It is contended that institutions should be founded, distinct from the asylums for lunatics, to which, after all due precautions have been taken against error and injustice, dipsomaniacs should be committed, detained, with or against their will, and subjected to treatment as insane persons, until there is reasonable ground for believing that a cure has been effected. The subject is beset with difficulties with which we cannot at present deal, and we therefore pass from it with the expression of the conviction that the argument for such institutions is so strong, that it must, at no distant day, command the attention of the legislature. But regarding dipsomania simply as one of the forms of our national intemperance, it has a painful interest for us. It is not easy to unravel its history in individual instances. Sun-stroke, in the case of one man, and the unguarded drinking of cold water by another when over-heated, have been known, it is affirmed, to result in dipsomania, though the victims had, down to the time of their accident, been remarkable for their sobriety. These are irresponsible thralls of a morbid appetite, which society should not blame or punish, but pity and seek to cure. Dipsomania, according to the evidence before us, however, is more frequently developed from the habit of drinking, such as is common in ordinary good society. That habit, in the case of the man drifting towards dipsomania, grows in a slow and stealthy manner into vicious excess, which in its turn, sometimes by imperceptible degrees, and sometimes as the result of a severe nervous shock or some sudden reverse of fortune, is transformed into an insane impulse, from which the victim cannot free himself, struggle as he may. But in the majority of cases, according to our reading of the medical evidence, the dipsomaniac inherits the disastrous proclivity from drunken parents, or from parents who were constant drinkers. Those who daily use intoxicating drinks liberally, even though their indulgence, judged by conventional standards, may not

be excessive, are apt to entail their habit in an aggravated form upon their children. It is not, as Dr. Parrish, of Philadelphia, who has given much thought to the subject, explains, that the mere taste for alcoholic liquors is transmitted from generation to generation, but that the children of drunkards and constant drinkers are apt to be born with the desires and temperaments which predispose them to seek such exaltation and relief as is obtained from alcoholic stimulants. 'These unhappy beings are weighted with a destiny against which they have neither the will nor the power to contend; they are step-children of nature, and groan under the worst of tyrannies, the tyranny of a bad organisation.' The fact that drunkenness has the power thus to impregnate the very sources of life, and so to prepare its victims from the womb, may in part explain its recent increase in England, notwithstanding the means which have been used to check it. Drunkenness in one generation tends to produce drunkenness in an aggravated and more intractable form in the generation following: a fact of sinister augury, especially if it be true, as is confidently affirmed, that tippling, at all hours of the day, is beginning to establish itself as a usage in some of our homes.

About the facts there is no room for difference of opinion. It is admitted on all hands that the intemperance of the English people has swelled to immense proportions, and has assumed alarming forms. But here agreement ends. There have been few controversies more animated or bitter than those which have sprung out of the proposals of temperance reformers, or which have divided the ranks of those reformers themselves. This is not the place to attempt, and ours is perhaps not the hand, to hold the balance between the contending parties, but we are not at liberty to shirk the question to which their contention refers. Not only the ministers of religion, or those who are appointed by the voice of the people to determine the policy of the State, but all Englishmen, are under obligation to press to practical issues the question, How is the national vice of intemperance to be dealt with?

In discharging this obligation, we, for our part, are concerned, not so much to judge sharply between the pretensions of rival panaceas, as to ascertain, by a method of frank and candid inquiry, whether any plan proposed by temperance reformers, or any combination of the plans proposed by the different schools into which those reformers are divided, is likely to be of material service in changing the habits of the

people. Our inquiry is not merely whether this plan or that is consistent with the highest considerations in morals and religion, and compatible with the discoveries of science and the doctrines of political economy. A plan may be well recommended in these respects, and yet be destitute of those features of popular adaptation which would give it reforming influence. We must take the English people as they are, constitutionally averse to reforms based on theoretic considerations, and prejudiced by long habit in favour of those usages out of which our national intemperance has grown; and it will probably be found that, if we are to succeed in enlisting them in any movement for the suppression of the national vice, we must call to our counsels, not the Christian moralist alone, or the scientific analyst, but also the philosopher and the practical philanthropist and the statesman.

Among temperance reformers, the first place is, for many reasons, due to the total abstainers. They set the example of an organised attack on the national vice. The older temperance societies, which limited their members to a moderate use of wine and malt liquors, and bound them to abstinence from spirits, were, no doubt, earlier in the field, but they accomplished little, and they had not vitality enough to maintain an independent existence after the flag of teetotalism was unfurled. Too much credit cannot well be given to the total abstainers for the ardour and courage with which, for nearly half a century, they have maintained the assault on the drinking usages of the country. That their wisdom has always equalled their enthusiasm will not be affirmed by themselves. Some of their advocates have revelled in invective when they should have used argument and persuasion. They have denounced as responsible factors of the drunkenness of the land all, however temperate or benevolent, who could not pronounce their shibboleth. Some consideration is perhaps due to them. Not a few of the earlier advocates of total abstinence were reformed drunkards, whom bitter experience had taught that for them sobriety was for ever impossible apart from abstinence. Such men, it may be said, should not have put themselves forward as the leaders of a public movement; but their forwardness can hardly, when all things are considered, be so harshly judged as the apathy of the virtuous and religious portion of the community, which left the field open to them. An impartial observer will, we think, be forced to admit that, if the temperance movement, as conducted by the total abstainers, has been occasionally

marred by intemperate advocacy, if it has brought elements of discord into Churches, as in the controversy about sacramental wine, or evolved questionable organizations, like Good Templarism, which seems to be a kind of watery imitation of Freemasonry, the blame must be divided between the leaders of that movement and the natural leaders of English society, who allowed the intemperance of the country to swell to such monstrous proportions without sign of alarm, and without the use of any express means to check its progress. Nothing, moreover, could be more alien either to the philosophic or the Christian spirit than to allow the excesses of a popular movement to prevent a candid examination of its principles.

Are we to accept the method of the total abstiners, then, as the one efficient cure of intemperance? It will not settle the question in the affirmative to say that, if a man never tastes intoxicating drinks, he can never become a drunkard; for we are dealing with a nation, and have to consider, not only the effect of total abstinence on a particular vice in individual cases, but also, in the first place, the probability of the people being persuaded to adopt the method, and, in the second place, the influence of the method on the whole national life and character, should it be adopted.

There are two leading pleas advanced by total abstiners. The first is commonly called the argument from Christian expediency; the second is an argument from the alleged pernicious nature of all alcoholic drinks. In the argument from Christian expediency it is admitted on the one hand, for the sake of argument, if for no other reason, that the use of intoxicating drinks as beverages or articles of diet is not in itself unlawful; and it is maintained on the other hand that total abstinence from those drinks is not unlawful: the law of God neither prescribes nor prohibits. But, it is argued, the dietetic and social use of intoxicating drinks has originated a vice in England which has corrupted and ruined a large number of the people, and which is bringing all the highest interests of the nation into peril. Drunkards will never be reformed, nor will those whose temperament leads them to crave such excitement as the wine-cup supplies—a considerable number in all classes of society—be kept from becoming drunkards unless they can be induced to abstain. The higher law of Christian feeling therefore requires that Christian men should use their liberty to abstain, that they may set a safe example to the fallen and the tempted, and bring a salutary influence to

bear upon them. Such, as we understand it, is the argument from Christian expediency. It does not put intoxicating drinks under the law of an inflexible prohibition, but appeals to Christian men on the ground of the higher law of feeling to which they are subject to sacrifice an indulgence assumed to be legitimate for the sake of their weaker neighbours. Now, whatever we may conclude with regard to the reasonableness of this appeal, there is much in the spirit of the conduct for which it pleads which must command the admiration of all right-minded men. It is always noble to use one's liberty of self-denial for the public good.

But what prospect is there of the virtue of any considerable portion of the English people rising to this heroic strain? The experience of the past is not encouraging. For nearly half a century this appeal to self-denial has been sounding in our ears; it has been commended by many urgent and pathetic consideration; and yet very few, even of those who are most conspicuous for their tenderness of feeling in regard to all duty, have practically responded to it. The reason of this? It may be said that the education of a people's conscience to the apprehension of any new form of duty is a slow and often discouraging process. But if this is offered in explanation, it begs the question whether those who advocate total abstinence on the ground of Christian expediency can make good their claim to be received as the prophets of a new duty. The truth seems to be that this argument is for the few and for special circumstances, rather than for the many and for national issues, and that it will not therefore, by itself, work with any great breadth of reforming energy. Individual Christian men, who would have enjoyed their liberty to use alcoholic drinks in moderation, will be found abstaining, that they may benefit by their example certain friends to whom the wine-cup is a snare; fathers will be found making this sacrifice for the sake of their children; wise and tender-hearted pastors will be found doing the like for the sake of imperilled members of their flocks. Some who are specially full of public spirit may even take the burden of this self-denial upon them as a debt which they owe to society. And in all this there may be the display of high Christian feeling, and the exercise of a salutary influence. But when it is proposed to formulate this as a law of conduct for the whole people, a set of considerations come into play which give a new complexion to the matter. Enlightened and benevolent Christian men, who are not unmoved by the

spirit of self-sacrifice, will contend that the excessive use of intoxicating drinks by a certain portion of the community cannot be held to devolve on the rest the duty of abstaining from them. If it can be shown, they will argue, that alcoholic drinks are of such a pestilent nature that they can only do injury to those who use them even in small quantities, let them be abandoned on that ground; but to require us to cease to use merely because some abuse, and to propound this as the duty of all, is to introduce a rule of conduct for which there is no authority, and which, if consistently applied to the rest of life, would seriously complicate questions of personal duty, limit the strong to the moral range of the weak, lower the tone of manliness, and end by abridging the power of self-control in the community as a whole. We confess that, much as we admire the self-denying conduct of many total abstainers, we think there is no conclusive reply to this. The argument from Christian expediency will influence many wise and good men, but it will not be accepted by the majority; and it cannot, without losing its distinctive beauty and fitness, be transformed into a law of permanent and universal obligation.

The plea for total abstinence on the ground of the pernicious nature of all alcoholic drinks, however, remains. This plea many total abstainers urge. With some of them it is the main if not the only plea. They label as poison all alcoholic drinks, and relegate them to the chemist's shop. These are, in popular estimation, the *extreme* men of the temperance movement. It is not our place to defend them. The cure of our national vice, which they propose, may be an extreme cure; the assertion that alcohol is a poison may be a hardy and extreme assertion; but the proposal and the assertion stand well together. If alcohol be a poison, it is not an extreme course to abandon its use as a beverage. It is indeed questionable to us whether there be any other ground on which the English people as a whole can reasonably be expected, or even asked, to abandon the use of alcoholic drinks. If it can be shown that those drinks are not food, that the strength which they impart when taken as beverages is fictitious, and that they really waste the energies which they seem to invigorate—even though the word 'poison' should be reserved for the pure spirit which they contain in varying quantity—the argument for abstinence from them would be strong, if not unanswerable. The advocates of total abstinence would probably not accept advice from us, but if we were in their councils we would say to them that

their case with the English people must ultimately rest on what they can prove with regard to the nature of those drinks from which they ask them to abstain.

In the mean time we cannot evade the duty of looking at the question for ourselves. We have other instructors besides the teetotallers in the nature of alcoholic drinks. The physiological influence of alcohol has been in recent years the subject of much patient investigation on the part of some of the most careful and competent analysts of this country and of the Continent. The names of Thudicum, Anstie, Dupré, Parker, E. Smith, and Richardson will occur to all who have given attention to the matter. These investigators have done their work in the true scientific spirit, not serving a theory or seeking to establish a foregone conclusion, but to elicit the truth. Their testimony is not uniform; there are well-defined differences of opinion—a true note of independent inquiry; and on some important points they withhold their judgment—a true note of the scientific spirit. Where doctors differ we would not presume to dogmatise. But it is open to the unlearned to observe that the current of scientific opinion is making strongly against the older pretensions of intoxicating drinks. What those pretensions were, as interpreted, say by an Englishman of average intelligence who had reached middle life forty years ago, all our readers know. He relied upon them for power to endure fatigue or resist cold; to him they were good for food and a specific for many diseases. Abstinence from them was not compatible with health, and a liberal indulgence in their use, only short of intoxication, was held to be blameless if not obligatory. What, then, is the verdict of contemporary science on these pretensions? Nearly twenty years ago, Dr. James Miller, Professor of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh, in a work on 'Alcohol, its Place and Power,' affirmed and expounded at length three propositions. That alcohol (1) is a poison, (2) may be a medicine, and (3) is not a food. But Dr. Miller was known as an advocate of total abstinence, and was generally supposed to have used rather the loose language of the popular lecture-room than the exact language of the laboratory. There may have been good reason for this. Our sympathies are apt to bring a disturbing influence to bear on our intellectual processes. It is well, therefore, when we, who cannot conduct these inquiries for ourselves, are able to obtain the guidance of pure and unbiassed science. This we seem to have in the latest elaborate utterance on the subject—the Cantor Lec-

tures delivered before the Society of Arts, by Dr. B. W. Richardson. Dr. Richardson says in an introductory note, 'Though I have spoken out freely the lesson I have learned from nature, no pledge binds me, and no society, banded to propagate particular views and tenets, claims my allegiance.' The lectures throughout bear the marks of being the production of a man of free mind and scrupulous candour, and the following is the authorised summary of the conclusions he has reached :—

'This chemical substance, alcohol, an artificial product devised by man for his own purposes, and in many things that lie outside his organism a useful substance, is neither a food nor a drink suitable for his natural demands. Its application as an agent that shall enter the living organisation is properly limited by the learning and skill possessed by the physician, a learning that itself admits of being recast and revised in many important details, and perhaps in principles. If this agent do really for the moment cheer the weary, and impart a flush of transient pleasure to the unwearied who crave for mirth, its influence (doubtful even in these modest and moderate degrees) is an infinitesimal advantage by the side of an infinity of evil for which there is no compensation and no human cure.'

This language will startle some of our readers, but it would have been a poor tribute to their candour to have withheld from them the verdict of an inquirer so enlightened and competent. And Dr. Richardson does not stand alone. Sir Henry Thompson, the eminent surgeon of University College Hospital, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, states his conviction that there is no greater cause of moral and physical evil in this country than the habitual use of alcoholic beverages, even when restricted to an amount which falls far short of the quantity required to produce drunkenness, and that is conventionally held to be quite within the limits of strict moderation. Sir Henry further adds that such habitual use injures the body and diminishes the mental power to an extent which few people are aware of; and that it is in reality the determining cause of a very large proportion of the most dangerous and painful maladies that come under the care of the surgeon, and also of much of the deterioration of the qualities of the race that capacitate men for endurance in the competitions which must exist in the nature of things, and in which the prize of superiority falls to the best and the strongest. In a speech delivered in Manchester, Sir Henry went so far as to say that 'he believed that drinking, even under the conditions usually called moderate, was what most people—not

all, but certainly most people—had better avoid, if they wished to have a sound mind in a sound body. . . . He believed that the dictum would hold good for fully nineteen out of every twenty persons in health.'

It would be easy to fill many pages with testimonies equally explicit, borne by men almost equally eminent, but our space and the object we have in view alike forbid. We do not adduce the testimony we have quoted, even taking it as representative of a large amount of conviction on the part of scientific men, as demonstrating the truth of the propositions affirmed by Professor Miller, but as giving ground for the opinion that those temperance reformers pursue a wise course who expose the pernicious nature of the intoxicating drinks which are in common use among us, as a means of persuading the people either to abstain from them or to use them with strict and jealous moderation. We are far from thinking that it will be easy to persuade Englishmen altogether to reject alcoholic stimulants; but if further investigation confirms the views of Dr. Richardson, if the evidence in favour of his views, which has accumulated so rapidly during the last decade, should go on accumulating in the same ratio for the next decade, the tone of public opinion and feeling, it may be hoped, will rapidly change; and, under the teaching of science and the influence of our medical men, who are destined, we believe, to become the leading missionaries in this great work of moral reform, abstinence will become the rule, as we incline to believe it ought to be, and moderate drinking the exception. A change in the habits of the people resulting from such a process of enlightenment would contain in itself a guarantee of permanence.

The total abstinents, however, are only the oldest, not by any means the only temperance reformers in the field. They are outnumbered indeed by those who rely not so much on the progress of enlightenment, and the influence of persuasion and example, as on the action of the legislature in restricting facilities for intemperance, or in prohibiting the traffic in intoxicating drinks. These are two schools. For a time, as we read the history, there was controversy between them, and a certain jargon of the conflict—in which one was described as the 'moral suasion,' and the other the 'legal suasion' school—came into vogue; but this has died away. They have separate organisations still, we believe, but these largely interpenetrate one another, and there is no hostile action between them. They are usually indeed confounded. The spokesmen of the licensed victuallers and almost all newspaper

writers invariably speaking of Sir W. Lawson as the champion of the teetotallers, and of the Permissive Bill as an attempt on the part of the teetotallers to force their ungenial and ascetic habit on the public. It may be worth while, perhaps, to clear this confusion away by a simple statement of the fact that Sir W. Lawson represents a society which is not committed to total abstinence, and that the Permissive Bill is an expedient favoured by many who are not total abstainers, and who have no faith in the total abstinence method, while total abstainers not a few decline to commit themselves to the policy of the Permissive Bill.

That it lies within the province of the legislature to deal with the liquor traffic, whether in the way of control and restriction or of prohibition, we must be allowed to assume. Free trade in intoxicating drinks, as advocated by some slaves of a theory, would be an experiment as full of peril to the highest interests of the people as it would be novel in English economics; and we believe that the common sense, not to say the Christian feeling of the nation, would rebel against it. The effects of drunkenness are not confined to drunkards. The families of the intemperate are cast upon the charity of the nation for food, clothing, and education; the labour-capital of the nation is diminished by the incapacitation of the drunkards for work during a considerable portion of their time; crime is engendered; disease, madness, and idiocy are propagated. A little further development and a little longer duration of our national vice would so corrupt the blood of the people, that we should become a nation of weaklings and drivellers, and fall from our place in the leadership of civilisation. The people as a whole have a right to say this shall not be, and through their legislature to take such steps as may tend to prevent it, even to the length of treating simple drunkenness as a crime, and subjecting all who abet it to severe penalties, or of totally suppressing the liquor traffic. If economic theories forbid, so much the worse for the theories.

It is not likely, indeed, that any action which may be taken by the English legislature will be much influenced by legislative theories antecedently determined. This is not our way. Some of our political thinkers frame and develop their legislative projects in a dry light, but these projects seldom survive the rough handling of the practical legislator—a being who is dominant in the councils of England; who is apt to regard the political theorist as a mere dreamer; who has his eye, in any legislative scheme which he frames or favours, as much on the

contending views, prejudices, and interests on which all our legislation bears, and which he regards it as his business to conciliate, as on any general political truth; and who, if he be of reforming temper, is satisfied with bit-by-bit reforms, and with such progress as can be secured without the perils of revolution, or the driving of antagonists to extremities. It is in vain that we grumble at our subjection to this unheroic and commonplace personage. He is our master; and it may be admitted that English political history justifies his vocation as mediator between the political thinkers and the representatives of contending classes and interests. The question of what the legislature will do in regard to intemperance and the drink traffic is closely conditioned by another question—what it is possible to do, considering all the circumstances, and so as to guard against evils which are scarcely to be less deprecated than the evil it is sought to cure. This is the point of view from which we regard the legislative proposals which are at present before the country.

The most prominent of these is the Permissive Bill, the manifesto of the United Kingdom Alliance, of which the witty and, according to his own profession, 'fanatical' member for Carlisle, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, is the parliamentary champion. The principle of this bill is the prohibition of the drink traffic by local option. It is a departure from the original programme of the Alliance, which proposed the total and immediate suppression of the traffic as an imperial and compulsory measure. The machinery of the Act is extremely simple. It provides that the chief officer of a district or parish shall, on being requested by a certain number of householders so to do, take the votes of the ratepayers as to the propriety of adopting the provisions of the Act. A majority of two-thirds is necessary to an affirmative decision. In the case of an affirmative decision all licenses within the district would lapse at the end of the year; but the question might be reopened at the close of three years, or in the case of a negative decision at the close of one year. The production of this bill and the conducting of the agitation in its favour, have been the sole work of the United Kingdom Alliance for twenty years. It has conducted the agitation with great vigour. It has been well served by its officers and lecturers and parliamentary agents. The expenditure of money has been lavish. The means adopted, especially in regard to parliamentary elections, have been at times unscrupulous and fanatical in a wonderful degree, as for instance in the last electoral contest at Leeds, where the

candidature of the Permissive Bill champion, Dr. F. R. Lees, unseated Mr. E. Baines, one of the oldest and staunchest friend of the temperance movement. This and similar candidatures are part of a policy of agitation which the Alliance seems to have adopted, not with the hope of returning its candidates, but merely to force its project on the attention of the country. It is an immoral use of our legislative machinery, which all the more that it seems to be becoming a favourite stratagem of minorities deserves to be seriously rebuked.

The result of the Alliance agitation thus far has been, we fear, to prevent the passing of useful practical measures, and to hinder the action of the healthy educational influence which the older temperance movement originated. We are far from saying that no good results have flowed from it. It has done something to enlighten the public mind in regard to the extent and consequences of our national vice, and the true nature of our popular drinks; but these results have been indirect and aside from the specific aim of the organisation. The project of the Alliance has no doubt had a kind of popularity. The general impression with regard to it, that it gave the control of the traffic into the hands of the ratepayers, has called forth a tumultuous shout of ill-considered response on its behalf. Partisan canvassers have been able to report a preponderance of superficial feeling in its favour in certain districts visited by them. Parliamentary candidates have pledged themselves to vote for its second reading in the House of Commons. Peers, bishops, and other distinguished men have appeared, if not as its unqualified advocates, yet on the platform devoted to its advocacy. *Ad captundum* speakers have learnt that no word calls forth louder or longer plaudits from a mixed assembly than the watchword of the Alliance. But all this we regard as in the last degree illusory, so far as the prospects of prohibitory legislation are concerned. There is an unreality in this popular acclaim and distinguished patronage, as a political force, which will bring bitter disappointment to those who have relied on them, when parties come to close quarters on the question of prohibitory legislation.

Our objections to the Permissive Bill touch it at many points. As a remedy for our national vice, it does not deal with the man who has contracted the vicious habit, but with the outward circumstances in which he has found opportunity for his vicious indulgence. It relies neither on teaching, sympathy, nor example, for restoring the intemperate, but on force. It does not aim at making the man stronger, but cuts off the temptation

which acts upon his weakness. That the removal of temptation may play an important part in this, as in other works of moral reform, we heartily admit; but it can never be the leading, much less the sole expedient of the reformer, if his work is not to be a mere cleansing of the outside of the cup and platter. But the Permissive Bill asks no allies. Its advocates vaunt it as a panacea; it is the 'thorough method.' The Bishop of Manchester (a late and apparently hesitating convert) speaks of it as 'the most effectual remedy suggested at the present time.' An effectual remedy it would be, if carried out, for the social phenomenon of drunkenness, but not a remedy in any degree for the moral weakness of which that phenomenon is but an accidental form.

But suppose that, with the Bishop of Manchester, we regard the Permissive Bill as 'the most effectual remedy suggested at the present time,' is there any prospect of its being enacted by the British Parliament? It will not do for us, in the presence of the great evil which afflicts the land, to spend our time like children crying for the moon. Can we get this remedy? For twenty years the United Kingdom Alliance has been aiming at the enactment of the Permissive Bill by the legislature. It has organised an electoral party in the interests of its policy in almost every parliamentary constituency in the kingdom; it has brought the 'temperance ticket' into our elections; in close contests it has had the candidates at its mercy; and it has not seldom made a pledge in favour of the Permissive Bill, more or less thorough, the condition of its support. It has been admirably represented—never more admirably than at present—in Parliament. And what is the result? The last division shows a majority of 285 against the bill, the largest vote ever told against it. And the real state of the case is not so favourable for a prohibitory policy as this vote seems to imply; for it is notorious that some members who voted for the second reading did so with reservation as to the course they would pursue if the bill went into committee, and it is more than suspected that others voted in redemption of pledges which they would have been glad never to have made. Parliament, we believe, will not pass the Permissive Bill. The Bishop of Manchester seems to agree with us. In the same speech in which he gave his episcopal blessing to the bill as 'the most effectual remedy,' &c., he said that we were not 'to expect it to become law within any calculable time.' Are we to spend our energies for an incalculable time then in striving after this 'remedy,' throwing one

period of twenty years upon another, after the twenty years the United Kingdom Alliance has already wasted in the bootless effort? It is not so we read our duty: in our judgment we should try something else.

But suppose that Parliament in an unusual fit of complaisance were to pass the bill, is it likely that it would come into operation? A majority of both Houses might concur in passing it. That would mean very little. Matters would stand after the bill became law exactly where they do now. Worried legislators might be expected perhaps, after the lapse of an incalculable time, to be influenced in allowing Sir W. Lawson, or some successor of his, to have his way, by the consideration that the Act would be a dead letter. But, if a dead letter, it would be no remedy for intemperance. Must we, after the legislature has been brought to submission, enter upon a second period of incalculable duration before, by the grace of the ratepayers, we can have our 'remedy' on hand? Having come out of one campaign, with the bill transformed into an Act, must we enter on another with a view to make the Act operative? This is the conflict to which the United Kingdom Alliance invites us. True, it encourages us by saying, 'We are sure of the ratepayers.' But we believe the contrary. The evidence which is offered to give us confidence, in the form of canvassers' figures, is, in our judgment, utterly worthless. Here, too, to our surprise, the Bishop of Manchester seems rather to agree with us than with those with whom he has identified himself; for he says, as quoted by Professor Jevons, that 'if the bill becomes law, it will certainly produce a chronic condition of tumult and anarchy.' We have not Dr. Fraser's courage nor his patience, and therefore it is we suppose that we cannot accept as an available remedy for intemperance a measure which cannot pass in any calculable time, and which, when passed, would set the ratepayers by the ears in every parish in England.

Let our readers remember that a majority of two-thirds of the ratepayers in any parish or district is necessary to the adoption of the Act, and that what the Act provides for is prohibition, not restriction or regulation of the traffic. The bitterest municipal or parliamentary contests England has ever seen would be child's play compared with the conflict which would rend every parish of any considerable population in the country on the question of adopting the Act being raised. We have found it impossible to protect our electoral contests from corruption and drunkenness, even when the publicans have only a secondary interest in them.

The demoralisation of some constituencies at the last general election, in which the publicans acted as partisans, and not, as their wont has been, merely as the tools of the party which paid them best, was such as to fill some not over-squeamish politicians with disgust and alarm. What might we not expect of them at bay, fighting for life? We believe there are few towns in England in which they could not command the means, if they set their hearts on it, of defeating the attempt to prohibit their traffic by a two-thirds vote; and the means would be such as would probably in a few weeks do more to promote drunkenness and the evils which attend it than would the ordinary incidence of their traffic for as many years. The permissive principle in legislation may have its place and its uses. It may tend to the more vigorous development of the municipality, and may add stability to our institutions by promoting political knowledge, and leading the people to take part in acts of government. But it should be jealously limited. Its tendency is to produce perfunctoriness and laxity in the imperial legislature, and to fill the statute-book with ill-considered measures, which, framed to meet some popular outcry, never become operative because of the lethargy, the contentiousness, or, as in some cases, the greed of those on whose option their operation depends; and in the case of the Permissive Bill its effect would, we believe, be to stimulate the drunkenness of the country into grosser forms than it has ever assumed, and to take the temperance reform out of the region of peaceful and reasonable advocacy into that of strife and bitterness.

But even this is not the whole case against the policy of the United Kingdom Alliance. It is questionable if a prohibitory Act could be so administered as substantially to affect drunkenness, even if the legislature were to pass one, and the several towns and parishes of the country were to adopt it. Thirst is subtle and ingenious beyond all the subtlety and ingenuity of our law-makers. The driving of a coach and six through an Act of Parliament has become a proverb: the drinkers of England would honeycomb any prohibitory Act which might be passed by a thousand cunning modes of evading its unpleasant veto. There would no doubt be immediately, on the adoption of the Act in any town, a great show of reform. The statistics of petty crime would illustrate the wholesome change; there would be comparative quiet in our streets in those hours in which reeling drunkards have made the night hideous. But this would not be permanent. The drinkers—not those who are

known as drunkards only—daunted and baffled for a time, would rally, and, in forms which no police vigilance could detect or legal penalty strike, snatch their coveted indulgence. Temptation would be lessened for those who are not confirmed drunkards, but who are weak and cannot withstand the temptations which our present public-house system presents? We are doubtful even of this. The weak are tempted not so much by the public-house as by companions who have acquired a vicious appetite for strong drinks; and as these would find means for indulging their appetite, any prohibitory law notwithstanding, they would also find the means of carrying their weak neighbours with them, the indulgence acquiring perhaps even a special zest from the indirectness of their approach to it, and the precautions with which they would have to surround it. This is in full accord with the history of the prohibitory legislation of America, as we, having no other desire than to know the truth, read it. That the advocates of prohibition loudly affirm that the American experiment has been successful, we are quite aware. And we do not question their sincerity. But the testimony of many travellers, whose candour is beyond suspicion, leaves no room for doubt that it is a failure. This many Americans who are deeply interested in the temperance question frankly admit. Thus, Dr. Parrish, in his evidence before the Select Committee on Habitual Drunkards, says: 'I have a note here from the Governor of New Hampshire, in which he says: "I regret to say that in many places, especially in the cities and large towns, the law is almost totally disregarded, liquors of all kinds being sold as freely as if there were no laws in existence relating to the same." So it is in Connecticut, according to the Governor, who, speaking of the law, says: "Wherever enforced it does diminish drunkenness, but public opinion is so loose, that in many places, especially in the cities and larger towns, spirituous liquors are sold as freely as if there were no statute making it a crime."' Dr. Parrish gives an extract from the Boston Police Report. 'In looking over the comparative table of crime one fact presents itself to the mind with peculiar force, and that is the alarming increase in the number of arrests for drunkenness. . . . But the most startling feature is the steady increase of intemperance compared with the increase of the population.' Dr. Dodge, also an American, asked, 'Is it a common opinion in the States that the permissive prohibitory law has become a farce?' answered, 'It fails to be effectual, not a farce.' This testimony he bore, though

apparently favourable to prohibition, and believing that in the country if not in towns it accomplished something in the direction of diminishing drunkenness.

In view of these facts and of all the conditions of this question, we cannot but express surprise and regret that so much time and energy have been spent by temperance reformers in an attempt to obtain a measure which it is hardly imaginable that any English legislature will ever pass, and which, if passed, would be a dead letter. The agitation for the Permissive Bill, however earnest, is in our deliberate judgment a mere make-believe of temperance reform.

The improbability of any such measure as the Permissive Bill ever becoming law, or of its answering the ends of its promoters if it did, has led some earnest temperance reformers to look with hope to what is known as the Gothenburg system. That system is an application to the town of Gothenburg of a license law adopted by Sweden in 1855, in a form peculiar to that town, and which does not seem to have been contemplated by those who framed the measure. Sweden had had free trade in liquor, and had been raised by it to a bad eminence as the most drunken nation in Europe. The license law adopted in 1855 was severely restrictive in its general provisions, and in some districts, by the option of the communal authorities, it was practically prohibitory. The number of distilleries, which in 1850 was 44,000, was reduced by the operation of the law almost immediately to 4,500; and in 1869 the number had fallen to 457, producing about 6,900,000 gallons of 'branvin,' instead of 26,000,000 gallons as in 1850.

In 1864 a committee of the town council of Gothenburg reported that the increasing pauperism, into the causes of which it had been appointed to inquire, had its principal source in the immoderate drinking of spirits. Out of the discussion to which this report gave rise grew the Gothenburg system. It was in the option of the people under the new license law to prohibit the sale of spirits, as there was no minimum below which the number of licenses might not be legally reduced; but this, though done in some country districts, had not been attempted, nor has it yet been attempted in any town. The authorities of Gothenburg, though not ill-affected to the principle of prohibition, yet regarding it as unworkable, taxed their ingenuity to frame a scheme which should carry restriction to the utmost practicable limit. In this they were guided by a general conclusion, to which their discussions, and their experience in endeavouring to control the liquor traffic had led them, 'that the

unavoidable and indispensable condition for the proper management of public-houses could never be fulfilled, unless the trade were no longer to be conducted by individuals for the sake of profit, but by an association, which should neither bring individual profit to the persons so associated, nor to the persons, men or women, who should manage the different establishments.' This bold and original view of trading in liquor was promptly taken up by a company, consisting, according to the testimony of Mr. Alexander Balfour, of Liverpool, 'of the most trusted men and the most esteemed commercial firms, to carry on the sale of spirits in Gothenburg, without pecuniary advantage to any one, and entirely with the view of benefitting the working class, in respect to their moral and pecuniary welfare.' The following were the leading principles on which the company was based. 1. To reduce the number of public-houses. 2. To improve their condition. 3. To provide warm food for workmen, so as to change public-houses into eating-houses. 4. To employ as managers respectable persons who should derive no profit from the sale of spirits, but only from the sale of cooked food, tea, coffee, beer (classed among temperance drinks in Sweden), seltzer, and soda-water, &c. 5. To refuse to sell spirits on credit. 6. To secure strict supervision of all public-houses, by inspectors of their own, in addition to the police. 7. *To pay to the town's treasurer, after payment of interest on capital, all the profits that accrued on the sale of spirits.* To the leading principles thus stated the company was bound by the charter which incorporated it. There were sixty-one houses licensed for the sale of spirits, to be consumed on the premises, at the time of the company's incorporation. Forty-three of these came into their possession that year, and the remainder at the end of two years. At the date of the last report of the company, twenty of these were closed, twenty-five were used as public-houses, nine were transferred to *restaurants*, and seven were retail shops for the sale of spirits, to be consumed off the premises.

This generous enterprise surely deserved to succeed, and in some respects its success has been remarkable. It seems to have reduced the drunkenness of the town by about forty per cent., while it has enriched the town's treasury with a very large sum of money, thereby relieving the municipal burdens of the people. The profits for 1875—all licenses, grocers and beer, as well as public-house licenses, having passed into the hands of the company—were £35,000.

A proposal to deal with the liquor traffic of England in this way would probably be regarded by most Englishmen as Quixotic. The nearest approach to such a proposal was that made by Sir R. Anstruther, in the bills introduced by him to the House of Commons in 1872 and 1874, which provided for the election of a licensing board, with power to take over existing licenses, and carry on the trade for the benefit of the district. But the worthy baronet found little encouragement, and the bill introduced by him this session confines itself to the modest proposal, and that only for Scotland, to deprive the licensing authorities of the power to grant new licenses until the number has been reduced to one in 500 of the population in towns, and to one in 300 in country districts. Within the last few weeks, however, a gentleman who has not a seat in the House of Commons, but who will probably be one of the statesmen of the future, Mr. Chamberlain, Mayor of Birmingham, in an article in one of our contemporaries, proposes a modification of the Gothenburg system as 'the right method with the publicans.' Mr. Chamberlain's plan is thus stated by himself. That town councils should 'be empowered, after giving the usual notice, and on payment of a fair compensation, based on the average profits of the last three years, to acquire any or all of the licenses within their jurisdiction; and that at the same time the power possessed by licensing justices and licensing committees should be vested in the councils, with an appeal to the High Court of Justice only, and subject to the provisions that no new license should be granted till the proportion has been reduced to say one in 500 of population. Power should also be given to the councils to deal with any or all of the licenses acquired by them under the Act in any of the following ways, viz.: (a) To abandon them altogether. (b) To grant such licenses to the highest bidder, under conditions to be fixed by the council, and for a period not exceeding three years. (c) To carry on the trade in the present premises, or in other premises rented or purchased for the purpose, under the conduct of managers, with remuneration independent of the amount of, or profit on, the sale of intoxicating drinks. In the last two cases the amount received for the sale of licenses, or as profit from the traffic, should be carried to a License Fund, to be applied as follows:—1. To pay interest on all loans contracted for purchase of licenses or premises. 2. To create a sinking fund to extinguish loans in twenty years from date. 3. To pay all costs of management and expenses of carrying out the Act. 4. To buy up and extinguish licenses till the

maximum proportion of one in 500 of the population has been reached. 5. The surplus, if any, to be used first in securing the earlier repayment of the loans contracted, until these have been entirely extinguished, and then to be carried to the credit of the education rate and the poor rate in fixed proportions.'

That this plan is open to no grave objections cannot be affirmed. The compensation of the publicans would be a bitter pill for the majority of Englishmen, and yet in the event of the prohibition of their traffic, or its transference to the hands of representatives of the public, the traditions of English legislation, and perhaps the broad requirements of justice, would be violated if compensation were denied them. Many would protest against the councils becoming publicans; the consciences of some who would feel that they were made parties to a traffic which they abhor would be offended. But Mr. Chamberlain's scheme is but a new application of the principle which is embodied in our existing licensing system, and though it brings the representatives of the people into more immediate connection with, and a more apparent responsibility for, the sale of intoxicating drinks, it does so with the express view of limiting and controlling that sale, so far as public sentiment will allow. It will be objected by some that councils would be tempted to foster the traffic, the ratepayers nothing grudging, as a source of revenue; but the objection lies as strongly against our present system, from which so much of our imperial revenue is derived, as against the Birmingham variety of the Gothenburg system. We should be glad to see Mr. Chamberlain's plan tried for Birmingham, under the powers of a local act; for though open to many objections far from trivial, it has much to recommend it in the present state of things, and will have much so long as any considerable number of our countrymen decline to abstain from intoxicating drinks. It would reduce the number of public-houses by sixty per cent. from the present general average for England. It would give the people a more direct control than they have at present over the traffic. It would enable the authorities to take the traffic out of the hands of men who have a mercenary interest in the increase of the consumption of intoxicating drinks, and place it in the hands of men who would check and regulate that consumption in the interests of the people. It would break the evil power of the publicans, not only as exercised directly to the degradation of their customers by their unscrupulousness as traders, but as exercised to the

great peril of our national institutions by their selfish action as politicians, and their corrupt influence on elections. Mr. Chamberlain's draft is an improvement on the Gothenburg system. It entrusts to the town councils, or other existing corporations representative of the people, what that system entrusts to a company. This is in the spirit of our institutions. A business of so much importance as the liquor trade, if removed, in the interests of the nation, from the ordinary trading basis of private enterprise, should be carried on by bodies elected by the people and responsible to them. In such bodies alone would be found the flexibility necessary to meet the various and changing demands made upon them, and to such bodies alone would the people give their confidence. The Gothenburg system is excellent as an experiment in a small population, but among the crowds of our busy and populous cities it would probably break down; and even in Sweden, when the men to whom it owes its origin, and whose benevolent enthusiasm has done so much to make it successful, have passed away, it will probably be found necessary to transfer the work of the company to one of the regularly constituted administrative authorities of the kingdom.

There are other proposals at present before the country and the House of Commons affecting the liquor traffic. The member for Newcastle-on-Tyne, Mr. Cowen, proposes to transfer the licensing powers to an elected board. An excellent proposal in principle, but open to the objection that it creates a new administrative body, and adds to an already too complicated electoral machinery. This we presume explains to some extent the large majority which has just thrown it out of the House of Commons. From this objection Mr. Chamberlain's plan is free. The vote of the House of Commons on the motion of Mr. Smyth relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors in Ireland on Sunday promises a speedy settlement of that question for the sister island, similar to that which Forbes McKenzie's Act effected for Scotland; but no such good fortune we fear awaits Mr. Birley when he shall submit his bill for closing the English public-houses on Sunday. In addition to the plans which have been embodied in bills, other plans are emerging from the discussions which are now so rife. The Church of England Temperance Society threatens the grocers' licenses and the beer-houses, and it must be said that there is abundant evidence in the reports of the Convocation Committees that the least open and most dangerous of the forms which the drunkenness of the country has

lately assumed—namely, female intemperance—is much fostered by the former of these agencies, while its coarsest and most criminal forms are much abetted by the latter.

No very bold measure is likely to be sanctioned by Parliament, unless indeed Mr. Chamberlain, persuading Birmingham to apply for a local Act embodying his views, should also succeed in persuading Parliament to grant it. The beginning of a new and better state of things might thus be made. If we express the hope that this will be done, and that Parliament will still be plied with measures for crippling the liquor traffic, we confess candidly, that we take no sanguine view of the power of the legislature to deal effectually with this national vice. More good will we believe come from the discussion which legislative projects will provoke than from the restrictive pressure of those projects when they become law. That many are tempted beyond what they are able to bear, by the facilities for intemperance so lavishly provided, is beyond controversy, and a diminution of those facilities would therefore save some. That the liquor traffic is full of peril for the State has been demonstrated, and the State is under obligation to handle it firmly, deaf to its protests, though these may have the sanction of high names. We throw in our judgment with common sense and popular feeling against those economists who are squeamish about interference with what they call the principles of trade and individual liberty. Still our main hope is in moral influence. A great free people will not ultimately give up even a vice which is eating its vitals because of material obstacles placed in the way of its indulgence. What it will yield, it may be by a slow process, to the teaching of science, the example and sympathetic counsel of good men, and the higher influences of religion, it will deny to the imperious demand of law. And nothing could be more fatal to true progress in all that concerns our national sobriety, than the prevalence of the belief that the virtuous and religious part of the community can discharge its obligations concerning intemperance by promoting legislative measures for its suppression. On no such easy terms can we become the helpers of our tempted and fallen brethren, and so the saviours of the society which their vicious ways are bringing into peril. The rich and well-to-do must live more among the poor. They must set them an example of self-control, of freedom from luxury, and superiority to the temptations of their own station. They must aid them in the struggle with the dis-

advantages of their lot. If this seems to postpone the millennium of temperance reformers for an indefinite period, we may comfort ourselves with the belief that that millennium when it comes will be an assured and permanent triumph.

ART. VI.—*Cycles in Trade.*

THE natural conservatism of the human mind, illustrated by the frequent use of the text, 'There is no new thing under the sun,' inclines men to seek for explanation of the present in tracing analogies with the past. 'The thing that hath been it is that which shall be;' and because we have had commercial crises and eras of depressed trade interchanging with periods of expansion and national prosperity in something like regular sequence, it is vaguely concluded that there is some sort of general law that renders this order of events inevitable. The formula is that panics go in cycles, and that as a usual thing they may be looked for every ten years. A further generalisation is that the growth of business, and possibly the swifter pace of modern times, tend to make panics more frequent now than formerly, so that they are apt to recur at shorter intervals. While these statements may contain a basis of solid truth, there is in them much exaggeration. The ebb and flow in the course of all human affairs is, doubtless, characteristic also of trade and commerce. Action and reaction are a law of life; and the confidence engendered, and the hopes kindled in a time of abounding prosperity, are apt to carry production to an excess. Markets are glutted, as the supply far exceeds the demand, and the time comes when the process of sending goods for sale must be abandoned. Manufacturers may go on for a while selling at a loss, rather than submit to the immediate sacrifice involved in stopping their mills and machinery; but the time must come when remittances in return for consignments for foreign markets absolutely fail. The goods cannot be sold at any price, and unless the manufacturer have an accumulated capital to fall back upon he goes to the wall; and this happening in numerous instances, and in different trades throughout the country, a commercial crisis and possibly a panic supervene, and the period of prosperity is succeeded by a time of severe trial. It does not however follow that this, which may be described as the natural course of things, happens always in the same way or within the same limits of time. There is no more truth in the theory of reg-

ularly recurrent periodical panics than is implied in the fact that human nature is liable to alternate fits of hope and despondency; and that while the former hold sway, the trader is apt to carry speculation beyond the bounds of prudence. It is no impossible ideal that manufacturers and merchants may be so trained in the hard school of experience, as to take precautions against overproduction and excessive supply during the more prosperous times, and that thus the probability of periodical panics may be reduced to a minimum.

The disposition to acquiesce in the recurrence of commercial crises at certain fixed times is therefore unreasonable. The fact that they have been witnessed in the past, and that during the last half century a panic has occurred in the course of each decade, is no sufficient basis for the induction that has been built upon it. There is no more necessity that the course of trade should be diversified by such crises, than there is that the plague or the cholera, which was observed to advance in a steady march from the East, and which, once it had begun its course onward, it was believed no arts could arrest, must devastate the nations of the West. The progress of sanitary science has enabled us, by varying the conditions—due to tendencies in human nature—in which these diseases are readily developed, to greatly mitigate their virulence when they do make their appearance, and even to stamp them out, as we stamped out the cattle plague, by isolation and by cutting off the sources of dirt and disorder from which they are fed. There is no reason in the nature of things why the same result should not be attained in regard to the plagues of commercial life. Prudence and a wise conduct of business will doubtless have that effect in course of time; for the tendencies of human nature to which they are due are under the control of man, and though trade will always have its ups and downs, there is no reason that these should be so excessive as they have been in the past. The manner in which what are called ‘laws’—that are generalisations from experience—affect the imagination, until they come to be worshipped as fetishes, is due to sheer superstition. The likenesses or analogies found in the course of affairs are separated from the differences that give their special character to each separate event, and the residuum is regarded as the expression of a general law—a procedure which is not accordant either with sound philosophy or common sense. Hence such startling generalisations as that of the late Mr. Buckle, who under the illumination of the dry light of statistics came

to the conclusion that marriages are ‘simply regulated by the average earnings of the great mass of the people,’ and have no connection with personal feelings; while murder and suicide are the result of ‘the prodigious energy of vast social laws,’ ‘the product of the general condition of society,’ with which it would seem the individual murderer and suicide, who are spokes in the vast machine, and whose volition counts for nothing, have very little to do, and who must be more sinned against than sinning. The mistake here lies in founding a law upon a number of numerical uniformities, without taking into account the elements that cause them to differ from each other. Such mechanical averages do no good, for they cannot possibly explain anything. The differences are the factors in the case that are really of most moment, from which alone, as a rule, we can derive any explanation of the facts; and to eliminate the differences and fix attention upon the uniformities, is in very many cases to take the surest way of preventing any human being from arriving at a rational explanation of the phenomena under review.

We wish to apply the method we have indicated to the case of trade, in order to help to dissipate the misleading assumption that panics and commercial crises are in some way the necessary results of mysterious laws, and that we can no more guard against them than we can prevent the sun rising or setting at its duly appointed time. We shall shew the untenableness of this view by a comparison of the last panic, which occurred in 1866, with others of a similar kind, and by an analysis of the causes that have produced the prolonged depression in trade from which we are suffering in this country. These it will be seen are special and peculiar, and the general conditions are in many respects unlike those that in former times have brought about similar results.

During the past two years, and more particularly during the last twelve months, British trade has been in a semi-paralysed condition. Enterprise has gradually flagged and grown feeble, till it has reached the verge of exhaustion. Speculation has ceased, and the heart has been taken out even of the most inveterate gamblers of commerce. Some of our staple industries no longer command a market abroad, and the conditions of production in our own country are so unfavourable, that our manufacturers are beaten even in the home market by the foreign competitor, in articles in which we used to command an assured ascendancy. We hear of the English Government giving large orders for iron to Belgian works, because they can buy cheaper in Belgium than in South Wales;

and contracts for steel rails have been assigned to German firms, because their terms are more favourable than can be obtained at home. It is true there is still done amongst us a steady home trade, which may be described as the ordinary hand to mouth trade of the country; and its volume is not likely to suffer any very serious further contraction. What has collapsed is our speculative home and foreign business—the trade of enterprise and progress, which seeks new outlets, and by means of cheapened production and improved methods enables our merchants and manufacturers to beat the foreign competitor in his own markets. We are not prophets, and we do not venture to predict that the collapse of our national enterprise will not be yet followed by the sharp crisis with which we have been familiar in former times of commercial distress. But there is this difference between the circumstances of the present time and of former similar periods—that the accumulations of capital now are on a much larger scale than was formerly the case. M. Laveleye, at the recent celebration of the centenary of Adam Smith, spoke truly of the *prodigieuse accumulation de richesses qu'on rencontre partout en Angleterre*; and although this wealth is the property of a comparatively small number, it is a fund which is constantly employed in maintaining industry to supply the wants of the community. In the Bank of France there is at this moment the largest amount of the precious metals which has ever been witnessed: an *amas de métaux précieux sans précédent*, says M. Laveleye; and the amount in the Bank of England, though much less considerable, also exceeds any former precedent. The existence of these funds of capital, the accumulated savings of past years, naturally prevents dull times from having the effect they were once certain to produce. 'But for this,' says an able evening paper, 'a collapse of manufacturing enterprise would mean now, as it did mean in former periods, a collapse of nearly all the trades and employments of the country.' Time alone will tell whether this conclusion is not premature, whether we may not have even yet to run the gauntlet of a period of panic. So far from being able from the experience of former panics to forecast the probable future, the most cursory comparison of the crises of the last fifty years will show that in each instance they have been the result of distinct causes and peculiar conditions, which cannot simply be exactly reproduced. It is impossible that we should, within the limits of a short article, establish these conclusions in reference to the particulars of each of the panics that have taken place in the years from 1825 to

1866, nor is it necessary for our purpose to do so. The broad facts are sufficiently notorious to justify this preliminary assumption. It is worthy of note, that just before the great recent development of English wealth and prosperity, acute readers of the signs of the times, such as Mr. Carlyle, predicted the early ruin of Great Britain as the inevitable result of what it was the fashion then to call 'the Condition of the People' question. The forces that were at work, threatening to upheave society and involve in ruins the entire social and political fabric of the country, were sufficiently potent to produce widespread alarm and distress. The panic in 1847 was, however, not the signal of England's ruin, but the forerunner of the greatest material prosperity to which any State in the same short period ever attained. The enthusiasm excited by the early triumphs of railway enterprise brought its reaction in the ruin of thousands of over sanguine speculators and investors, and the political troubles of the period intensified the mischief by sowing wide the seeds of distrust. Recovering from that malady—the commercial disease which was the fruit of excessive speculation—the country has since made giant strides forward; and though the progress has been intermittent, and there have been alternations of prosperity and adversity, the movement has been steadily in advance, as is best proved by the accumulations of capital to which we have already adverted. These are the fruits of the vast development that has taken place contemporaneously with the triumphs of steam and electricity, and through the increase in the purchasing power of the world, due to the large additional supplies of gold from Australia and California. It may teach us modesty in estimating the probable cost of things in the future from what we have seen in the past, if we remember that the most sagacious observers were at fault some thirty years since in their conclusions. While Mr. Carlyle's predictions of the deluge remain unfulfilled, that abundant supply of the precious metals, which De Quincey and many others were confident would bring upon us economical destruction, has been one of the main causes of the abundant prosperity in which the world has since seemed to revel.

The panic of 1847 was the direct result of the railway mania, the effects of which were intensified by the political troubles of the times, in consequence of the diffusion of the revolutionary spirit. The next panic, ten years subsequently, supervened upon the period of prosperity that followed the Crimean war; and in a similar way the panic of 1866 followed the great develop-

ment of trade and speculation that sprang up after the civil war in America. In all these cases it will be seen there were, amid general resemblances, specific causes that cannot be classified as numerical uniformities or treated as mechanical averages, and it will be found hopeless to explain one of them without taking into account the diversities in each instance. The panic and crisis of 1866 differed from its predecessors in being to a greater extent than any of them a banking crisis, for it originated not with the borrowers but with the lenders of money. Its chief feature was a run for deposits. The faith of the public in the credit of the banks in which they had deposited their surplus wealth was suddenly shattered by untoward events, and the consequent run upon these establishments brought many of them to the ground, with the usual results in such cases of extending the mischief, for the effects of commercial crises are cumulative. Continuous 'bearing' operations in bank shares on the Stock Exchange, and the collapse of one or two financial companies, heralded the downfall of the long-established discount house of Overend, Gurney, and Co., which had been specially singled out for attack by the 'operators for a fall;' and when its customers caught the alarm, and the run for deposits forced it to apply to the Bank of England for assistance, it was unable to offer securities for the advances it so urgently needed, and the doors of this important institution had to be closed. 'Black Friday' will not soon be forgotten in the city of London, and the disastrous consequences of the collapse of Overend, Gurney, and Co., assumed the dimensions of a national disaster. It is not our purpose to discuss the causes of the calamity, further than as they illustrate the peculiar nature of the panic, or to apportion the share of blame which may have been due to the Bank of England. The suspension of the Bank Act was not taken advantage of by the Bank to exercise the power which it alone possessed of a further issue of notes that were legal tender. Its interest was served by the supply of currency remaining insufficient. It was not only able to charge panic rates of discount—ten or twelve per cent.—but as the evil extended, failures took place, and the private banks were unable to meet the demands made upon them, and had to apply to the Bank of England, that establishment had the entire banking business of the country in its hands, and increased its profits proportionately. Its net profit on the half year ending 5th of September, 1866, was close on a million sterling, the largest it was ever known to make. On the 9th of May, the

day before the panic began, the note circulation of the Bank of England was £22,344,395; in the next return on the 16th—four days after the panic had reached its height—it was £26,120,995. The loans and discounts on the 9th were £20,844,217, and on the 16th they were £30,943,259; and the private deposits in the interval went up from £13,515,537 to £18,620,672. Thus the effects of the crisis of 'Black Friday' was to increase the Bank's loans and discounts by ten millions sterling, or fifty per cent. on the total, to add five millions to its private deposits, and about four millions to its issue of notes. Half of the amount required in advances from the Bank was never withdrawn from its charge, but remained at the credit of those who received the accommodation. The extra demand was mainly due to the applications of the other banks to fortify themselves against the probable demands which proved fatal to several of their rivals. It has been estimated that three-fourths of the increase in the Bank's discount business came from this source, and the remaining fourth from persons who could not get their bills discounted in the old quarters, and consequently applied to the Bank of England, which thus reaped a rich harvest of extra profits from the misfortunes of its neighbours. We do not deny that the Bank may have been justified in declining to use the powers of adding to the currency which the suspension of the Bank Act conferred upon it; much less should we assert that the fact of the suspension, though it was not taken advantage of, did not help to check the panic. But the extent to which the Bank of England was benefited by the disasters of its neighbours, renders the inquiry reasonable whether it is fair to the public and to other bankers that any private establishment—as the Bank of England professes to hold itself to be—should have the power to reap such a rich and exclusive harvest. One word more, and we have done with the panic of 1866 for the present. The contraction in the foreign trade of the country that followed was much less considerable than we have witnessed of late, though there has been no panic. From January to August, 1866, the total amount of exports and imports was £281,000,000, and during the subsequent ten months it was £339,573,000. The monthly average during the first period was over thirty-five millions, and in the latter about thirty-four millions. Decrease instead of increase in exports and imports was thus apparent, but the falling off was not formidable. From all we have said, we think the inference will be seen to be reasonable that the panic of 1866 was largely a banking

crisis. The commercial failures and the diminished volume of trade followed, and did not precede the panic, and were thus the effects, and not the causes of the crisis.

The case is different with the commercial difficulties through which the country is at present passing. One of the first features observable in connection with it is that the existing depression is well nigh universal. It is not England alone, but the commercial communities of both the Old World and the New, which are suffering from the same malady—some of them to an even larger extent than England. In Europe, the only country which forms a partial exception is France, and the more recent symptoms indicate that it too has begun to feel the influence of restricted trade. Germany is specially depressed after the swift development of feverish and deceptive enterprise produced by the influx of the French milliards; and the striking contrast between the country which received and that which paid the heavy fine imposed on the conquered French is one of the most significant facts of the day. On the other side of the Atlantic, both the United States and the Dominion of Canada have suffered and continue to suffer severely. Failures in the former have been very numerous, and are still going on; and though a similar state of things is to be seen in Canada, there is not likely to be the catastrophe there which is still not improbable in the former. In the far East, trade with India and China is in a state of collapse, and the severe depreciation which has occurred in the value of silver threatens to involve our Indian Empire in serious trouble, if not to be the source of disastrous calamities.

Such wide-spread depression as is now witnessed throughout the civilised world cannot be the result of local and particular, but must be due to wide-spread general causes. There is a solidarity between all the civilised countries of the world, now that they are bound intimately together by railways and telegraphs. This alone would account for much of the prevalent dulness of trade, but not for the whole. Though the members of the commonwealth of States are so intimately associated, that when one member suffers all to some extent share in the suffering, yet the protection that largely prevails both in Europe and America fosters the conflict of interests which makes the commercial distress of some countries the opportunity of greater prosperity for others. The United States have been passing through a long-drawn-out commercial crisis ever since the failure of the well known firm of Jay Cooke and Co., in 1873. Germany

enjoyed a time of marvellous prosperity after the war with France, but she has since discovered that the milliards of her French neighbours have profited her little, the stimulus they gave to enterprise at the first having long since been succeeded by disappointment and disaster. France, on the other hand, has had a brilliant epoch of industrial prosperity. The hoardings of her people have been added to the available wealth of Europe; the wide diffusion of savings among all classes of her population has given her a stability such as surpasses all expectation; and the benefits brought to her by the effects of free trade between the years from 1860 to the present time have enabled her to bear burdens which in former times would have brought national bankruptcy. The abounding prosperity of France has suffered interruption, but she feels the dull times less than perhaps any other European State at the present time. It is unnecessary to speak of the financial collapse of Turkey, the hard times of the dual empire of Austro-Hungary, or the threatened exhaustion of Russia. A general wave of commercial depression has passed over the face of the world, and the causes that have produced it have affected all civilised lands. In our own country the Board of Trade returns show that trade is in a state of collapse. The decrease in our exports—always the best test—has been very serious, and has been greatest in the more recent months.

The total value of our exports during the month of April last was £15,430,000, against £20,222,000 during the corresponding month of the previous year, being a reduction of £4,792,000, or as much as 23·7 per cent. For the four months ending April this year our exports amounted to £66,306,000, against £73,282,090, in 1875, or a reduction of £6,976,000, which is 9·6 per cent. Our imports, on the other hand, have increased 15·6 per cent. on the month, and 6·5 per cent. on the four months, in consequence mainly of the increase in the import of articles of food and luxury. A relatively large increase in imports is not always a healthy sign, for it shows that we are paying for our necessities and luxuries out of the accumulated savings of the country—a process that cannot be carried far without danger. The comparison between the value of our exports and imports is to some extent misleading, for the 'declared value' of the former, which is given in the returns, is usually much under their real value or selling price in the country into which they are imported. If the average of the addition that must be made to the declared, to get the real, value be taken into account, it will be

found that the balance of trade against this country is much less than the figures of the Board of Trade returns represent it to be. It is also necessary to bear in mind that under recent circumstances the prices of all our staple industries have been lower than last year, so that a decrease in values does not always mean a decrease in quantities. Nevertheless, making all allowance for these facts, there is no doubt that the decrease in our exports has been relatively greater during the present year than at any former period of declining trade; and it is the more discouraging, since it comes after long months of previous reductions.

The Board of Trade returns for the month of May exhibit the same general characteristics as those of the preceding month, only the decrease in the value of the exports is much less considerable than it was in April. The total is £17,056,000 against £18,225,000, or a decrease of £1,169,000, equal to 6·4 per cent.; while for the five months the diminution is £8,145,000, or equal to 8·9 per cent. The imports also show a decrease of 9·1 per cent. on the month, while there is a small increase of 3·2 per cent. on the five months. The figures for the month of May do not, therefore, show any change in the commercial situation. The value of our exports, notwithstanding slight increases in the quantities of some staple articles of production—such as cotton and wool—continues to diminish, and our imports are characterised by a fair amount of steadiness. Contemporaneously with the declining state of trade of which the returns afford evidence, the stock of bullion in the Bank of England still goes on increasing. Money is therefore exceptionally 'easy' as the stagnation of trade keeps the demand for accommodation in check, while the caution induced by a long period of dull trade, varied by occasional failures, makes it harder for those in need of money to obtain advances. The accumulation of bullion is fostered by a two-fold influence, and the supply of money is superabundant at a time when there is equally great difficulty in obtaining accommodation and in finding means of employment for surplus capital.

The full effects of such a time of depression are not immediately felt, for it takes some time before the attempts are exhausted to work stocks off glutted markets by accepting lower prices. It would seem, however, that we must have nearly reached the lowest level, for it will be impossible to produce at all on much lower terms than those now ruling. Many manufacturers in Lancashire continue work-

ing indeed, because they are reluctant to throw their mills idle, but they are not getting sales for their products, and they are only therefore increasing the quantities of stocks which are getting more and more depreciated in value. The universal depression in the iron trade has excited grave apprehensions regarding the future, and where furnaces are still in blast it is because the proprietors are unwilling to incur the expense of blowing them out so long as there is a chance, however feeble, of a change. Prices go on sinking, furnaces are being extinguished, and a large amount of the iron used in Scotland for building purposes comes from Belgium. 'Every week' (says 'Iron' of the 20th May last) 'a large quantity of girders, beams, and nails is imported from that country.' It is a significant fact that Belgian firms have been delivering nail sheets in Birmingham at considerably under the lowest local price. Nor is there any likelihood of improvement in the iron trade until a further reduction takes place in wages, so as to adjust the conditions of production to the altered state of things.

The crisis of 1866 occurred after a time of rapid advance in trade, which had the usual effect of running up the cost of production to excessively high rates. It was followed by several years of commercial gloom, and in the year 1867, though the rate of discount had fallen below two per cent., the ease and abundance of money had no effect in stimulating enterprise, while investors were discouraged by the disclosures of the abuses of joint-stock and railway enterprise. The same tale was repeated in 1868, during which money continued exceedingly cheap, but speculation was inactive, and trade was confined within narrow limits, as was shown by the small yield of the railway traffic returns. There was no substantial improvement in 1869, though three years had passed since the shock of 1866; and the consequent suffering led in some quarters to a demand for protection for native industries under the guise of Reciprocity. The revival which had been so long waited for came at last in 1870. It was not produced by the Franco-German War that occurred in its course, for it had commenced early in the year, and the immediate effect of that struggle was adverse to trade, owing to the sudden closing of continental markets. This influence was, however, temporary. English manufacturers reaped the benefit from the contraction of competition, and although heavy losses were caused by the severe depreciation that took place in stocks and shares, the home trade of the country was prosperous, as indicated

by the steady and large increase in our railway traffics.

Up to this time the revival of trade had been of a sound and healthy character: and although, under the influence of the uneasy feelings that prevailed, the Bank raised the rate to six per cent., this level was not long maintained. The three years that followed marked the highest range to which British commerce, and indeed we may say the trade of the world, ever advanced. It was a period rightly characterised by Mr. Gladstone at the time as one of progress, not by gradual steps forwards, but by 'leaps and bounds' in all branches of industry. In its summary of 1871, the 'Times' wrote: 'The amount of exports and imports, and the productiveness of the great sources of revenue, have surpassed all former experience, and the returns of railway traffics have exceeded those of any former year by nearly a million.' It was the same in 1872, during which once again the exports and the imports exceeded all previous years. This was partly due, however, to the rapid and great advance in the prices of all articles of ordinary consumption, for the increase in quantities was not equal in proportion to that of values. 1873 could still be described as 'prosperous and tranquil,' but the signs of coming trouble had begun to show themselves. A crisis had occurred in the United States, where the failures of several banks in good repute caused a general disturbance of confidence; and on the Continent, embarrassments (amounting at Vienna to a panic) were produced by the reaction from the speculative mania that followed the close of the German War. Strikes at home caused disorganisation in our staple industries, but trade continued profitable, though we had lost the elasticity which had been so marked in the preceding years, and had reached a turning-point in the national industry. At first there was no great change perceptible, but the decline was evident by the end of 1874, though it was relative rather than absolute. We had ceased to advance, but we were not falling away, and the quantities of our exports were larger than in the previous year, though the value, owing to generally reduced prices, was smaller. A good harvest prevented the depression that began to prevail from being felt to the extent that would otherwise have been the case. The coal and iron trades, which had been most largely benefited by the activity of the years 1870-73, were the first to feel the effects of the altered state of things, and large reductions in the rate of wages accompanied or followed the reductions in the prices

of coal and iron. It was not, however, till 1875 that active signs of commercial distress were visible. The year was not one of extreme suffering, and a considerable trade continued to be done. Indeed, the figures of the national exchequer through the early months and onwards to the beginning of last autumn proved that the spending power of the population had not been seriously diminished; that while there was no longer the buoyancy of exceptionally good years, there remained sufficient resources among the people to maintain a high average of material comfort. During the latter part of the year, however, the revenue lost the elasticity it had still possessed, and the Board of Trade returns showed a reduction in the national exports. A serious struggle between labour and capital in South Wales was one of the immediate fruits of the decline in the coal and iron trades; and the collapse of some large iron companies in the beginning of the summer, followed by the scandalous disclosures in connection with the suspension of Messrs. Collie and Co., first brought home to the country the conviction of the existence of a vast mass of unsound speculative trading. Followed as these events were by the distrust of foreign loans, caused by the Report of the Foreign Loans Committee and the successive defaults of various foreign States, involving enormous losses, distributed among all classes of the population, there has been a gradual contraction in trade, and a weeding out of unsound and weak houses, which has been spread over a long period. The consequence has been universal distrust, and a growing disposition to contract business within the narrowest limits. Among even good houses and sound manufacturing establishments the question is, not how much they can gain, but how little they shall lose. Money has nevertheless been abundant, for the usual means of its employment have been cut off or greatly curtailed, and the rates for discount and interest have continued at an excessively low level—too low to be wholesome. We are still in the midst of the depression which has resulted from the state of things we have sketched, and neither abroad nor at home is it possible to trace symptoms of the revival of trade which must come in the natural course of things, but which may not possibly arrive until we have witnessed more commercial failures and a still further reduction in prices, necessitating lower wages, and possibly producing distress among our working population.

A number of exceptional events combined to make the industrial develop-

ment both of the New and the Old Worlds on a scale of great magnitude during the years from 1867 to 1873. The United States took huge strides after the close of their civil war, and the stimulus given to production, and the large extent to which new markets were opened, induced the belief among our American cousins that they had the ball at their foot, and that they had only to use their opportunities to 'whip creation.' All forms of internal enterprise—the construction of railroads, canals, docks, the increase in all sorts of manufactures—and the extension of foreign trade, combined to encourage the Americans in their recklessness; and they went on, never dreaming of a check, overproducing, overstocking markets, and driving speculation to an extreme never before heard of, till they were rudely pulled up by the events of the autumn of 1873. Since then they have been suffering from the suspension in all kinds of enterprise which has now become general, and have been parting with their gold with a persistency which bids fair to leave them without any resources to fall back upon except their large stock of silver, which may expose both America and the world to fresh danger if things go on as they have been doing. With a paper currency (including the National Bank Circulation and the Government Legal Tenders) reaching the large sum of £146,200,000, the total amount of coin in the United States does not exceed £22,100,000, of which £12,400,000 are due to Treasury depositors and on accrued interest on bonds, £7,500,000 are coin held by the banks, leaving the total unencumbered coin at the Government's disposal at £2,200,000, which is made up of silver. Yet America is supposed to be about to return to a specie basis! Mr. A. A. Low, a New York merchant of high standing, lately stated before the Chamber of Commerce of that city, that in 1873 the gold in the United States Treasury had fallen from a hundred and ten millions to seventy millions of dollars in less than three years; and it has been estimated that if the shipment and yield of mines of 1876 be in the same proportion to each other as in 1875, the gold in the Treasury will have dwindled in the twelve-month from \$55,000,000, to \$28,000,000, or £5,600,000, which, with the amount estimated to be held by the banks (£7,500,000), will be all the gold in the country. When this becomes apparent, is it not to be apprehended that the holders of the Government coin-certificates will take alarm, and demand gold before the money is exhausted? If they did, and if the United States sought to pay silver instead of gold, what would be

the crisis that would follow? This is one of the sources of possible future disturbance which it would be folly to ignore. Considering the great extent to which silver has become depreciated of late, any attempt by the American Government to substitute it for gold in paying their coupons would be a breach of faith that would destroy American credit, and precipitate a crisis of the gravest character, the effects of which would be felt all over the world.

We think we have succeeded in showing that the period of reaction in which we now are, and which has continued nearly three years, has, as all other similar cases, its own special features, and that it would be misleading to treat it as if it were one of a number of phenomena, all very much alike, due to identical causes, and which may be safely generalised about in consequence. There are common features which establish a family resemblance between panics and commercial crises, for the simple reason, as we pointed out before, that trade and commerce depend upon tendencies in human nature which operate in the same manner when the conditions are similar. As, however, these tendencies are modified and varied by human freedom or caprice, and as, amid all general analogies in the conditions affecting trade, there are elements of difference from what has been witnessed before, we maintain that it is much more profitable to study the differences than the resemblances, and that it is blind and foolish to attribute compulsory powers to alleged laws that are nothing but expressions of generalised experience. It is not difficult to account for the present universal depression in trade as the natural reaction from a period of unexampled universal prosperity, which was due to a series of exceptional events, including the exultation of peoples and the consequent recklessness of their trading after a time of war, and aided by the material progress rendered possible through the multiplication of railways and telegraphs. On the other hand, while the reaction is naturally severe because the pace of progress had been forced beyond previous record, the existence of larger amounts of realised capital in the shape of savings has hitherto prevented utter stagnation and the stoppage of production, which would entail widespread ruin. We hesitate to express an opinion on the point whether there may be a commercial crisis yet to come, but unless precipitated by some external cause, it seems rather probable that the present depression will continue for some time longer, unvaried by any sharper panic, until the adjustment of the conditions of production to

the state of the market brings about a slow, gradual revival. Any attempt by the United States to pay its foreign creditors in depreciated silver instead of in standard gold, would however produce a panic, and we cannot be sure that America will not make such an attempt. The small dimensions within which she has reduced her stock of the more precious metal seem to us to constitute a serious danger.

It is possible to hope that no further disturbance of general confidence will ensue, and that, prices having been slowly reduced to their lowest levels, and the conditions of production having been adjusted without further industrial disorganisation to the altered state of markets, a revived demand will set in, which will gradually swell the demand for British goods, and give a new starting-point to the development of the national industry. If it were not for the disturbing elements that exist outside of our own empire, we should incline to the belief that the trade and commerce of the country will before very long experience such a revival, and that our people have profited to such a degree by the lessons lately taught them through the collapse of foreign loans, the mischief done by unsound and mendacious joint-stock schemes, and the general contraction of credit, that the future will witness sounder trading and less of that reckless speculation which is gambling in its worst form. Much will depend upon the harvest of the year. People are apt to exaggerate the evil of what is under their immediate observation, but when we are told that the depressed trade of the present time is without precedent, we remember that the same thing was said so recently as in 1870, when speakers and writers declaimed with energy against the one-sided free trade that had depressed all our manufacturing industries, and made distress and discontent prevail. That depression also was protracted through several years, as has been the case with the present, yet in a very short time the trade, not only of England, but of the world, entered upon a course of unexampled prosperity. Probably, in a year or two, we shall be looking back upon the troubles of the present time as we did in 1872-3 on those of 1867-70, and wondering at our short-sighted apprehensions.

ART. VII.—*Political Career of Mr. Disraeli.*

WE make no apology for inviting the attention of our readers to the subject of

the following pages. One of the advantages of a period of Conservative reaction is that it gives us time to turn round and take a tranquil survey of our public men. The play is suspended, the curtain is down, and the half-apologetic tinkling and fiddling, which fills up the interlude, is too uninteresting to abstract our attention while we canvass the merits of the actors. In that 'crowded hour of glorious life,' towards which Mr. Lowe still turns a fond and regretful gaze, history was being made, and an impressive procession of great events absorbed men's minds and gave them a distaste for merely personal criticism. But we have relapsed, for the time at least, to a lower level. *Arbusta juvant humilesque myricæ.* We are pleased with a rattle and tickled with a straw. A fog in the Irish channel supplies us in our present frame with material for six months' political controversy. We are forced to simulate an intelligent interest in the unfathomable chicaneries of Egyptian book-keeping. The most animated debates of the session turn on the meaning and history of a single word. The children of Israel found it difficult to make bricks without straw, but theirs was a light task compared with that of the historian to whom fortune has assigned the Suez Canal as a theme, and Mr. Ward Hunt as a hero. The Press has been driven to the most desperate expedients, and it seemed likely at one time to be forced, through lack of matter, altogether to suspend its operations, had not an opportune harvest of crimes, and the simultaneous absence of the Queen and all her sons, made up (not greatly to the advantage of the public) for the want of political news. During the last month the intricacies of Eastern politics have become seriously and urgently interesting; but so far as domestic affairs are concerned, the history of the session, with all its noisy debates and monotonous divisions, still remains a 'tale of sound and fury, signifying nothing.' We will not weary our readers by going over again the threadbare recital of petty incidents and mean catastrophes. Whether we take the Fugitive Slave or the Indian Minutes, the Royal Title or the Merchant Shipping Bill, what more can be said than what everybody admits—that the obstinacy and the vacillation of the government vary inversely with the importance and the insignificance of the question in dispute. But its very blunders, though frequent enough and irritating enough, are on a small and vulgar scale. They excite a just feeling of indignation at the moment, but they are no more capable of doing permanent harm than the permissive legislation with which

they alternate is capable of doing permanent good. After more than two years of official life the most interesting thing about Mr. Disraeli's administration is still Mr. Disraeli himself, and it will be perhaps best remembered for the fresh light which its history throws on his unique career. To that career we propose now to direct the attention of our readers, not attempting the ambitious functions of the biographer, but aiming rather at the attainment of a just estimate of one of the most conspicuous figures in the political drama of our time.

The year 1841, like the year 1874, witnessed the triumph of a Conservative reaction. In April, 1835, after a brief interval of Conservative rule, the Whigs had returned to power under Lord Melbourne, and the history of his administration proves by a melancholy abundance of illustrations the dangers and difficulties which must beset any attempt to govern the country by reliance upon an Irish faction. It is true that Lord Melbourne's ministry carried out some great improvements. The reform of municipal corporations, the Act for the commutation of tithes, and the establishment of a national system of education, were all 'heroic' measures; and the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston, though it would not command much favour now, was always popular, and contrasted advantageously by its vigour and directness with the habitual imbecility of the government in domestic affairs. But O'Connell's support had always to be purchased, and the great agitator, who knew his price, exacted it in the form of mean concessions and degrading services.* Nor was Lord Melbourne fortunate in the administrative capacity of his colleagues. The Colonial Office in particular was so mismanaged by Lord Glenelg, that only the unconcealed partiality of the sovereign, and her determination not to part with 'the friends of her youth,'† saved the ministry in 1839, when in the natural course of things Sir Robert Peel should have taken office. For two years longer the Whig government dragged on its inglorious career. It became hardened to defeat, and familiar with those victories which are more humiliating than defeat itself. Beggared of principles and incapable of framing a policy; harassed by the incessant assaults of Lord Stanley and the venomous invective of the unforgiv-

ing Brougham; confronted by a confident and disciplined opposition; subjected daily to the cold and contemptuous criticism of the greatest of parliamentary statesmen; for ever blowing hot and cold with O'Connell and his followers; terrified by Chartism without understanding it; the common enemy of Protectionists and Free Traders, of colonists and abolitionists, of the mercantile interest and the agricultural interest; it clung to office long after office had ceased to carry with it either dignity or profit, and only surrendered when it was no longer possible to demand the honours of war. Sir Robert Peel himself moved a vote of want of confidence in the ministry, which was carried by a majority of one. Parliament was immediately dissolved, and the verdict of the constituencies was pronounced in the same sense, but in far more unmistakable tones. In the new House of Commons which met in August, 1841, there was an estimated Conservative majority of seventy-six, and the government were defeated on the Address by sixty-four. Their resignation followed without delay, and the autumn saw Sir Robert Peel installed in office at the head of a powerful cabinet, and supported by a compact and enthusiastic party.*

In that respectable array of solid merchants and country gentlemen there was one incongruous person, who probably thought himself slighted in not being included in the new government, and whom the great minister has often been blamed for passing over with neglect. Peel had a penetrating eye, but if he had been asked in 1841 which of his followers was least likely in thirty years' time to be prime minister of England, he might not unreasonably have pointed to the member for Shrewsbury. Mr. Disraeli's antecedents would have gone far to justify such a judgment. There was nothing in them which harmonised with the traditions of English public life. Burke was not an Englishman, Canning was a writer of squibs, Lyndhurst changed his principles and forsook his party. But Mr. Disraeli in 1841 united all these disqualifications, and possessed each of them in an exaggerated

* The history of Lord Morpeth's and Lord Stanley's Irish Registration Bills, 1840-1, which had as much as anything to do with the final overthrow of the government, fully bears out this statement.

† The situation is very happily painted by Mr. Disraeli in 'Coningsby,' book vii. ch. 4.

* Lord Melbourne's government went to the country, like Mr. Gladstone's in 1874, on a financial programme. The budget of 1841 was a timid and faltering overture to the Free Trade party. It proposed to diminish, without abolishing, the discrepancy between the import duties on foreign and colonial timber and sugar. But its most important feature was the introduction of a fixed duty on corn (what was then called 'finality') in lieu of the sliding scale. This proposal was condemned by both Free Traders and Protectionists, and conciliated nobody.

form. He gloried in belonging to a race which has survived the days of persecution, but which has not divested itself of the associations which attached to it in less enlightened times. He was known to the literary world as the author not only of 'Vivian Grey' and 'Contarini Fleming,' but also of 'Alroy,' a rhapsody in rhymed prose, and the 'Revolutionary Epic,' a poem which the preface announces as the Iliad and Æneid of the nineteenth century. He had entered public life as a Radical of the Radicals, and his appearance in that character before the electors of Marylebone and High Wycombe was still fresh in men's memories. He had been rash enough to engage in a contest of recrimination with the Liberator himself, and had suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of that supreme master of the art of invective. When after several ineffectual attempts he at length, in 1837, secured a seat in parliament, his first achievement was to measure swords with his old adversary, and to present again on a larger stage the spectacle of a gratuitous and humiliating failure.* In the three following sessions he had improved his reputation as a speaker, but had distinguished himself by eccentricities which might well excite the suspicions of a party leader. He was one of the few Conservatives who supported the motion for taking into consideration the Chartist petition in 1839, and his speech on that occasion contains the germs of the curious medley of socialism and feudalism which was soon to unfold into the political system of the Young England school. On the whole it must be admitted that Sir Robert Peel, when he omitted Mr. Disraeli's name from his list of under-secretaries and lords of the treasury, had little reason to suspect that he was passing over the one man in the House of Commons whom destiny had marked out to be his own rival and successor in the leadership of the Conservative party.

It is no part of our design to write a history of Sir Robert Peel's administration. That administration, which began with the imposition of the Income Tax and ended with the repeal of the Corn Laws, was devoted throughout to fiscal reform. In 1842 no less than 1,200 com-

modities, including in their number all the necessities of life, were subject to custom or excise duties. Of these duties many were not worth the trouble and expense of collection, and the large majority hampered or stunted the native industries which they were intended to protect. In 1845, 800 of them had altogether disappeared, and the remainder were for the most part mitigated and reduced. For a time the process of rearrangement and reform seems to have gone on quietly enough. The Whigs could not complain of changes which they had always in theory approved, but which they had when in office lacked strength and ability to carry into effect. The Radicals saw with complacency the insidious introduction of free trade into the very citadel of the unconscious Protectionists. The Tories, elated with their recent victory, and spurning a disheartened foe, were prepared to take the perfect wisdom of their favourite statesman's schemes on trust. Even in 1845, by Mr. Disraeli's own admission, the great mass of the Conservatives were still faithful to Peel, and if their enthusiasm had abated, the ties of party discipline were not as yet relaxed.* But the financial measures of that year, and the proposed grant to Maynooth, were a greater shock than the tottering loyalty of the ministerial majority could bear. The government was guilty of a double outrage on its supporters. They were an agricultural party, and were told that they must be again content with a manufacturers' budget. They were a Protestant party, and were asked to vote public money for the support of a Roman Catholic college. They were further, for the most part, men with a narrow range of political vision, steeped in class prejudices, honestly convinced that the prosperity of the country was bound up with the landed interest, and that progress was a dangerous illusion, in so far as it involved a fall in rents. That there must be no tampering with the Church, and that native industry must be secured against the risks of foreign competition, were the two axioms of their faith. This was the creed which they had upheld through long years of opposition, which had animated their struggles against a wavering and divided foe, which they had proclaimed on the hustings and carried to victory at the polling-booths. And now,

* The derision with which Mr. Disraeli's maiden speech was received, and the fine boast with which he sat down, are now matters of history. The occasion was the debate on Irish Election Petitions, Dec. 7, 1837. Mr. Disraeli rose immediately after O'Connell, whom he described as playing the part of Daphne to Lord John Russell's Tityrus. Curiously enough, he was followed by his future colleague, Lord Stanley.

* 'True it is that in the four years during which he [Peel] had conducted affairs he had frequently strained the patience of his supporters; but their passive murmurs only proved how necessary he was to their interests.'—'Lord George Bentinck: a Political Biography,' chap. i.

when their triumph was secure, and they hoped to reap the well-earned fruits of conquest, they discovered too late that their leaders were statesmen in a wider sense than they had dreamed of, and they were invited to renounce all their cherished Shibboleths in favour of an imperial policy. Mr. Disraeli was not slow to take advantage of the opportunity. It would be difficult to believe even in the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, that so clear an intellect ever groped and floundered among the fallacies of Protection. But the fact is, that at the very time when he was availing himself of the ignorance which confused cheap bread with low wages, Mr. Disraeli was claiming in 'Coningsby' and 'Sybil' the principle of free trade as part of the sacred and inalienable birthright of the Tory party. There is no scheme of his favourite statesman, Lord Bolingbroke, which he extols more highly in these works than the commercial treaty between England and France, which but for the opposition of the Whigs would have followed the Peace of Utrecht. He can see nothing in Pitt's career which better entitles him to be called the successor of Bolingbroke than his more successful efforts in the same cause.* In the House of Commons itself he had used similar language but three years before. The conduct pursued by 'the Right Hon. Baronet,' said he, in a speech on the revised tariff of 1842, 'is in exact, permanent, and perfect consistency with the principles of free trade laid down by Mr. Pitt.' It is indeed inconceivable at this distance of time that a mind like Mr. Disraeli's, which, in spite of his persistent affectation of a tone and temper which are too English to be even intelligible to him, is anything rather than bucolic, should have seriously believed in the meagre sophistries with which he dazzled the imagination of the Mileses and the Sibthorpes. When we remember the later phases of his career, we cannot feel that there is anything uncharitable in the supposition that his course at this period was dictated by other considerations than a new-born zeal for a system which he had repeatedly condemned. He had not forgotten the slight which had been put on him in 1841, and the cold and tranquil contempt with which the premier re-

ceived his subsequent overtures* filled him with a passionate vindictiveness—'immortal hate and study of revenge'—without a parallel in the annals of English public life. The charge has often been made; it never has been and never can be refuted, while the records of the sessions of 1845-6 are preserved. The deluded and betrayed country gentlemen—the sheep left without a shepherd, over whom Mr. Disraeli shed such floods of histrionic tears—ventilate their wrongs, and expostulate with the wrong-doers, through interminable columns of dreary rhetoric. Their speeches are dull enough to read, but their very dullness—the bucolic erudition of Mr. Miles, the portentous arithmetic of Lord George Bentinck—redeems them from the suspicion of insincerity. When we come across one of Mr. Disraeli's periodical diatribes, embedded in the midst of all this honest prosing, we are not more struck by its artistic superiority than by the different key in which it is pitched. The orator, beyond an occasional flourish of figures, after the fashion with which we are now so familiar, says little or nothing of the merits of Protection in itself. He has one theme, and one only—the perfidy of the 'political pedler,' who bought his party in the cheapest market, to sell it in the dearest. To develop and illustrate this central idea he enlists in his services all the artifices of rhetoric. He avails himself of every epithet in the vocabulary of parliamentary vituperation. He exhausts all the ludicrous and humiliating images which the most ingenious imagination and the least squeamish taste could suggest or approve. No comparison is too degrading, no insinuation too far-fetched, no invective too fierce or too outspoken. Slumbering scandals are awakened, bitter memories are revived with a rude and unfeeling touch, and the malicious gossip of twenty years ago is raked up to add point and sting to a sneer. As an exhibition of deliberate virulence and calculated malignity, reiterated night after night, month after month, with every variety and refinement of torture, and unredeemed from first to last by a single flash of generous feeling, a single relenting admission, a single token of compunction or tribute of respect, these speeches are, and for the credit of English politics are likely

* Mr. Pitt concluded a Treaty of Commerce with France in 1787. Two years previously he had attempted to introduce free trade between England and Ireland, but was defeated by the selfish oligarchy which called itself the Irish Parliament. The Act of Union, by which he was at last enabled to carry out his design, destroyed at the same time this corrupt and factious body.

* Sir R. Peel, in the debate of March 17th, 1845, after quoting from one of Mr. Disraeli's speeches, delivered in 1842, the approving language cited by us, added: "I do not know whether these sentiments are of sufficient importance to mention them in the House, but this I know—that I then held in the same estimation the panegyric with which I now regard the attack."

to remain, unrivalled and unique. It is indeed difficult to conceive how the peculiar and not very honourable art of which they are specimens can be carried to a greater degree of perfection. Mr. Disraeli had studied Sir Robert Peel with the penetrating insight of an enemy who has been 'mine own familiar friend.' He had enjoyed peculiar advantages for the task which he took in hand. He had seen that side of the great minister's nature which Peel only displayed to his faithful and devoted followers. He knew the keen sensitiveness, the almost morbid pride, the nervous susceptibility to praise and blame, the dependence upon the world's estimate, which underlay that haughty, reserved exterior. He knew every sore place, every irritable nerve, every joint in the harness of his adversary. A generous mind would have scrupled, even in the storm and tumult of political warfare, to use such knowledge. Mr. Disraeli did not. He did his utmost to degrade a great controversy into a squabble of innuendoes and personalities. He tried over and over again, but always in vain, to provoke Peel to meet him on his own ground with his own weapons. But he had the satisfaction of knowing that he added to the bitterness of a great sacrifice, and poured vitriol upon the wounded and smarting self-esteem of a nature too proud for the vulgar temper, which prefers the repute of consistency to the confession of mistake.

This is not a pleasant nor an edifying picture, but we dwell on it for two reasons. In the first place, these speeches are not to be set down to the impulsive vehemence of youth. If this were so, they might after a lapse of thirty years be forgotten, or at least condoned. But at the time when they were made Mr. Disraeli had reached his fortieth year, the vagaries of his earlier career were passing into oblivion, and he had taken his place in the political arena with matured powers and a settled purpose. Since then a new generation has grown up around him, and he has realised all his ambitious hopes and dreams; but he has let fall no word of repentance or regret for the conduct which first made him a 'potent voice of parliament.' Secondly, it was to these speeches that he owed in the first instance what he has never since been able entirely to lose—the confidence of the country gentlemen of England. The Protectionists in 1845 were numerically a large party, and from their wealth and respectability a formidable foe. They had the strong convictions, the uncompromising enthusiasm, the concentrated *esprit de corps*, which always characterise a menaced interest. But they

were for all practical purposes inarticulate. Their leaders had deserted *en masse* to the enemy, and they were very much in the position of a chorus without a fugleman. Perhaps their ablest, certainly their most respected representative, was Lord George Bentinck, whose speeches present to the distracted reader a pathless chaos of figures and fallacies, illuminated here and there by a pale gleam of 'Batavian rhetoric.' To men so situated the accession of a spokesman like Mr. Disraeli was nothing less than a godsend. He gave a literary and artistic grace to their rude expostulations and their lumbering logic. Their favourite prejudices took in his hands the form of brilliant paradoxes, and their angry sense of betrayal found expression in invectives which did not lack the point and polish of Junius. Mr. Disraeli could not, as he has since often and conclusively proved, completely understand the character of his clients. But that was not a time for them to scrutinise too closely the intellectual peculiarities of so invaluable an ally. Upon one point—hatred of Peel—he was heartily in sympathy with them; and he had sufficient dramatic power to make it appear that he shared their convictions as well as their passions, and that his resentment, the sincerity of which was beyond dispute, was prompted like theirs by a pure zeal for the outraged principles of Protection. That he succeeded in his aim there is abundant evidence to show. On the death of Lord George Bentinck in 1848, Mr. Disraeli, after a short interregnum,* became the leader of the country party in the House of Commons—a position which he has since often risked but never forfeited.

Before we pass from this part of the subject we must give our readers a few specimens of Mr. Disraeli's Protectionist rhetoric. His speeches at this period of his career have never, so far as we know, been republished in a separate form, and are only accessible to the student of Hansard. One or two extracts, chosen almost at random from the most striking of these performances, will convey a fair impression of their tone and manner, and may perhaps be found to justify the criticisms which we have made. The following picture presents happily enough the view taken throughout of Sir Robert Peel's political morality:—

'The right honourable gentleman caught the Whigs bathing and walked away with their clothes. He has left them in the full

* Even at this time the Protectionists must have had their suspicions of Mr. Disraeli. Otherwise, how are we to explain his finding a formidable rival for the leadership in the Marquis of Granby (now Duke of Rutland)?

enjoyment of their liberal position, and he is himself a strict conservative of their garments.*

Sir Robert Peel had, a few nights previously, in referring to the mutiny in his own party, quoted Canning's well-known lines, which end with the words, 'Save, save, O save me from the candid friend!' Mr. Disraeli in reply taunts Sir Robert with his desertion of his old colleague in 1827, speaks of Canning's 'fierce struggle with supreme prejudice and sublime mediocrity—with inveterate foes and with candid friends'—and adds: 'The theme, the poet, the speaker—what a felicitous combination! For my part, I can but congratulate the right honourable gentleman, not only on his ready memory but on his courageous conscience.'† Take this again as a further illustration of the minister's inconstancy:—

'There is, no doubt, a difference in the right honourable gentleman's demeanour as leader of the opposition and as minister of the crown. But that is the old story; you must not contrast too strongly the hours of courtship with the years of possession. . . . It was a great thing to hear the right honourable gentleman say, "I would rather be the leader of the gentlemen of England than possess the confidence of sovereigns." We don't hear much of the gentlemen of England now. But what of that? They have the pleasures of memory, the charms of reminiscence. . . . Protection appears to be in much the same condition that Protestantism was in 1828. . . . For me there remains this, at least—the opportunity of expressing thus publicly my belief that a Conservative government is an organized hypocrisy.‡

Among the speeches delivered in the session of 1845, that of the 11th of April, on the Maynooth grant,§ is perhaps the best

* February 28, 1845.

† When Canning succeeded Lord Liverpool as prime minister in 1827, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and other prominent members of the cabinet refused to serve under him. The pretext for their secession was Canning's well-known readiness to recognise the Catholic claims—a policy of which Lord Castlereagh had approved, and which was carried into effect only two years later by the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel themselves. Sir Walter Scott, writing in August, 1827, says: 'The predominant motive in the bosom of every one of them was personal hostility to Canning.' A remonstrance to the king against his appointment was signed and presented by eight dukes! Canning himself carefully distinguished between the conduct of Wellington and Peel, and always recognised that the latter had acted on public grounds. It is to be noted that Mr. Disraeli had gone out of his way to defend Sir Robert's part in this affair in 'Coningsby,' published in 1844.

‡ March 17, 1845.

§ Sir R. Peel proposed a grant of £80,000 to

worth studying, not only for the extraordinary bitterness with which Peel is attacked in it, but also because it contains a deliberate statement of Mr. Disraeli's views, at this stage of his career, on the connection between Church and State. In this latter aspect we shall have occasion to refer to it later on. Meanwhile we may notice that here we find the famous picture of Sir R. Peel as the minister who always has three courses open to him—the course which he has abandoned, the course which he is going to take, and the course which he ought to take. He is one of those statesmen who 'always trace the steam-engine back to the tea-kettle'; his precedents are all 'tea-kettle precedents.'

'We have,' the speaker continues, 'a great parliamentary middleman. It is well known what a middleman is: he is a man who bamboozles one party and plunders the other, till, having obtained a position to which he is not entitled, he cries out, "Let us have no party questions, but fixity of tenure."'

The autumn of 1845 witnessed the beginning of that dearth in the potato crop in Ireland which was destined, in the course of two years, to produce such wide-spread misery. Sir R. Peel became convinced that the impending disaster, which he foresaw far more clearly than most of his contemporaries, would be immensely aggravated if foreign supplies of food were not allowed to pour freely into Ireland, to make up the deficiency. Free trade in food, the logical completion of his financial reforms, suddenly became a public necessity. Sir Robert did not, however, forget that he had come into office as the head of a Protectionist party, and accordingly, with the concurrence of his colleagues, he placed his resignation in the Queen's hands at the beginning of November. Lord John Russell, who had also, after years of vacillation, finally declared in favour of free trade, was called upon to form a government, but the squabbles and dissensions of his followers would not allow him to accomplish the task.* Sir R.

the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, and the contribution of an annual state subsidy of £20,000. Mr. Gladstone had resigned his office of President of the Board of Trade, fearing that 'if he should advocate a measure which he previously condemned in a work prepared with much care and reflection' (his book on 'Church and State'), 'it might be supposed that his change of opinion was dictated by interested motives.'

* Lord Palmerston was indispensable to any Liberal administration, and Lord Howick (now Earl Grey) declined to sit in the same cabinet with him.—See Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay*, vol. ii. p. 168, and Lord John Russell's *Letter to the Queen*, Peel Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 243.

Peel was therefore recalled, and met Parliament an avowed Free Trader, with a bill for the repeal of the Corn Laws.

Mr. Disraeli lost no time in giving utterance to the baffled rage of the Protectionists, who now found themselves in a hopeless minority, condemned to a futile struggle on behalf of a doomed cause; while the leader of their choice, who had commanded their unfaltering allegiance, and whom they had raised to power, deserted them in the hour of their need, and himself took the command of their victorious enemy. There was certainly something pathetic in the situation, and Mr. Disraeli made the most of it. His speech on the address in 1846 is the finest and most polished of his rhetorical efforts. We have only space for a brief extract:—

‘Who does not remember the sacred cause of Protection? the cause for which sovereigns were thwarted, parliaments dissolved, and a nation taken in. . . . My conception of a great statesman is of one who represents a great idea. . . . I care not what may be the position of a man who never originates an idea. . . . Such a person may be a powerful minister, but he is no more a great statesman than the man who gets up behind a carriage is a great whip. Both are disciples of progress. Both, perhaps, may get a good place. . . . Throw your eyes over the Treasury Bench. See stamped on each ingenuous front “the last infirmity of noble minds.” They are all of them, as Spenser says, “imps of fame.” They are just the men in the House you would fix upon as thinking only of posterity. The only thing is, when one looks at them, one is hardly certain whether the future of which they are thinking is indeed posterity, or only the coming quarter-day. I should like to know what posterity may think of a cabinet which resigns office because it cannot support a policy, and accepts office for the same reason.’*

We must add one further specimen from a speech made later on in the same session, in which Mr. Disraeli summarises his view of Sir R. Peel's career:—

‘When I examine the career of this minister, which has now filled a great space in the parliamentary history of this country, I find that for between thirty and forty years, from the days of Mr. Horner to the days of the hon. member for Stockport (Mr. Cobden), that right hon. gentleman has traded on the ideas and intelligence of others. His life has been one

great appropriation clause. He is a burglar of others' intellect. Search the Index of Beatson from the days of the Conqueror to the termination of the last reign, there is no statesman who has committed petty larceny on so great a scale. . . . Sir, the right hon. gentleman tells us that he does not feel humiliated. It is impossible for any one to know what are the feelings of another. Feeling depends upon temperament; it depends upon the idiosyncrasy of the individual; it depends upon the organization of the animal that feels. But this I will tell the right hon. gentleman, that though he may not feel humiliated, his country ought to feel humiliated.’*

The means by which Sir Robert Peel was driven from office are well known, and need no detailed description. On the 25th of June, 1846—the very night on which the Corn Importation Bill was read a third time and passed in the House of Lords—his Irish Coercion Bill was defeated in the Commons by a factious alliance between the Whigs, who had themselves to propose a similar measure the next session, and the Protectionists, who were ready to stoop to any course by which they could indulge their thirst for vengeance.† The bill was rejected by a majority of seventy-three. The description in Mr. Disraeli's life of Lord George Bentinck of the scene at the division, is at once so unconsciously ludicrous and so characteristic of the writer, that we cannot forbear from quoting it with a few unimportant abridgments.

‘It was not merely their numbers that attracted the anxious observation of the Treasury Bench as the Protectionists passed in defile before the minister to the hostile lobby. It was impossible that he could have marked them without emotion: the flower of that great party which had been so proud to follow one who had been so proud to lead them.

. . . . He must have felt something of this while the Mannesers, the Somersets, the Bentincks, the Lowthers, and the Lennoxes passed before him. And those country gentlemen, ‘those gentlemen of England,’ . . . if his heart were hardened to Sir C. Burrell, Sir W. Jolliffe, Sir C. Knightly, Sir J. Trollope, Sir E. Kerrison, Sir J. Tyrrell, he surely must have had a pang when his eye rested on Sir John Yarde Buller, his choice and pattern country gentleman. . . . They trooped on, all the men of metal and large-acred squires, whose spirit he had so often quickened. . . . Mr. Bankes, . . . and Mr. Christopher, . . . and the Mileses, and the Henleys were there; and the Duncombes, the Liddells, and the Yorkes; and Devon had sent there the stout heart of Mr.

* May 15, 1846.

† Mr. Disraeli frankly admits this: ‘Life of Lord George Bentinck,’ chap. xiv. ‘The field was lost, but at any rate there should be retribution for those who betrayed it.’

* Jan. 22, 1846. This finished invective may be contrasted with Colonel Sibthorpe's honest indignation, blurted out at the close of the debate. ‘He had once thought that the right honourable gentleman was the only man to save the country; he now distinctly asserted that, if there was one man more likely than another to destroy the country, it was the right honourable gentleman.’

Buck, and Wiltshire, the pleasant presence of Walter Long. Mr. Newdegate was there, . . . and Mr. Alderman Thompson was there. . . . But the list is too long, or good names remain behind.*

Our readers will probably agree that the list is too long, but they will not be sorry to make or renew their acquaintance with a passage which presents such an exquisite combination of the pomposity of a court usher with the pathos of a transpontine dramatist. Sir Robert Peel may have been able, though apparently Mr. Disraeli is not, to conceive of greater calamities even than the defection of half the fox-hunters and game-preservers whose names are written in Burke's 'Landed Gentry.' Posterity will certainly feel more inclined to sympathize with the estimate which he took of his own position, in the concluding words of the speech in which he announced, on the 29th of June, the resignation of his ministry:—

'I shall leave a name execrated by every monopolist who clamours for protection because it conduces to his own individual benefit; but it may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good-will in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened by a sense of injustice.'†

The main incidents of Mr. Disraeli's career, since he succeeded in 1848 to the leadership of the Protectionist party in the House of Commons, are so well known, and occupy so conspicuous a place in the political history of the last twenty-five years, that we need not attempt to give any detailed account of them. During this period he has been four times in office, Chancellor of the Exchequer three times (in 1852, 1858, and 1866), and twice Prime Minister (in 1868 and 1874). He has appeared on the political stage in a great variety of characters—as a leader of opposition, as a minister without a majority, as a minister with a majority, as the apostle of 'Conservative Progress,' as the champion of 'Conservative Reaction.' To follow his performance in each of these incongruous parts would be a tedious task. We must content ourselves with a very cursory view of one or two of his

most interesting appearances, and then pass to a general estimate of his powers.

Ecclesiastical and religious questions have always been a favourite subject for speculation with Mr. Disraeli. In so far as he has concerned himself with dogmatic theology, we have nothing to do with him here. Those who feel interested in tracking out for themselves the Premier's mysterious creed may be able, by the light of a powerful imagination, to discover the clue in the enigmatic pages of 'Sybil' and 'Tancred.' But we wish to direct attention to the opinions which Mr. Disraeli has at different times expressed on the political position of the Church. The 'Young England' party, of which he was the acknowledged leader, represented a very pronounced type of the most advanced Anglicanism. Lord John Manners, one of the few survivors of that select band, even went so far as to give utterance in the House of Commons, amidst the approving murmurs of his youthful associates, to a wish for the revival of monastic institutions—that being to his lordship's mind the most statesmanlike solution of the Poor Law difficulty. 'Sybil' is full of the same sort of stuff; the Chartist leader, who is the real hero of the book, is not only of the purest Norman blood, but an ardent and loyal son of 'Holy Church.' But the national Church for which 'Young England' yearned was in effect the Church of pre-reformation times, and had nothing in common with the Erastian establishment of the Georgian era. The vulgar theory of a contract between Church and State, the terms of which are being perpetually readjusted by what Adam Smith calls 'the higgling of the market,' was unspeakably offensive to their æsthetic and antiquarian taste. The 'new generation' in 'Coningsby' express their views on the subject in the following decided language:—

'What can be more anomalous than the present connection between State and Church?

. . . . The original alliance was, in my view, an equal calamity for the nation and the Church; but at least it was an intelligible compact. Parliament, then consisting only of members of the Established Church, was, on ecclesiastical matters, a *laissez-faire*. . . . But you have effaced this exclusive character of Parliament. . . . There is no reason, as far as the constitution avails, why every member of the House of Commons should not be a Dissenter. But the whole power of the country is concentrated in the House of Commons. . . . A sectarian assembly appoints the bishops of the Established Church. They may appoint twenty Hoadleys. James II. was expelled the throne because he appointed a Roman Catholic to an Anglican see. A Parliament might do this to-morrow with impunity. And

* 'Lord George Bentinck: a Political Biography,' ch. xvi.

† Compare Sir R. Peel's letter to Lord Aberdeen, dated Aug. 19, 1849, and given in the Peel Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 322: 'It was impossible to reconcile the repeal of the Corn Laws by me with the keeping together of the Conservative party, and I had no hesitation in sacrificing the subordinate object, and with it my own political interests.'

his is the constitution in Church and State which Conservative diners toast ! . . . The priests of God are the tribunes of the people. Oh, ignorant ! that with such a mission they could ever have cringed in the antechambers of ministers, or bowed before parliamentary committees !'

That these are the writer's own sentiments, and not merely put dramatically into the mouths of his characters, is shown by his speech in the House of Commons in opposition to the Maynooth Grant. After denying that the State ever endowed the Anglican Church, he goes on to point out the change which the abolition of the Test Act and of other religious disqualifications had introduced.

'You had really then in England what you pretend you now have—a Constitution in Church and State. You had that Constitution, and members of Parliament being then necessarily in communion with the Church, were, by virtue of this junction of Church and State, in fact members of a lay synod. What do we now see ? You have no longer in this country your boasted union of Church and State. You may proclaim it still—you may make speeches to prove that the union is as strong as ever—you may toast it at your public dinners; but I tell you that the constitution in Church and State no longer exists. What is the undeniable fact with respect to this proclaimed union ? You know very well that the Church of England is subject to the control of those who no longer exclusively profess communion with that Church. . . . I have unflinching confidence in the stability of our Church, but I think that the real source of the danger which threatens it is the connection with the State.'

Such were Mr. Disraeli's views, maturely formed and deliberately expressed, when he became the leader and mouthpiece of the Protectionists. No more ironical commentary could be written upon them than the simple narrative of his own subsequent career. We can all remember the fervour with which, in April, 1868, he denounced the unholy alliance between 'High Church Ritualists' and Romanists for the overthrow of the Irish Church; his enthusiastic declaration that 'the idea of the royal supremacy—our only security for religious liberty, and the great safeguard of our civil rights—is deeply rooted in the public mind of England;' his deliberate appeals to the worst passions of the Orange fanatics; his crusade in the defence of an establishment which he had himself described as an 'alien Church,' † and by the side of which

the Church of England is a miracle of logic and justice. Having once posed as a Protestant champion and found it a profitable rôle, he has since occasionally appeared, and generally with success, in the same character. In the session of 1874, the credit of his new government was greatly damaged by the ignominious failure of its scheme to upset the work of the Endowed Schools Commission—the only really vigorous step which it has made in the promised path of reaction. The clerical supporters of the ministry, to whom it owed a priceless debt of gratitude, became petulant and refractory, as they witnessed the feeble prosecution and the disastrous issue of its first attempt to redeem its pledges. Mr. Disraeli, however, had not yet lost the adroitness which has made his fame as a party leader. He took advantage of the appearance of the Public Worship Bill in the Commons at the far end of the session, to make the measure his own, and to push it forward with ardour and determination. The government had officially disclaimed all responsibility for it in the Lords, and it had even been opposed with some bitterness by Lord Salisbury. But the Premier saw a chance of reviving the faded enthusiasm of his Protestant followers. He threw over his colleagues with the utmost nonchalance, announced his resolution to 'put down Ritualism,' and described the extreme High Churchmen as 'a small and pernicious sect.' He extolled 'that religious settlement which has prevailed in this country for more than two centuries, and on which depends much of our civil liberty;' and, after a sombre picture of the declensions of the time, declared in solemn tones that 'it would be wise for us to rally on the broad platform of the Reformation.*' *Risum teneatis, amici?* The manœuvre was perfectly successful. A popular History of the Reformation was immediately advertised, with quotations from the Premier's speeches for its motto, and the Public Worship Act is probably the most popular measure of the present Government.

An account of Mr. Disraeli's opinions on the question of Parliamentary Reform will form an interesting chapter in the narrative of the future historian. To do him justice, he never appears to have agreed with the mass of his party in opposing all further extension of the suffrage. If we are justified in attaching any definite meaning to the vague and mystical language used in 'Coningsby'

* 'Coningsby,' book vii. chap. 2.

† April 11, 1845.

‡ 'Thus they had a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, and an alien Church, and, in addition, the weakest executive in the world.'

That was the Irish question.—Speech on State of Ireland, Feb. 16, 1844.

* See especially Mr. Disraeli's speeches of July 13 and July 15, 1874.

and 'Sybil' we should conclude that thirty years ago the Premier regarded the whole idea of parliamentary representation as a pernicious fallacy,* and wished to bring popular influences to bear on the executive by some simpler and less corrupting channel. Since then he has had every reason to become reconciled to our parliamentary system, but he has never affected to regard it as ideally wise and good. His speeches on Parliamentary reform between 1848 and 1866 have been collected into a volume and carefully edited by Mr. Montagu Corry. They are worth reading, even at this time of day, if only as a record of the number of wholly discordant and incongruous views which it is possible for an English statesman to take of a single subject in the course of twenty years, without forfeiting the confidence of his party. But there are one or two general ideas which may be dimly traced as running through them all. They enable us to perceive why Mr. Disraeli has persistently refused to regard the question as closed by the settlement of 1832.† He has never shown any serious sense of the injustice of the system which drew an arbitrary line at a particular figure, of the importance of giving a direct interest in good government to the largest possible number, of the educating and refining power of political duties, of the increased difficulty which every widening of the electoral area throws in the way of sinister influences and local and personal interests. He has not hesitated, when it has suited his purpose, to appeal to the prejudices of his followers by heartrending pictures of the horrors of democracy.‡ Whatever sympathy he may have felt for popular claims he has skilfully disguised, remembering that the betrayal of such a feeling would arouse the suspicions of his party, and add to the insecurity of his hazardous position. If he never altogether discouraged, and at times even helped indirectly to foster, the Reform agitation, it was because he saw in it a possible fund of political capital, and the chance of manipulating the suffrage in the interests of the Conservative party. We cannot account in any other way for the extraordinary variance between his different deliverances on the subject.

* There is a curious, though of course undesigned, similarity between some of the views on this subject, shadowed forth in 'Coningsby,' and the theories which we often hear from Communist thinkers like Mr. Harrison.

† 'For my own part, Sir, I entirely protest against what is popularly understood as the principle of Finality' (April 2, 1851).

‡ See for instance his speech on Lord J. Russell's amendment to the Government Reform Bill, March 31, 1859 ('Speeches on Reform,' p. 241).

It is impossible to detect beneath them any underlying principle, any definite conception of the problem, any deliberate preference of one method of solving it to another. The ingenious measure which he introduced in February, 1859, as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Derby's government, was a scarcely disguised attempt to shift the balance of power, and to secure a numerical preponderance for the Conservative element in the constituencies. This end it sought to accomplish by the creation of a number of 'fancy franchises' in the boroughs, and the extension of the £10 occupation qualification to the counties.* The real object of the bill was stated by Mr. Disraeli with considerable frankness in his reply on the second reading, March 31, 1859.

'I cannot look upon what is called reduction of the franchise in boroughs but with alarm, and I have never yet met any argument which fairly encounters the objections that are urged to it. You cannot encounter it by sentimental assertions of the good qualities of the working classes. The greater their good qualities the greater the danger. . . . We thought we could attain [our object] by the introduction of a variety of franchises which should introduce numerous classes into the constituency with different pursuits and with different interests; and we felt that by the establishment of the same occupation franchise in counties and in boroughs we could prevent the introduction of the mere multitude, which, if once we began the reduction of the borough franchise, would ultimately and speedily be accomplished, and at the same time supply means by which the most intelligent and the most meritorious of the working classes could enter the great national constituent body.†

This scheme, notwithstanding its dexterity, proved too democratic to suit the taste of Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley, who left the Cabinet, and was too dangerous and uncertain a method of attaining the desired end to excite the enthusiasm of the main body of the Conservatives. It was defeated and laid aside, and we shall see in a moment how differently Mr. Disraeli dealt with the problem when it again fell to his lot to attempt its settlement. We pass by Lord John Russell's abortive proposal in 1860, and the annual measures of Mr. Baines and Mr. Locke King, which did so much to keep alive public interest in the subject, and come to Mr. Gladstone's bill of 1866, which provided for a reduction of the franchise in

* The bill proposed to confer the franchise upon (amongst others) all graduates of universities, ministers of religion, barristers, solicitors, doctors, and certificated schoolmasters.

† 'Speeches on Reform,' pp. 242, 243.

counties from £50 to £14, and in boroughs from £10 to £7, and for a £10 lodgers' qualification. We need not recite the disastrous fortunes of this unhappy compromise; but it is important to observe that the ground of Mr. Disraeli's opposition to it was, not its temporising character, but the dangers which must inevitably result from so large a widening of the electorate. This is reiterated with an immense variety of rhetorical turns in his speech on the second reading.* 'A reduction in the borough franchise,' he says, 'is the real cause of the introduction of the bill; and the real cause of the reduction of the borough franchise is a wish to introduce the working classes to a fair share in the constituent body.' He then proceeds to state with approval the antiquated theory that the constitution consists of three estates, of which the Commons are but one, and deprecates any unnecessary departure from the 'original scheme of the Plantagenets.' He sums up the speculations of the last seven years (1859-1866) on the subject, and his own conclusions, in these words:—

'I give it as my observation that the opinion of the country . . . is this: that though they are anxious that the choicest members of the working classes should form a part . . . of the estate of the Commons, they recoil from and reject a gross and indiscriminate reduction of the franchise. . . . I think that this House should remain a House of Commons and not become a House of the People, the House of a mere indiscriminate multitude, devoid of any definite character, and not responsible to society.'

The year 1867 found Mr. Disraeli again in office, and will perhaps be judged the most memorable in his history. The Cabinet of Lord Derby took the Reform question seriously in hand, and after two untimely attempts, which perished still born, they succeeded under circumstances of almost indescribable humiliation in effecting a final settlement of the difficulty. We will not pause over the Thirteen Resolutions, or pay more than a passing tribute of admiration to the most marvellous of all the products of Mr. Disraeli's fertile and creative mind—the Ten Minutes' Bill. The mature proposals of the government were brought forward on the 18th of March, and fairly took men's breath away. Mr. Disraeli had protested, as we have seen, the year before, against the democratic tendencies of a measure which proposed to reduce the borough qualification from £10 to £7. He had stimulated the enthusiasm of his party by his fervid denunciations of all such insidious schemes to im-

port American institutions. No one was therefore properly prepared to find him introducing a bill, which gave the franchise in boroughs to all householders who had resided two years and personally paid their rates, and in counties to all occupiers of premises rated at £15. But it was not until the bill got into committee that the astounding shamelessness of its authors could be properly appreciated. One by one, every 'Conservative guarantee,' which had been tacked on to the original scheme by way of ornament or disguise, was abandoned. The fancy franchises were dropped, the term of residence was reduced from two years to one, the dual vote disappeared, a lodgers' qualification was introduced, and one fine evening Mr. Disraeli astonished a House which had become accustomed to surprises, by consenting, without any consultation with his colleagues, to the abolition of the compound householder, and the consequent more than threefold multiplication of the new electorate. The bill in the form in which it finally passed was beyond comparison the most democratic measure that had received the assent of the Crown since the Revolution. Lord Derby frankly confessed that he had taken 'a leap in the dark.' But there is no doubt that the real reason of this unparalleled change of front is to be found in the admission made in his speech on the second reading of the bill in the House of Lords: 'I determined that I would take such a course as would convert, if possible, an existing majority into a practical minority.' The government hoped, as Mr. Disraeli phrased it, that democracy might be manipulated. They trusted that an indiscriminate extension of the franchise, on a scale hitherto unattempted, would bind the new electors by ties of gratitude to their political creators, and that the lower strata in the enlarged constituencies would be easily and advantageously worked by the Conservative managers in the interests of their party. This, as we have seen, was the aim which Mr. Disraeli had set before himself from the time when he first devoted serious attention to the question of the suffrage. It suited his purpose, in the amazingly audacious apology with which he entertained his Scotch admirers in the autumn of 1867, to represent himself as having patiently yearned through long years of weary disappointment and fruitless effort for the enfranchisement of the working class, and as only being prevented from an earlier accomplishment of his cherished design by his absorption in the preliminary labours of 'educating' his party. It is sufficient to say of this statement that no other English statesman of the speaker's eminence would have ventured upon so glaring a perversion

* Speeches on Reform, p. 356 *et seq.*

of recent history, and that as it deceived no one at the time, so it is not likely to impose upon posterity.

We have thus traced in some detail Mr. Disraeli's treatment of two of the most momentous subjects which have presented themselves since he became a conspicuous politician. We might, if space permitted, deal in a similar way with his Financial and Foreign policy, and the result would be the same. The general conclusion which forces itself upon us, after a careful study of his career, is that there is no important political question upon which he has not at least once changed his mind. We leave altogether out of sight the discrepancy between his early professions of Radicalism and his present position as leader of the Conservative party. It is a reproach to no man that the matured views of his old age are irreconcilable with the creed which he held at twenty-five. We go back no farther than the last thirty years, during the whole of which Mr. Disraeli has been a prominent public man, and in fact, if not in name, the head of a powerful party. Since 1850 he has been four times in power, and each time he has frittered away or openly abandoned some great principle to which he had sworn allegiance. In 1852 he practically deserted the 'sacred cause of Protection.' In 1859 he began to tamper with the franchise. In 1867 he forced his reluctant followers to establish a democratic suffrage. In 1868, and again in 1874, he put himself forward as the champion of 'our glorious constitution in Church and State,' which he had declared to be non-existent and an absurdity, and as the protector of Protestantism, which he had ridiculed as an ugly parody of 'Holy Church.' When we put these facts before our Conservative friends, we are told by way of reply that consistency is the religion of little minds; that a leader of men is not bound to conform to the narrow, inflexible standard which does well enough for average mortals; that a great statesman must expand and develop with the shifting requirements of the times. No one thinks, we are reminded, of denying the greatness of Sir Robert Peel, and there are few politicians whose fame has grown so steadily since their death as his. Yet Peel altered his course at the last moment in reference to three of the most important public controversies which arose during his time—the Currency in 1819,* Catholic Emancipation

in 1829, and the Corn Laws in 1845. Is not Mr. Gladstone himself open to the same charge? Why should Mr. Disraeli alone be censured for an infirmity, if infirmity it be, which he shares with his most illustrious rivals? The retort is not so crushing as it may at first sight appear, and in fact derives its whole force from the assumption of analogies which a little investigation proves to be wholly imaginary. It is true that Peel's career presents at least two instances of sudden and serious inconsistency. But in each case the circumstances of the time supply an adequate explanation of his change of front. In 1829 he had to choose between civil war in Ireland and concession to the Catholics. Further resistance had become not only foolish but criminal, and no statesman in his senses could have hesitated, with Peel's knowledge of the state of things, to make Peel's election. In 1845 he had to face the impending Irish famine, knowing that the existing import duties cut off the possibility of foreign supplies of food. He refused to take the responsibility of starving a nation in the interests of an abstraction of which he had already begun to perceive the emptiness. He adopted the most honourable course that was open to him, and immediately resigned his office; and it was only when the Whigs had admitted their inability to form a ministry, that he consented to undertake the distasteful task of carrying out the policy which he had for years opposed. In both cases Peel sacrificed his personal convenience, and made the downfall of his government inevitable. The concessions of 1829 alienated many of his most loyal followers, and led to his overthrow in the following year. His Corn Law Bill, in 1846, was the signal for the desertion of his party *en masse*, and left him at the end of the session a private member, with a small band of friends who remained faithful to him in adversity. It would be mere waste of time and space to show by elaborate argument that Mr. Gladstone's so-called inconsistencies are due to disinterested conviction. We believe that there still exist in remote parts of the country, and out of the beaten track of civilisation, persons who look upon the late Premier as the slave of a restless and inordinate ambition. If such there be, they must be allowed, in the words of an eminent Lord Chancellor, 'to lie down in their own folly.' It may safely be said of Mr. Gladstone, that no statesman of equal eminence has ever given the same weight to the most Quixotic

* In 1819 Peel, who had persistently denied the expediency of making the Bank of England notes convertible, announced that he had seen reason to change his views. 'He felt himself called upon to state candidly and honestly that he was a convert to the doctrines regarding our

currency which he had once opposed.' (Speech in the House of Commons, May 24, 1819.)

cruples, or shown the same sensitiveness to the subtle distinctions of the most refined mode of political honour.

It is unfortunately impossible to explain the vagaries of Mr. Disraeli's eccentric course in the same satisfactory way. His inconsistencies have an awkward habit of coinciding with his interests. His changes of front have corresponded, in a singularly convenient fashion, with the exigencies of his position as a party leader or as a minister of the Crown. It is no exaggeration to say that his treatment of the question of the suffrage in 1867 is the most flagrant and humiliating exhibition of political immorality which this country has witnessed since the Coalition of 1783. For his conduct at that time no serious palliation has been or can be urged; and the frivolity of his Edinburgh speech, in which he attempted a defence, brought into still stronger relief his cynical contempt for the decent traditions and unwritten laws of English public life. Whatever may be the controversy of the moment, whether the matter in dispute be political or ecclesiastical, and the issue momentous or insignificant, it is impossible to predict the course which he will adopt. His views expand or contract with a seasonable elasticity which defies calculation. One week he dates a letter to a clergyman, 'Maundy Thursday,' and the next he is reviling the Ritualists. The friendly hypothesis that his mind is always growing, might account for discrepancies between his opinions to-day and his opinions thirty years ago. But it entirely fails to explain the peculiar kind of inconsistency which has always characterised Mr. Disraeli, and with which we have become painfully familiar during the last two years. It is not merely that what he says to-day contradicts what he said a dozen years ago. The singular thing is that it cannot be reconciled with what he said a week hence, or even yesterday.* He seems, politically speaking, to live always from hand to mouth. Each controversy is taken up as it arises, and dealt with, not by reference to any general ideas of policy, but merely with a view to the expediency of the moment. The treatment varies as the situation shifts; no principle being at stake, every proposal is merely provisional and tentative. The measures of the present

government are all of this molluscous kind; no part of them is more vital than any other part. They bear very plainly the impress of Mr. Disraeli's idiosyncrasy, and demonstrate beyond dispute what has sometimes been doubted—his supremacy in his own Cabinet. Several of his colleagues are men of sharply defined views, and of proved tenacity. To them the incurable looseness of the Premier's statements, and the general flaccidity of the government programme, must be irritating in the last degree. As soon as there is any appearance of coherence and consistency in the ministerial policy, it will be safe to assume that the days of Mr. Disraeli's ascendancy are over.

The truth is that Mr. Disraeli has never been in earnest with politics. He has made them the business of his life, his instinct teaching him that the England of to-day offered no better field for the display of his peculiar ability. He longed for fame, power, influence, and here was the *carrière ouverte aux talens*. Nor can it be denied that from this point of view his choice was a happy one, and that he was singularly well adapted by nature for the game which he set himself deliberately to play. His intellect is of the keenest; in power of sarcasm he is unsurpassed by any English orator of any age; he is full of resource, and can keep a cool head when both friends and foes are beside themselves with the turbulent passions of debate. His courage never falters, his pluck and endurance are invincible, and he is the best leader in the world to fight a losing battle. This unique combination of intellectual and moral excellences has raised him, an alien by birth, an adventurer in public life, a writer of second-rate fiction, a poet whom nobody would read, a speaker whom the House laughed down, to the highest place which an English subject can occupy. But Mr. Disraeli has a romantic and imaginative side to his mind, which politics have wholly failed to absorb. The feudal aspect of some phases of English life has always appealed strongly to his fancy, and this susceptibility, as we shall presently show, has indirectly helped to shape his public career. Questions of foreign policy, too, which make demands upon what he lately called the 'imperial imagination,' have a singular fascination for him; and it is interesting to observe how, when international difficulties arise, he seems to be transported into a new and exhilarating atmosphere, and, revelling in the largeness of the subject, gives full play to his descriptive and creative faculty. But the ordinary routine of domestic politics presents to him no such charms. Like his own Sidonia, he looks with a cynical indif-

* Abundant illustrations will occur to the reader. We need only refer to his explanation of his speech at the Mansion House in 1874; to his statement that the Endowed Schools Bill was modified, not because it was opposed, but because it was unintelligible; and to his many incoherent vindications of the Fugitive Slave Circulars and of the Royal Titles Bill.

ference, which he is too politic to express, upon the squabbles and struggles of men who think it worth while to waste their strength in fighting about the compound householder and the income tax. Progress has no genuine interest for him; the 'maudlin enthusiasm of humanity' offends his taste; and he knows nothing of the faith which can construct an ideal future, live ever in the hope of it, and labour unceasingly to make the world ready for its advent. 'For life in general there is but one rule: Youth is a blunder, Manhood a struggle, Old Age a regret.'* How can a man throw himself heart and soul into a work whose only meaning and result he believes to be

'To draw, to sheathe a useless sword,
To fool the crowd with glorious lies;
To cleave a creed in sects and cries,
To change the bearing of a word'?

This profound and melancholy cynicism, this deeply-rooted conviction of the futility of human effort, this contempt for the fuss and turmoil of commonplace existence, to which his writings bear abundant testimony, is the secret of much in his public career that seems like waywardness or dishonesty. It is not that he abandons his principles and plays the traitor to his conscience; it is rather that he does not think it worth the pains to form any settled principle of action, in the maintenance of which his conscience would be engaged. Like Dryden's Zimri, he is 'everything by starts and nothing long;' and the reason is, that he has never taken the trouble to digest and assimilate a creed. Politics have no scientific basis in his mind; he sees no organic connection between the parts, no prevailing tendencies in the whole; and hence, despite his fondness for vague and magniloquent generalities, each question in turn presents itself to him as an independent problem, and he deals with it in a spirit of pure empiricism. His conduct is determined by the ever varying conditions of party interest; and his policy lacks the unity of design, the singleness and consistency of aim, the concentration of effort on a definite purpose, which are the marks of true statesmanship. It is significant, that it is only when a controversy becomes personal that it really engrosses his mind, and calls out his highest powers. All his most effective rhetorical displays, from the time when he began to harass Sir Robert Peel to the castigation which he gave Mr. Lowe for his East Retford indiscretions, have

been either attacks or replies. His budget speeches are quite unreadable, and his exposition of a large and complicated measure, like the Reform Bill of 1859, is long-winded and occasionally dull. He 'gets up' such matters with all the ability of a good lawyer, but they have no absorbing interest for him even at the time. In short, he seems to have followed to the letter the advice which Lord Bacon gives to the 'hollow statesman': 'Let him not trouble himself too laboriously to sound into any matter deeply, or to execute anything exactly; but let him make himself cunning rather in the humours and drifts of persons, than in the nature of business and affairs. Of that it sufficeth him to know only so much as may make him able to make use of other men's wits, and to make again a pleasing report.'

This want of earnestness in Mr. Disraeli, coupled with a tendency which he always had, but which of late years has grown on him, to a kind of slipshod inaccuracy, has been his ruin as a statesman. We live in an age which is pre-eminently and above all things earnest. Carlyle, Wordsworth, and the German philosophers have sown the seed, and we are reaping the harvest. There have been times when speculation was more original, but none in which it was carried on more tenaciously, or with the same honesty of purpose. Other ages have witnessed greater social and political revolutions, but none have seen general philanthropy so active, or a high standard of morality so sternly exacted from public men. Pleasure itself has become a strenuous pursuit, and the zealous temper of mind, which was Talleyrand's abhorrence, may almost be said to be the fashion. Doubtless the change is on the whole a beneficial one; though it has a morbid and unwholesome side, which it is not our present business to investigate. But it may help us to an understanding of Mr. Disraeli, to remember that he belongs by birth and training to an entirely different time, and moves in this new world like a stranger, who is only half acquainted with the language and manners of the country in which he finds himself. His views of men and things date from that period of transition between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when his intellect and character were formed. He has been a spectator of the Tractarian movement, of the German revival, of the scientific crusade of later years; but before the earliest of these disturbing agencies entered the world, his mind had lost its youthful sensitiveness, and its bent and temper were already determined by associations of a very different kind. He is almost the only eminent man now

* 'Coningsby.' 'Vivian Grey'—published nearly twenty years before—ends with a very similar passage: 'The disappointment of Manhood succeeds to the delusion of Youth; let us hope that the heritage of Old Age is not Despair!'

living who breathes the spirit of the age of Goethe and Byron. It is in vain that he strives to conform himself to the altered standard of the days in which we live. His speech, his manner, his ideas betray him. The superficial sentimentalism, the pompous balanced style, the threadbare maxims, the pretentious moral commonplaces, which sound strangely in our ears, would have been very acceptable and quite in the prevailing taste, *consule Planco*—in the days when Lord Castlereagh led the House of Commons. It has often been observed that Mr. Disraeli can never make out Mr. Gladstone; and the reason is that, though in point of years there is not much difference between them, yet morally and intellectually they are separated by a whole generation. Mr. Gladstone is the spiritual son of the Oxford of the Tractarian times, equally in earnest with everything he takes up, and conscientious almost to a fault alike in his mental habits and in his modes of work. Mr. Disraeli is a man of the world, of a type now fast becoming extinct; his taste is irritated by this disproportionate expenditure of energy; and such perpetual fuming and fretting over incurable evils and insoluble problems seems to him a morbid exaggeration of the difficulties of existence. In a word, the two men are not in the same plane. There is a fundamental discrepancy between their theories of life, their mental presuppositions, their canons of moral judgment. Mr. Gladstone belongs in the main to the present age; and to that fact, combined with his transcendent personal qualities, he owes his power of foreseeing and directing the great popular movements of the time—a power which Mr. Disraeli, neither understanding the age nor understood by it, has never been able to acquire.

Mr. Disraeli has a still further deficiency, which must be noticed to complete our account of the causes of his failure as a statesman. He is a stranger, not only to the age, but to the national character. 'The temper of the people amongst whom he presides,' says Burke,* 'ought to be the first study of a statesman.' Mr. Disraeli has studied it long and carefully, but his conclusions are not much more trustworthy than those of a shrewd and observant foreigner. There are no doubt certain moods of the English mind which he understands very well: in warlike times, or when the national feeling was strung to an unnatural pitch, he might make a popular minister. But the ordinary every-day tem-

per of the average Englishman, with its curious mixture of prejudice and common sense, he has never been able to comprehend. He is always, without knowing it, treading on the corns of the respectable householder, jurymen, and father of a family. His hollow grandiloquence rouses the worthy citizen's suspicions, and makes him suspect that he is being taken in. Vulgarities are unfortunately not an un-English quality, but Mr. Disraeli's vulgarity is not the English kind, and therefore it offends Englishmen. He talks in a flighty way about religion, savours his finance with epigrams, forgets and contradicts what he said last week, and delights in a species of parade and ostentation which is unmistakably Oriental. By these and the like indiscretions, which he is always repeating, and which arise from too inveterate a habit of mind to be unlearned, he provokes in the commercial and religious worlds an attitude, if not of hostility, at least of cold unfriendliness. But there is one important class with whom he has been more successful, and to whose adherence he owes his position as a party leader. We have seen how, in the days of Protection, he rendered to the agriculturists services which nothing but the basest ingratitude could allow them to forget. He found them a headless, disunited band, deserted by the leaders of their choice, and smarting under a betrayal which they were powerless to avenge. He made them into a compact and organised party, gave articulation and eloquence to their dumb indignation, and inflicted upon the renegades an exemplary chastisement. The ascendancy which he thus acquired he has been careful to maintain. He is never tired of appearing in the incongruous character of the Farmer's Friend. He dines at the Aylesbury ordinary, discourses with easy erudition on turnips and tanks, and takes a prominent part in the discussion of every measure which affects the interests of the land. Mr. Disraeli's success in producing the desired impression here, as compared with his failure elsewhere, is not quite the triumph of pure intellect that it seems. As we have hinted above, the feudal side of English society has taken a real hold on his imagination. There is perhaps nothing in the world which he admires with such a genuine enthusiasm as a territorial aristocracy. The landed interest in England is to him not a mere aggregate of individuals making their livelihood by a particular form of industry. It is a grand historical abstraction, invested with a thousand romantic associations, and reaching back into an almost legendary past. Its natural supremacy was the first article in the

* 'Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents.'

creed of his favourite thinkers, its glories have been the theme of his own most impassioned rhetoric. It is linked in his mind with the imperishable memories of the great Country Party—the party whose statesmen were Bolingbroke and Pitt; which numbered Swift and Atterbury among its pamphleteers, Dryden and Pope among its poets; which attracted the loyal devotion of men so dissimilar in everything but their common superiority to the mass of mankind as Hume and Johnson, Gibbon and Scott. His feelings for it are rather those of a poet than a politician; and the cold calculating temper, with which he habitually surveys the progress of events, is exchanged, when this cherished child of his fancy is menaced, for a sensitive tenderness which convinces his suspicious followers that after all his heart is in the right place.

We shall not attempt to draw any moral from this singular career. The conditions which have made it possible are so exceptional, and so unlikely to recur, that it would be waste of time to use them as materials for a general theory. We believe that Mr. Disraeli's influence upon English politics has been almost unmixedly bad. From first to last he has fought for his own hand, and we are unable to trace in the windings of his erratic course any connecting clue of principle. We do not accuse him of deliberate treachery to his convictions, because in our opinion his ill-assorted stock of many-coloured theories never deserved so honourable a name. The man who has never known what it is to believe is secure from the imputation of apostasy. But we do charge him with pretending to the high title of statesman, without that faith in a governing idea, that allegiance to a worthy cause, that serious sincerity of purpose, that single-minded and self-forgotten fervour, which alone dignify public life and make the profession of politics respectable. That a man who lacks all these qualifications should have been accepted as its chosen leader by one of our great historic parties, is not an agreeable reflection for those, even of its opponents, who are jealous for the honour of English statesmanship. We are no friends to Toryism, but it is for the interest of the nation as a whole, and therefore of the Liberal party, that the Tories should be led by some one who believes in the Tory creed, if indeed there be any longer such a thing. It is not easy yet to estimate the demoralising effects of Mr. Disraeli's supremacy. Meanwhile it is some consolation to remember that his career is likely to remain unique.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVELS.

The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay. By his Nephew, GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, M.P., &c. Two Vols. Longmans and Co.

The personal character of Lord Macaulay, which has always stood high, gains, and only gains, through the fresh light thrown upon it by the well-written and interesting biography which Mr. Trevelyan has at length given to the world. We knew well how utterly upright and independent he was; how he would rather sacrifice a present advantage by plain-speaking and straightforwardness than even *seem* to truckle to what he felt were ignorant prejudices. But not a few of those who were led to examine carefully were inclined to associate with this a certain severity, if not even hardness, which to some extent qualified the indisputable merits of such frank behaviour. The memoir reveals to us softer and finer veins running alongside and relieving the occasional harshness of these other traits, if not positively imparting colour to them. And these, as having their root in his childhood, and remaining absolutely undisturbed by any of the temptations which beset men in a busy life, and particularly in a political career, impart a dominant unity and repose to the life, in spite of the efforts which the subject of it had to put forth to gain a place for himself and to keep it, impelled more by the thought of others than by either fame or money on his own account. His warm domestic attachments, his ungrudging self-denials, his willing assumption of the whole burden of responsibility for the family when his father's business failed just at the moment when worldly advantages seemed so essential to his success in a career; his cheerful playfulness and untiring patience, which made him more than a friend of the children of his acquaintance, all these things combine to reveal a character which in public appearances but half interpreted itself, and which, we may say without reserve, is elevated and beautified to us by application of the test which has lessened, and only lessened, the regard felt for not a few of his distinguished contemporaries. Mr. Trevelyan has taken occasion to apologise for the publication of some of the letters, on the ground of his uncle's great concern for finish in everything that he meant to give to the world; but he has, to some extent, overlooked the fact that it is the 'unconscious revelation' which gives the whole value to biography, and that here, at all events, it is true that 'what is most perfect, art least cherishes.' Lord Macaulay certainly made it a rule 'to publish nothing which was not carefully planned, strenuously laboured, and minutely finished;' but who shall say that, taken in relation, the least elaborated of his letters do not in most cases reveal to us exactly what the essays and the histories left unrevealed, thus becoming the most efficient commentaries? Even those quaint little epistles written home from Mrs. Hannah More's, or from school, how clearly do they

show us the precocious boy storing his mind with knowledge, yet all unconsciously to himself, forming that half Puritanic, half indifferent type of character which is in many respects so admirable, so characteristic of the time, and so keenly interesting. When he was about to be sent to school, his mother warned him that there the solace of bread and butter would be denied him in his studies. 'Yes, mamma,' replied he, with precocious epigrammatic exactitude, 'industry shall be my bread, and attention my butter.' Set into slightly different terms, the expression might have formed the motto for his life. He was entirely devoted to his studies, resolved on knowing thoroughly whatever claimed his interest; and, to the end, a certain pragmatic adherence to early-formed habits and methods marks him: he escaped from the religious sentiment at Clapham, but its somewhat prim and exigent *system* kept hold of him. Though his utter frankness and his readiness in conversation made society agreeable to him, it does not seem that the most tempting incense of flattery—tempting enough certainly as presented to the young Essayist once or twice by Lady Holland at Holland House—ever for an instant stirred in him what is vulgarly known as the desire to 'shine.' His strong common-sense, grafted on the severe self-respect of Clapham, saved him from any danger in this direction, and it is simply delightful to read how he could, in a quiet way, take all the good that was to be got out of these exercises; wisely escaping from 'bores' as best he might, and only make out of them the materials for a new form of pleasure-giving to those whom he loved. How the genius of history transmutes, idealises, bring gracious compensations! Had Macaulay—as some have done—taken ever such pains to write elaborate gossiping diaries to celebrate himself in his brilliant surroundings to a distant posterity, he could not have accomplished his end so well as it has been unconsciously accomplished by these simple letters scribbled off to his sisters, that they might become the sharers of his pleasures. In this very society-going he was a vicarious seeker, and he so sought that he could not fail to find. But how much of this kind of sensible self-severity must he have owed to the spirit which led his pious father so often to deny himself the pleasure of praising his gifted son, that this son might be worthy of the sire in prudent reserve and self-respect! We remember scarcely anything more striking or more characteristic in recent biography than the incident recorded by Mr. Trevelyan, how, after Macaulay had delivered that great anti-slavery maiden speech, which compelled warmest praise from Wilberforce and all the friends of the family, his father vouchsafed him no complimentary word; and all that he said afterwards was that 'it did not become so young a man to speak with folded arms in the presence of royalty' (!) This suggests a discipline of the truest kind, and a discipline which, as we can easily discover for ourselves in the study of Macaulay's life, was not lost.

We have no space to follow Macaulay step by step in his career—how a Review Article suddenly made him famous; how he passed into Parliament for one of Lord Lansdowne's pocket boroughs, representing it for some years; then successfully contested the borough of Leeds; became Cabinet Minister; and by and by accepted an appointment as one of the Indian Council, and went to Calcutta,—where he did a memorable work in the production of an Indian code of law, closely studying jurisprudence, for which he had before shown no particular liking, simply because it was now his duty, and mastering it as few men have done; how he returned with a modest fortune and represented Edinburgh, but suffered defeat there in the election of 1859, partly, no doubt, owing to his own excessive bluntness; how he then devoted himself to his great work—his *History of England*—which, though it remains unfinished, consummated his fame as a literary master. But the main facts of his outward life must be so familiar to our readers that there is no need to dwell upon them. We may more profitably devote such space as remains to us to a consideration of some of his characteristics as a writer, and the extent to which his personal traits are reflected in his writings.

Lord Macaulay certainly combined two things rarely found united in so high a degree as in him. He was at once brilliant and accurate. His memory was a wonderful repository. It gathered from all quarters the most diverse materials, and arranged them, as it seemed, by an unconscious process. It was said that where others read he but glanced, and that, nevertheless, he possessed himself more perfectly of the book than they had done. He missed nothing; he forgot nothing; and the proper fact was always ready at the right moment. His essays are themselves condensed histories; his *History* is a series of polished essays. Always brilliant, full of knowledge, and with complete tact in giving it the most effective arrangement, it must yet be said, however, that he lacked somewhat that imaginative reach and fineness which gives to literature its highest consecration. He was never very deeply stirred, and, therefore, never reached other than a superficial proportion. His pictorial faculty sufficed him instead of the rare discernments that come from spiritual sympathy; and if we assume that there is a deep idea at the bottom of historical developments, which connects itself intimately with the religious yearnings and with all the vital and semi-mystical tendencies of human nature, then it is evident that the historian *must* have deep religious sympathies, though he may hold very loosely by dogmas. Lord Macaulay held loosely enough by dogmas; but he never realised religious sentiment *in itself*. The result is that, as he seemed to be intellectually cut off from the great religious movements that stirred his own time, so he failed in getting the key to many of the problems of the past. If he looks at them at all, it is merely in their social and superficial

relations; and although he loves to delineate individuals, it is only by contrast with others, and with no intent to pierce to hidden motives and to reveal them. There is visible no trace of pause, no sudden starting aside at the suggestion of conflicting motives in him; he sees but one side, and all the facts bend to it, and his pictures, therefore, never fail in definiteness of line. But that, of course, is a great merit; in view of immediate impression, perhaps the greatest merit of all. Hence, as a first quality noticeable in Lord Macaulay, and absolutely pervasive, we find *contented self-sufficiency*. It is a quality which we English are justified in liking, for it has done its share in our history; but it needs to be associated with strongly qualifying elements in literature. One of the problems that remains for criticism, in reference to Lord Macaulay, is to trace how far the self-suppressing severity of the Clapham ideal, which was based on a strictly religious conception, tended to injure him by confirming in him a reverence for mere consistency and completeness of result, which, again, the religious conception, to which he never rose, would have modified. There is some ground for the remarks we have heard about his '*cock-sureness*;' he inherited it from his father and from Clapham: but the force of great principles, which directed it in them and sustained them in a most gigantic philanthropic purpose, was in him largely lacking, and, therefore, it left in his literary performances (and, indeed, at first view in his character generally) a strong suggestion of *egotism*, that was not supercilious only because of early influences to which he had been subject.

The next thing that may be noted in Lord Macaulay's character is a lack of growth. He saw things in youth much as he saw them in middle-age. His point of view was never changed under special and immediate sympathetic demands. Even of his pictorial style it has been well said that he never learned it, that it was born with him; and, certainly, in the epigrammatic finish, the balance of structure, and the easy unhesitating way in which he says precisely what he feels and thinks,—and, we may say, *all* that he feels and thinks in these youthful letters,—we see a formed style, and one which it may be asserted sustained itself to the end. And as he seems never to have hesitated over a human character—to have been struck by the mystery of motives and the painful riddles of conscience—so he seems never to have been doubtful of any problem. His view once taken, his side assumed, the sense of comradeship, in a certain rough-and-ready English way, was strong enough in him to give him a sense of duty in respect of it; and what his associates would say, became, in a certain undefined unconscious way, the standard for his general judgments. On details, of course, he was apt enough to assert his right of thinking for himself; the more irresistibly, perhaps, because of that general acquiescence. But what we have said is so far true that the charge of reading English history as a Whig has a cer-

tain basis in the character of the writer. It was one of his particular sources of satisfaction that printers' readers avowed that he had never written a sentence the meaning of which was not at once apparent. He wrote as he thought, and his thinking, happily for his own comfort in one respect, lay along the prepared lines of English Liberal opinion. If it had not been so, it is hardly possible that the man, who interested himself in so many things, could have been throughout so absolutely self-consistent—so little likely to understand or to sympathise with Emerson's maxim: 'Speak the truth given thee to-day, though all thy former utterances should be made a lie.' He never meditates, never broods, never needs to seek escape in those reactionary grooves of feeling which sweep their subject hurriedly along, it may be, into strange new worlds, but are apt to give great revelations in return. We look not for such from Macaulay; he speaks for the intelligent sensible Englishman, and makes his views and sentiments as practical as they can be made. Strong, robust good sense, elevated by utter conscientiousness,—that is his mark. And, as we often find in very *sensible* persons, a rare power of ignoring what they cannot at once understand and appreciate, so in him. We are surprised at first, and then we are amused, at the mass of literature he read, or, rather, glanced at, with the undoubting conviction that he had possessed himself of all its worth, which, for his purposes, he, doubtless, most frequently did. No character ever puzzled him, no problem ever baffled him, he never allowed himself to proceed a step on ground that was not absolutely clear and sure. This had much to do with his style, which was well adapted to his purpose. A man expresses himself with the one end of being understood by the audience he seeks. If he desire a large audience he must be clear. It is the highest praise that can be given to Macaulay that, while he was never obscure, he always took care to show that, on the subject he treated, he knew more than he conveyed. He had facts and figures in reserve. Hence, though his style is oftentimes hard, glittering, and over-antithetic, it tells emphatically of the '*full man*'—the man who can pursue his cause further, but is not likely to waver, to change his ground, and puzzle people by casuistical reasonings or refinements. This is what the great public likes. Qualifications and secondary relations are wearisome to it. We have heard of a great present-day, orator who plainly confesses that he is ruined when he tries to qualify, and that for purposes of effect, statements must be bold and balanced. Macaulay perceived the same truth; and though his sense of justice was very keen in relation to practical matters, still, like our orator, he was shy of qualifications, and also felt that for effect, statements must be bold and balanced. In this respect his style is most commanding. It is the style for orators—for those who would produce wide and immediate effect; but it should be remembered that too close and strained an

imitation of it is apt to produce the very opposite result. In Lord Macaulay's judgment of historical characters, as has been hinted, we can often trace a certain severity; but the severity, which was distinctly of the Puritanic kind, was most characteristically exhibited in his public life, particularly in the resolution to allow none of the sentiment which may have, more or less, determined his attitude in any way to appear. We remember the manner in which he put down the Methodist minister who, at an election meeting, ventured to ask of what religion the candidates were. On that occasion he certainly showed, in his defence of freedom of opinion on religious matters and the right of a man to keep them in reserve in political discussion, a faculty of preacher-like rebuke, which we are inclined to fancy only one who had drawn lessons from Clapham would have been equal to. He owed much to his parentage; and whoever would rightly appreciate those nobler, if severer, qualities in Macaulay, and trace them to their origin, must not lose sight of an obscurer figure, but certainly one not less grand, which is prominent in the earlier part of the book. And we cannot pass on without saying that it is a high testimony to Mr. Trevelyan's insight and independence that he should so clearly have discerned this relation, and have spent so much pains to bring out into strong relief the noble figure and features of the man who did more than any other to secure freedom for the slave. If his more famous son did not appropriate the deep religious convictions he was sustained by, we may be sure of this, that he would not have been quite so generous, self-denying, and utterly conscientious, if it had not been for that father's life.

It is because the memoir shows this so clearly, as well as brings out effectively the fact that Lord Macaulay kept faithfully inviolate for himself a sphere where intellectual gifts were only to be recognised as justifying a claim on the part of others to be aided and cheered, that it may be said to rank with the first compositions of its class. For several reasons, but for this reason especially, it will reflect fresh lustre on works that will keep their place in English literature.

Lord Macaulay's relations to his contemporaries were for the most part of the frankest and most friendly kind; but one exception seems to have existed in the case of Lord Brougham, between whom and Lord Macaulay there seems to have grown up a rooted antipathy. But Macaulay's peculiar reverence for that heroic father—to whom he owed so much—kept him from attacking Brougham; another specific testimony, if it were needed, to the force of that father's influence. The pictures we have here of Lytton, of Jeffrey, and many others, are done with such remarkable skill, that we cannot pass without giving one small specimen—a most finished sketch of the great Editor of the *Edinburgh* :—

'Jeffrey has twenty faces almost as unlike each other as my father's to Mr. Wilberforce's, and infinitely more unlike to each other than

those of near relatives often are; infinitely more unlike, for example, than those of the two Grants. When absolutely quiescent, reading a paper, or hearing a conversation in which he takes no interest, his countenance shows no indication whatever of intellectual superiority of any kind. But as soon as he is interested, and opens his eyes upon you, the change is like magic. There is a flash in his glance, a violent contortion in his frown, an exquisite humour in his sneer, and a sweetness and brilliancy in his smile, beyond anything that ever I witnessed. A person who had seen him in only one state would not know him if he saw him in another. For he has not, like Brougham, marked features which in all moods of mind remain unaltered. The mere outline of his face is insignificant. The expression is everything, and such power and variety of expression I never saw in any human countenance, not even in that of the most celebrated actors. . . . The voice and delivery of Jeffrey resemble his face. He possesses considerable power of mimicry, and rarely tells a story without imitating several different accents. His familiar tone, his declamatory tone, and his pathetic tone are quite different things. Sometimes Scotch predominates in his pronunciation; sometimes it is imperceptible. Sometimes his utterance is snappish and quick to the last degree; sometimes it is remarkable for rotundity and mellowness. I can easily conceive that two people who had seen him on different days might dispute about him, as the travellers in the fable disputed about the chameleon. . . .

'I do not wonder that he should be a good husband; for his wife is a very amiable woman. But I was surprised to see a man so keen and sarcastic, so much of a scoffer, pouring himself out with such simplicity and tenderness in all sorts of affectionate nonsense. Through our whole journey to Perth he kept up a sort of mock quarrel with his daughter; attacked her about novel-reading, laughed her into a pet, kissed her out of it, and laughed her into it again. She and her mother absolutely idolise him, and I do not wonder at it.

'His conversation is very much like his countenance and his voice—of immense variety; sometimes plain and unpretending, even to flatness; sometimes whimsically brilliant and rhetorical almost beyond the license of private discourse. He has many interesting anecdotes, and tells them very well. He is a shrewd observer; and so fastidious that I am not surprised at the awe in which many people seem to stand when in his company. . . . I liked everything but the hours. We were never up till ten, and never retired till two hours at least after midnight. Jeffrey, indeed, never goes to bed till sleep comes on him overpoweringly, and never rises till forced up by business or hunger.'

This is Lord Macaulay's account of one interview with Lady Holland :—

'In the drawing-room I had a long talk with Lady Holland about the purity of the English language, wherein she thinks herself a

critic. I happened, in speaking about the Reform Bill, to say that I wished that it had been possible to form a few commercial constituencies, if the word constituency were admissible. "I am glad you put that in," said her ladyship. "I was just going to give it to you. It is an odious word. Then there is *talented*, and *influential*, and *gentlemanly*. I never could break Sheridan off *gentlemanly*, though he allowed it to be wrong." We talked about the word *talents*, and its history. I said that it had first appeared in theological writing, that it was a metaphor taken from the parable in the New Testament, and that it had gradually passed from the vocabulary of divinity into common use. I challenged her to find it in any classical writer on general subjects before the Restoration, or even before the year 1700. I believe that I might safely have gone down later. She seemed surprised by this theory, never having, so far as I could judge, heard of the Parable of the Talents. I did not tell her, though I might have done so, that a person who professes to be a critic in the delicacies of the English language ought to have the Bible at his finger-ends.' And let it be said, by-the-by, that Macaulay greatly owed it to the habits and reverences of the Clapham sect that he so thoroughly had 'the Bible at his finger-ends.'

We really wish we could have found space to have given a sample or two of these prim, boyish, precocious letters; or some more of those wonderfully vivid pictures of Holland House and its *habitués*, when Lady Holland made Mr. This fetch and carry for her, politely rebuked Lord That, and rallied her husband, while he, wheeled about in his chair, was more than usually animated; or to have transferred to our pages some account of Lord Macaulay's unflinching humour with children, which flowed forth in endless rhymes, anecdotes, and clevernesses of all sorts. Such of our readers as have not already perused the work, must themselves go to the volumes to become fully acquainted with these things. They certainly will not be disappointed, for whatever opinion they may have hitherto held of Lord Macaulay, they will be able, we think, to come to but one conclusion regarding Mr. Trevelyan's merits as a biographer.

The Life of John Locke. By H. R. Fox Bourne. Two Vols. Henry S. King and Co.

It is not creditable to English philosophy that the biography of John Locke, who, in a more real sense than Bacon, was its founder, has so long remained unwritten. We owe it to the interest that has of late years extended in regard to all that concerns psychological inquiry that this stigma has been at last removed, and that we are able to welcome a biography which, if it does not in all respects realise the ideal of the philosophical student, supplies us with so much information about the man, and gives such full illustrations of his character, that we are brought into living contact with him, and recognise him in his

'habit as he lived.' Exception has been taken, not without reason, to the manner in which Mr. Fox Bourne has performed the more distinctly scientific and critical part of his task. He has not been able, or has not thought it necessary, with any degree of elaborateness, to trace the origin and show the character of Locke's peculiar philosophy, and to assign to it the place it occupies in the history of mental science. We are of opinion that, in view of the particular stage of philosophical thought at which we have arrived in this country, the omission is to be regretted. There is something, indeed, to be said for the way in which Mr. Fox Bourne has elected to do his work. He has striven, and striven successfully, to give us the life-like presentation of the man and Englishman by tracing his relations through the varied stages of a long and not uneventful career. He has shown us how, in the view of Locke himself, his philosophical work was a minor consideration, as in its origin his immortal treatise on 'The Human Understanding' was almost accidental. We are made to see the philosopher in the discharge of his important work as an educational reformer and the apostle of toleration connecting himself with all the varied interests of a stormy but fruitful period of English history. And it may be urged that, as Locke was not a philosopher in the sense in which, for example, the greatest German thinkers have been, who have given their lives to the steady pursuit of speculative truth, and who as professors have been able to make scientific thought their primary concern, it was not necessary to place a philosophical treatise side by side with an historical portrait. Just, however, because he was a man of the world, and a man of business in the wide sense of the term, the philosophy of Locke assumed the practical aspect it bore; and it was characteristic of him, as it has been of most English philosophers, that his opinions grew out of his experience and were moulded by his circumstances. To have made this manifest, and to have shown that the non-professorial philosophy of England has not been less powerful in its influence on the course of thought than the more speculative philosophy of Germany, was a task which well became the biographer of Locke.

The reaction that has been in full force in England during the last twenty years or so has gone far to counteract the undue depreciation from which the treatise on 'The Human Understanding' long suffered. Locke was little considered by the German transcendental school of the early part of the century; and even the careful and laborious Hegel devotes little space to him in his 'History of Philosophy.' The idealistic movement in Continental thought, originated by the author of 'The Kritik of the Pure Reason,' was continued in England by Coleridge, and has had a powerful influence on the theological thought of the country, while in Scotland the sage of Königsberg was hailed as master by the late Sir William Hamilton. In France, M. Cousin

popularised German idealism while attempting to reconcile it with the Scottish common-sense philosophy; and he vied with Hamilton in making laborious attacks on the philosophy of Locke. Under these circumstances, Locke's great treatise fell into disrepute, from which it was rescued by the later efforts of the school of 'positive' thought, of which the Mills may be called the founders. There is a danger that, under the force of the reaction, the counter-movement may be carried too far, and that the one-sided tendencies of the English school of the present day to found a scheme of scientific psychology that will dispense with what has been pedantically called 'meta-empirical' elements may carry us far beyond the sober practical philosophy of experience which was Locke's legacy to his countrymen. While the justice of the criticism of Locke's predominant sensationalism by Sir William Hamilton and M. Cousin cannot be fairly denied, there is every reason to hold that Locke's own interpretation of experience was by no means so narrow as that of our recent English psychologists; seeing that he held firmly by spiritual realities as necessary to explain experience, which are discarded in so many quarters as the fruits of phantasy.

It may be doubted, however, whether the influence of Locke on the character of Englishmen and on the form of the national institutions has not been greatest in reference to religious toleration. And in that character he is very fully presented to us in the pages of Mr. Fox Bourne. When we contrast the prevailing spirit and practice of the seventeenth century, in both religion and politics, with those of the nineteenth century; when we congratulate ourselves upon the great advances made under the influence of what is vaguely but not inappropriately termed Liberalism, we should do well to remember how much we owe it to Locke that the distance we have travelled is so considerable. He himself suffered at the hands of the theological and political bigots of his time; and was forced to seek safety in flight from his native land; and when the Revolution of 1688 enabled him to return in triumph, he came back tutored in the hard school of experience, and having learnt through actual suffering the advantages of the principles he set himself to expound. In all things he was shrewd, sagacious, practical, and the training he had as a student of medicine was helpful to him in many ways, as a philosophical inquirer.

Without falling into the opposite error of making the life of Locke a general history of his time, his biographer has interwoven the private and public events of the period skillfully together; so that we see Locke, not as an abstract philosopher, but as the child of his age, who was to a large degree the outcome of a period which, nevertheless, he powerfully helped to mould. This recognition of Mr. Fox Bourne's success in dealing with his subject is not inconsistent with our previous criticism of his meagre treatment of Locke's philosophy. The former he ought to

have done, and he has done well; but, all the same, he ought not to have left the other undone. As it is, he has given us a work which supplies an unmistakable want in the literature of English philosophy, and which will make the thoroughly English features of the philosopher familiar to the present generation. He has shown us Locke in connection with his time, and has traced the various ways in which he exercised healthful influence upon it and became the source of similar influence to succeeding generations. We cordially welcome what in all respects is an excellent piece of biography, and we have little doubt that it will become a standard work in English literature.

Fifty Years of My Life. By GEORGE THOMAS, Earl of ALBEMARLE. Two Vols. Macmillan & Co.

A record full of anecdote which reaches back to the girlhood of the Princess Charlotte and the time when Sir Francis Burdett fought his great duel; which pictures the state of society prior to Waterloo, and gives us glimpses of some of the greatest personages that have figured in England, both then and since, cannot but be exceedingly interesting. Lord Albemarle is not a literary expert; if he had been, his volumes would certainly not have been so valuable. It is the very simplicity and unaffectedness of the account, the utter lack of graces of fancy or adornments of style, which assure us that we are getting a genuine report, and not a half fanciful reminiscence. The Keppels were originally Dutch, and like the Dutch, as much, or even more, when transplanted, than when at home, shrewd, patient, apt to see the best way to their end, they soon combined English with Dutch honours, and conciliated those most likely to promote them. Thorough Whigs, the Keppels have stood by their colours, and have not lost by it. George Thomas, the sixth earl, was brought up with distinct traditions in his eye, yet with a certain homeliness favourable to strength of character; and very quaint and very touching are some of the anecdotes which the old man delicately sets down of his boyish play-hours spent with the Princess Charlotte, whose light-hearted disregard of tutors and governors is so refreshing to read of, more especially in a time when primness was the rule in higher circles. And her girlish letters, as given here, with all their misspelling and defiance of grammar, are delightful to read. Keppel was sent to Westminster School, where, of course, he *fagged*, like the rest of the juniors. The account of the school in those days is piquant, and his own escapades and those of others show that English boys then were just as venturesome and defiant of extreme authority as they are now. While yet a lad of sixteen he became an ensign in the 14th Regiment, and was despatched to join the forces on the eve of Waterloo, at which he won his medal. 'If I were asked,' he writes, 'what were my sensations in the dreary interval between daylight and the firing of the first

cannon-shot on this eventful morning, I should say that all I can now remember on the subject is, that my mind was constantly recurring to the account my father had given me of his interview with Henry Pearce, otherwise the "Game Chicken," just before his great battle with Mendoza for the championship of England. "Well, Pearce," asked my father, "how do you feel?" "Why, my lord," was the answer, "I wish it was *fit*." Without presuming to imply any resemblance to the "Game Chicken," I had this much in common with that great man—I wished the fight was *fit*. He narrowly escaped drowning through a rotten transport-ship in returning home. Rotten ships seem to have been rather common at that time, the lives of men seemed to be cheap, and, as Lord Albemarle drily remarks, 'There was no Plimsoll then.' He landed just in time to see the marriage of his old playfellow the Princess Charlotte, of whom he gives us such a glimpse as shows that the old spirit of fun and friendliness was alive within her. 'In form the princess was altered, but in other respects she was the same. She knew me immediately, and from under the shade of her hands, which were joined together over her face as she knelt, she made me sundry telegraphic signals of recognition in her own peculiar manner.'

Then came service here and there with his regiment,—at the Cape, Mauritius, and India. For a time he was at St. Helena, and has some report to make of Sir Hudson Lowe and Napoleon. He agrees with Carlyle that Sir Hudson was not suited to be Bonaparte's gaoler; adding: 'The sketch of Ralph Nickleby in Dickens's novel forcibly recalls Sir Hudson to my mind—the large head and small body, the beetle brow, the shaggy projecting eyebrows, the forbidding scowl on the countenance.' In 1820 Keppel became equerry to the Duke of Sussex, who, he tells us, was the very essence of punctuality, an early riser, always up betimes, and breakfasting at nine. So the equerry, too, had to be astir, and thus he is able to record:—'One of my occupations of a morning while waiting for the Duke was to watch from the window the movements of a bright, pretty little girl seven years of age. She was in the habit of watering the plants immediately under the window. It was amusing to see how impartially she divided the contents of the watering-pot between the flowers and her own little feet. Her simple but becoming dress contrasted favourably with the gorgeous apparel now worn by the little damsels of the rising generation—a large straw hat and a suit of white cotton; a coloured *fichu* round the neck was the only ornament she wore. The young lady I am describing was the Princess Victoria, now our gracious Sovereign, whom may God long preserve!'

While with the Duke he had many opportunities of seeing famous men and famous scenes. There is a good anecdote of Erskine at Holkham, at the annual sheep-shearing:—'We sat down each day, upwards of five hundred, to dinner in the state apartments.

There were plenty of speeches—principally on the science of agriculture. An exception to the rule was one from Lord Erskine, who afforded much amusement from the manner in which he dealt with a subject of which he was so profoundly ignorant. One of the theories broached in the morning was that crushed oyster-shells would prove an excellent manure. The opinion was erroneous; but it was not then so considered. "Gentlemen," said Erskine, "we lawyers have been accused of eating the oyster and of giving the shell to our clients. The charge is true; but our host has shown this morning that we only take a fair share of the bivalve." The dinner, an early one, was followed by a supper for the guests who remained in the house. Erskine, the soul of the party, recited some humorous poetry of his own composition. The Duke of Sussex—and some of us who were not so gifted with an ear for music—sang songs, sentimental, bacchanalian, or comic, and—not the least amusing part of the performances—the foreigners made speeches in broken English.'

The description of the Queen's trial is clearly written: Brougham's grand hits and furious glances being noted with equal faithfulness. 'My post of equerry to the Duke of Sussex procured me admission behind the throne, and occasionally to a seat among the Queen's law advisers. Brougham was fond of implying that he had ample materials for recriminating on the King. "If," said he, "this necessity should be imposed upon me, I should act directly in the teeth of the instructions of this illustrious woman [here, with a theatrical wave of the hand, he pointed to the Queen, who sat immediately below him]; I should disobey her solemn commands, nor is it my purpose to resort to it, unless driven to it by an absolute and over-ruling compulsion."'

'I was present on the morning of the 21st of August at the celebrated interview between Queen Caroline and Teodoro Majocchi, the prevaricating postilion of "Non mi ricordo" notoriety. The moment she saw him she raised her hands above her head, and, uttering a loud exclamation, bounced out of the House of Lords in a most unqueenlike manner. What that exclamation was intended to convey is still a mystery. Some said the word was "Teodoro," others "Traditore." To me it seemed to be simply the interjection "Oh!" as expressive of disgust at seeing in her accuser one whom she had known as a dirty discharged menial, but who was now transformed into a clean-looking gentleman, dressed in the height of the fashion.'

But space fails us to follow Keppel as aide-de-camp to Lord Hastings in India, as Member of Parliament for East Norfolk, and as the polished observer of society in more recent times. We must, however, make room for this further reminiscence, as it shows so effectively that *freedom*, instead of 'slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent,' in the House of Lords in respect of personality and repartee, has only undergone

limitation, though perhaps the debates of the Upper House might sometimes be improved for breakfast-table reading by such enlivenments as this tells of:—"I was witness to a curious scene in the House of Lords on the 25th of April of this year (1853) and, as a very imperfect account of it is given in "Hansard," I offer my version. The debate was on the Clergy Reserve in the Canada Bill. Lord Derby made some remarks in his speech, from which the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Wilberforce) expressed his dissent by shaking his head and smiling. The noble earl took exception at the gesture. The bishop admitted the smile, but denied all intention of thereby imputing anything offensive. Lord Derby—"I accept at once the explanation that has been offered by the right reverend prelate; but when he tells me that it is impossible for him to say anything offensive, because he has a smiling face, he will forgive me if I quote in his presence from a well-known writer, without intending in the least to apply the words to him,—

"A man may smile, and smile, and be a villain."

Lord Clarendon (in a voice of thunder)—"Oh! oh! oh!" Lord Derby—"What noble peer is it whose nerves are so delicate as to be wounded by a hackneyed quotation?" Lord Clarendon—"I am that peer, and I protest against any noble lord applying, even in the language of poetry, the epithet of villain to any member in the House. Most of all do I deprecate the use of such an expression by a lay peer towards a right reverend prelate." Peacemakers rose on both sides of the House. The reporters had left the gallery—in those days the Reporters' Gallery was cleared on a division. Lord Clarendon, who had been greatly excited, poured out a glass of water and drank it off. Lord Derby at the same time filled another bumper of water and called out across the table, "Your good health, Clarendon," and so the affair ended.

Lord Derby was probably not aware that the same quotation, from "Hamlet," had, more than fifty years before, produced a somewhat similar scene in the House of Commons. My authority was the late Sir Robert Adair, who was present. The contending parties were Tierney and Pitt, who had fought a duel a short time before. Tierney was addressing the House. Pitt smiled contemptuously, upon which Tierney said, "The right honourable gentleman smiles, but need I remind him 'that a man may smile, and smile,——'" here he paused. "Take the fellow a message from me," cried Pitt to one of his followers, but before the bearer of the hostile mission could reach the Opposition benches, Tierney added,—"and yet be a Minister." So the affair ended in a laugh instead of a fight.

Without qualification, these 'Reminiscences of Lord Albemarle' are delightful reading. They may be found useful hereafter by the historian, and, certainly, they will offer temptations to the gleaner of anecdotes. As a faithful picture of society in past eras, however, the work will have its chief value, but

it is one of the few books of which this can be said; while at the same time it can be recommended as having in it more of human interest and human nature than one-half of the flimsy novels that we now widely read.

Life of Maria Antoinette, Queen of France.

By CHARLES DUKE YONGE. Two Vols. Hurst and Blackett.

Perhaps no contemporary estimate of character, whether of good qualities or of bad ones, has ever been unexaggerated. For exact appreciation, minute and comparative evidence is requisite such as only time can supply. Hence there is for most persons, even for the worst, a reactionary time when probably the rebound is to some extent to the opposite extreme. We have seen many such rehabilitations recently; perhaps after some oscillations the final judgment will be a just one. That Marie Antoinette was grossly maligned there can be no hesitation in saying. Just now the process of vindication is going on. Articles by M. Lomenie in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' and by Ste. Beuve in his 'Causeries,' the publications of various memoirs, and especially of collections of correspondence such as that of M. Feuillet de Couches, have done much to remove ignorant and passionate misconceptions, and to show that the unfortunate queen was in many ways not only highly gifted but noble in feeling.

At the same time no conception of character takes hold of the public mind without some justification for it. We can hardly think that Marie Antoinette was the almost faultless and peerless princess that Professor Yonge represents her to be, although he says that she was 'a pure-minded and magnanimous lady, whose sole offence was that she was the wife of their kind-hearted king.' Yet the whole scope of his narrative shows that she was a clever and ardent politician, who completely dominated the weak-minded monarch, and was, to the political world in which she moved, all that the sovereign himself should have been. It was not necessarily to her reproach; but for her the nerveless hand at the rudder would have let the ship utterly drift. The popular instinct that she had been the mainspring of the king's policy was a true one. And although Louis XVI. largely bore the sins of his predecessors, and was himself harmless and weak rather than wicked, the queen righteously shared this vicarious ignominy and resentment, so far as it ought to have been incurred at all. No wonder that one so young was guilty of follies, and that one upon whom such momentous and difficult affairs devolved made blunders. This does not extenuate the hideous brutality which disfigured the not unnatural Revolution of 1792 with the greatest crimes in history, but Professor Yonge would have given a truer portrait and a juster history had he borne it in mind.

His book is compiled with great industry, and written with ability, not, however, with that of an inspired biographer, for, in spite of the tragic story he has to tell, it is very dull. It is, moreover, the work of a thorough

partisan, whose good old Tory principles imbue all his feelings, determine his epithets, and colour his statements. In all his allusions, especially to our own Revolution and to its principal personages, his bias is manifested—there is nothing evil about Charles I. nor good about Cromwell. It is moreover the narrative of a thorough courtier. Had he been a Gentleman of the Bedchamber he need not have been afraid of presenting his book to the queen whose life he narrates. Men are wholly bad or wholly good according as they are Royalists or Republicans. One feels in every estimate the want of discriminating judgment. One cannot say much for Lafayette or Madame Roland,—but Satan himself could not be visited with more vituperative epithets.

This is all that need be said to indicate what the work is. The heroine is almost perfect, and the almost imbecile king is everything that is gentle and good. The story is carefully told, and one feels afresh the unspeakable pathos of the history of the end. The possibilities of a Parisian Republic are enough to make us all believers in Divine Right; only the latter in France was largely the cause of the former.

Memorials of the Rev. David Thomas, B.A., of Bristol. Edited by his Son, H. ARNOLD THOMAS, M.A. Hodder and Stoughton.

The sketch of his father which Mr. Arnold Thomas has prefixed to the sermons contained in this volume is brief, but it is all that was needed. The outward incidents of Mr. Thomas's life were few, and as he neither kept journals nor wrote many letters, materials for the inner life were wanting; else the records and indications of such a life would have been of rare preciousness. The sketch is written with great delicacy of taste and tenderness of feeling, and it reveals sufficiently the household and ministerial beauty of Mr. Thomas's life. It simply confirms and deepens the impression which all who knew him received of him. He was a man of very distinct individuality; his moral characteristics approached to grandeur in their lofty righteousness, their translucent purity, their broad charities, and their noble magnanimity and intensity. Few lives have been more worthily lived, few men have gathered so much esteem and affection, and few memories approach more nearly the only canonisation that is worth caring for—the unqualified reverence and the tender affection of all who knew him. The ten sermons here collected are a true index of the preacher,—his spiritual apprehension of every truth that he touched, his practical religious presentation of it, and the intensity of all the elements of his nature felt in its urgency. It was true of David Thomas, more than of most ministers, that the preacher was as much as the sermon, and one feels in reading the print only a small degree of the intensity out of which the mere words came, and which gave them their singular momentum. David Thomas was a man to whom religious hearers surrendered

almost passively their entire nature. He produced such a conviction of the reality and momentousness of what he was saying, and he so suffused it with the broad charities, the tender sympathies, and the high spiritual hopes of a great holy soul, that everything was forgotten in the religious reality and power of the preaching. No man of greater spiritual power, and that of the noblest kind, has spoken from a pulpit in the present generation.

Many will be glad to find among the sermons the one on 'Acceptance by Christ,' preached before the London Missionary Society, in Surrey Chapel; the one on 'Considering Christ,' preached before the Congregational Union, in Manchester; and the sermon on 'Communion with God,' preached at several different places.

Mohammed and Mohammedanism. Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in February and March 1874. By R. BOSWORTH SMITH, M.A. Second Edition. Revised and Enlarged. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Mr. Bosworth Smith tells us that he has carefully considered the criticisms of the first edition of his very able volume, but that while he has modified some expressions in deference to them, he has substantially adhered to his former judgments. We still think that he has erred in the excess of his chivalrous and high-toned eulogy of Mohammed, and that in vindicating him against ignorance and fanatical aspersions he has too indiscriminately applied the process of the whitewashing school. Of this, criticism has made him somewhat conscious, and he justifies it on the ground that excess of eulogy can do no harm where excess of vituperation has prevailed. On this point we emphatically differ from him. If anything can confirm disparagement it is exaggerated praise, and *vice versa*.

The thing now to be done is a discriminating and dispassionate judgment of both the man and his work. His early sincerity and religiousness needs discriminating from his later fanaticisms, if not worse; the reforms he effected and the evils that he remedied need to be affirmed, while the wrong that he permitted and sanctioned is fully asserted. His spirit as a national prophet and intolerant propagandist needs to be contrasted with the catholic and human proselytism of the Bible above all of Jesus Christ, and with the purely moral means of Christianity. The origin and spirit of his mission must be contrasted rather than compared with those of Jesus Christ, and although we fully recognise the inspirations of God in the prophets and apostles of all ages, we venture to submit that the question between Mohammedanism and Christianity is somewhat more than that of a comparison between the intrinsic character of rival creeds. If comparison be entered upon at all, their respective origins and sanctions must be fully discussed. We gladly recognise the great merits of Mr. Bosworth Smith's book and heartily accord with much

of his vindication. He might have made it stronger and more conclusive by more of that discrimination which a judicial function demands. His book is that of an admiring advocate. We are glad to see that he has added to his list of authorities, especially the masterly works of Möhler and Dollinger. It would have been better for his work if he had given some attention to Mr. Freeman's very able 'Lectures on the History and Conquests of the Saracens.'

Memorials of a Quiet Life. Supplementary Volume. By AUGUSTUS J. C. HARE, Author of 'Walks in Rome,' &c. Daldy, Isbister, and Co.

This volume will be welcome to a large and growing circle. Mr. Hare tells us in his preface that, since the extreme popularity of the earlier volume in America, many Americans have come to this country simply to see the places associated with the life of Mrs. Augustus Hare, and that he has been often asked for further memorials. This, he says, is all the answer he can give. The volume consists of fifty-seven photographs of places and persons mentioned in the earlier issue, and careful references are given to the text where they are mentioned. The most interesting of these, perhaps, are Alton and Alton-Barnes, Hodnet Church and Hodnet Rectory, and the portrait of Bishop Heber, and the various views of Hurstmonceaux, though the portraits of Sir William and Lady Jones should not be overlooked. They are, for the most part, clear and expressive, and especially do the photographs from Mr. Augustus Hare's own sketches show breadth and character, together with carefulness of detail. The second portion comprises a further selection from the letters of Mrs. Augustus Hare, under the title, 'The Hidden Life,' and these, while showing all the refined perception, the quiet meditateness and spirituality, of the former volumes, are occasionally marked by shrewd discernment of a practical kind, as seen, for instance, at pages 128, 196, 209, 211. From one of the passages referred to we must make a short quotation:

If a worldly man does one good deed, what surprise and admiration it excites! If a religious man makes one false step, how ready are all to exclaim against him and to condemn him! Can there be a stronger testimony to the honour of Christ's religion than that so much should be expected from His followers?"

The third part is taken up with a small selection of letters of Julius Hare. The culture, the fancy, the delightfully clear and crisp way of gathering up thoughts in condensed language, all of which were so admirably shown in his share in the 'Guesses at Truth,' reappear here, together with a dainty gracefulness and familiarity of manner which will make most readers deeply regret the circumstances which Mr. Augustus Hare sorrowfully tells respecting the destruction of his correspondence. It appears that Mrs. Augustus Hare had arranged the correspondence of Julius as a foundation for

a careful memorial of him. Before beginning this work she gave to her sister-in-law, Mrs. Julius Hare, the packet, with a statement that it was her most prized earthly possession, and begging its early return intact, which Mrs. Julius promised her. The next she heard of it was that her sister-in-law had committed the whole to the fire. All record of Sir William and Lady Jones, as well as Mrs. Augustus Hare's letters to Julius—which formed the memorial of her intellectual life—perished in the collection, so that we have no doubt not a few will sympathise with Mrs. Augustus Hare's life-long regret over the loss, and will deplore it also on their own account. Only the most imperative personal reasons could justify such a step. We are not yet too well supplied with such memorials as Julius Hare's letters must have formed. These little extracts will, therefore, perhaps be all the more prized, because of the irreparable loss which now makes them all the memorial that can be given of a great scholar, a vivid thinker, and one of the later masters of the English language.

Under the Northern Lights. By J. A. MAC-GAHAN, Correspondent of the 'New York Herald.' With Illustrations by G. R. DE WILDE. Sampson Low and Co.

Newspaper correspondents are having a good time. They are recognised as a distinct genus in literature, they contribute to it a distinct type—individual diversities notwithstanding,—and their books, which already constitute a respectable compartment of the library, are among our pleasantest, and we might almost say our most valuable, books of travel and description. They have special means of information, and, whatever else they may be or not be, they may not be dull. In these days of rapid transit, representatives of both European and American newspapers are found wherever there is an important event to be transcribed or a story to be told; whether in Paris or Peking, in Ireland or in India, in Khiva or Spitzbergen,—no matter, correspondents of newspapers are sure to be there. Dr. Russell set the example in the Crimea and in the Indian Mutiny, and since newspapers have been a recognised institution on all battle-fields; armies fight, as members of the House of Commons speak, with a recording angel at their elbow. Happily, too, newspaper enterprise has become ambitious of discovery. Mr. Stanley in search of Livingstone, Mr. Smith exploring Nineveh, and now Mr. MacGahan in an Arctic expedition are instances. Three years ago Mr. MacGahan witnessed the fall of Khiva, and in a very pleasant volume told us a story of 'Campaigning on the Oxus.' He has now been told off to accompany the *Pandora* in an endeavour to navigate the North-West Passage, and to discover fresh traces of Franklin, and possibly records of his voyage in King William's Island, where remains of the expedition were found. The expedition was undertaken by Captain Allen Young, who was navigating officer in the *For*, under

McClintock, in 1857-59, and who proved himself second to no Arctic adventurer in sagacity, accomplishments, and courage. His sledge journey over North Somerset is one of the most heroic on record. Captain Young undertook the enterprise at his own expense, aided by Lieutenant Lillingstone, second in command, Mr. Gordon Bennett, of the 'New York Herald,' and Lady Franklin. The *Pandora* proceeded to Behring Straits through Lancaster Sound and Barrow Straits, and attempted to pass through Peel's Straits to King William's Island. Save by Franklin the latter has never been achieved. Captain Young proceeded farther than any other navigator except Franklin; but he was obstructed by the ice when he had penetrated as far as the western end of Bellot Strait, and when within thirty or forty miles of accomplishing his purpose. Had he been able to proceed thus far he would virtually have made the North-West Passage in one season, and have reached San Francisco. He was compelled to return, and, indeed, to race before the drifting ice to save his ship. It will be remembered that on his return voyage he ran up to Carey's Island and found the last letters which have reached England from the *Alert* and the *Discovery*; and while we write he has just sailed again in the *Pandora* carrying the return mail. So much for the achievements of the *Pandora*; she has not added materially to our positive knowledge, but she has made more definite what was but vaguely known about Peel's Straits and the practicabilities of its navigation.

The *Pandora* is the first Arctic ship which has taken a special newspaper correspondent, and Mr. MacGahan is a very able representative of his class. He is indeed but little inferior to Dr. Russell himself in his minute observations, his power of descriptive writing, and his faculty for dressing in a very attractive way common-place or unimportant incidents. Some may complain that his book contains a little too much of 'Daily Telegraph' gush. Critically speaking it does, but, like many other things which are not exactly high art, it pleases us. We confess we like it; we see no virtue in dulness, and when the drawing is not too much caricature and the colouring not over-coarse, we can surrender ourselves to it and enjoy it. It is not necessary that everybody should write like Gibbon. Let us say, then, that Mr. MacGahan has given us a vivacious, clever, and very enjoyable book, full of little sketches and pictures, of anecdotes and retrospections, of summaries and estimates, which make it as interesting as a novel, and that in doing this he never offends good taste, provided that it be healthy and reasonable. We commend his descriptions of Eskimo gaieties and ladies at Disco, his account of Eskimo Jo and of Eskimo dogs. Indeed, Mr. MacGahan is an optimist, looks at everything on the bright side and thinks well of human nature. We cannot transcribe any of his sketches or anecdotes, we can only say that he has written one of the pleasantest books of travel that we have

met with, and that if ever we are doomed to an Arctic voyage we shall deem it almost a compensation if we can have him as a companion.

Narratives of the Mission of George Boyle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa. Edited, with Notes, an Introduction, and Lives of Mr. Boyle and Mr. Manning, by CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C.B. Trübner and Co.

Not the least important part of this interesting volume is the introduction, in which Mr. Markham has contrived to compress into a hundred and thirty pages all the geographical, historical, religious, and ethnological knowledge about Tibet that the world possesses; and in this he has furnished an admirable setting for the two journals of travel, which it is his main purpose to give to the world. Although Tibet borders on some portion of our Indian dominions, and is separated from it along the rest of its southern frontier only by the little States of Bhotan, Sikkim, and Nepal, we know about it almost as little as we knew about Central Africa before Livingstone. This is owing partly to political and commercial jealousies on the part of China, to which Tibet is tributary, and which is on its eastern border; which, however, could never have prevailed to keep the world in such ignorance were it not for its peculiar geographical difficulties. Its geographical character, therefore, is first described by Mr. Markham. Three great ranges of the Himalayas run, roughly speaking, from west to east, from Kashmir, in longitude 78°, to Yunnan and Kansu, in longitude 102°. Tibet occupies the vast table-land enclosed north and south by the two outer ranges, and has the middle range running through it near its southern boundary; Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhotan, three small territories peopled by hill-men, lie on the southern slope of the southern range, and interpose between Tibet and Hindustan. Not only are the Southern Himalayas of stupendous height, rising to a maximum of nearly 29,000 feet, but Tibet itself is a table-land, in no part of it perhaps less than 8000 or 9000 feet above the level of the sea. It is singular enough that this vast domain of snow and frost should be the boundary of our torrid dominions in Hindustan. So effectual a barrier is this stupendous mountain range, that history records no passage of it by an invading army. A few passes of enormous difficulty, easily held by small forces and harassed by brigands, are the only possible tracts for commerce or war. The policy of China has hitherto prevailed effectually to keep them closed—the only exceptions being the journeys of a very few adventurous individual explorers. At the present moment no Englishman is permitted to pass more than twenty miles from Khatmandu, the capital of Nepal, although Jung Bahadur, who visited this country twenty-five years ago, has ever since been in power there. Lhasa, the sacred capital of Tibet, is not very far from the borders of Bhotan, and yet only

one Englishman has succeeded in reaching it. So that this vast table-land of Tibet, covering an area of some 400,000 square miles, is almost as much a blank in even our most modern maps as the Indian Ocean. The geographical problem of India, then, is to penetrate the awful passes of the Himalayas to traverse this 'land of snow,' north and east, so as to supply the missing geographical link between the Himalayas and Mongolia. That a considerable commerce between India, Tibet, and Mongolia might be developed, the Himalayan barrier notwithstanding, were it not for the exclusive policy and the prohibitory duties of the Chinese Government, seems certain. But, as Mr. Markham justly observes, these questions must be settled at Pekin; and it is a question for fair political consideration whether any people should be permitted hermetically to close against peaceful travellers, at any rate, any part of the earth's surface. Marco Polo traversed the eastern part of Tibet in 1278. Since then very few travellers have entered it. Two Jesuits, Fathers Grueber and D'Orrville, achieved the journey from Pekin to Lhasa, and back again, in 1662. De Putte, a Dutch traveller, is the only European who has travelled from India through Tibet to China; he also returned by the same route, and Mr. Markham gives us the only account published of his remarkable journey. Of the journeys since, except the two narrated in this book, the most remarkable is that described by M. Abbé Huc.

The enlightened policy of Warren Hastings did much to facilitate intercourse between Hindustan and Tibet. Since his time, indeed, nothing has been done. Under his auspices Boyle, was sent as an envoy to the Teshu Lama, or Prime Minister of Tibet; this was in 1774. No record of this journey was published until recently, when Bogle's journal and letters, contained in a large chest in the possession of his niece, Miss Brown, of Lanfine, in Scotland, were placed at Mr. Markham's disposal. Mr. Boyle seems to have been exceptionally qualified for his arduous journey, and his journals, as here published, are full of interest of a very peculiar kind. He never reached Lhasa; but had much friendly intercourse with the Teshu Lama at Teshu Lombo and Desherippay, on the northern side of the Brahmaputra; so that, except Manning, he is the only Englishman who is known to have crossed that famous river. The record of his conversations with the Lama is intensely interesting.

Mr. Manning, an English traveller, who had prepared himself for his journey by a careful study, and whose acquirements were so great that, in 1803, Napoleon exempted him from the general detention of English travellers, went to China in 1806. He was a great friend of Elia, and probably furnished some material out of which grew the immortal legend of Roast Pig. In 1810 he attempted to reach China from Calcutta through Tibet; he did not get beyond Lhasa, being stopped by the Chinese authori-

ties; he was the only Englishman, however, who reached it. He returned to Calcutta, but refused to publish any account of his travels. He went to Canton, and afterwards joined Lord Amherst's mission as Chinese secretary in 1817. He died at Bath in 1840, having been dumb for twenty-three years. The record here printed is of rough notes left behind. He was an eccentric Pepysian kind of a man, and that part of his journal which he wrote out in Lhasa is very amusing.

Concerning the interesting accounts of Buddhism and Lamaism given by Mr. Markham and the two travellers we cannot speak; nor even concerning the interesting sketches of other travels appended to the volume.

The work is very complete, and is carefully edited. It does for Tibet what the author has done for the Arctic region in the 'Threshold of the Unknown Region.' It presents us with a summary of all that has been done for its exploration, and of all that is known about it.

Mongolia, the Tangut Country, and the Solitudes of Northern Tibet: Being a Narrative of Three Years' Travel in Eastern High Asia. By Lieut.-Colonel N. PREJEVASKY, of the Russian Staff, &c. Translated by E. DELMAR MORGAN, F.R.G.S.; with Introduction and Notes by Colonel HENRY YULE, C.B. Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

The advance of Russia in the East and the new relations of China with Europe are having an almost magical effect upon geographical knowledge. Since Marco Polo, until quite recently, scarcely any advance in our knowledge had been made. Now, every year adds important travels to our knowledge. Adventurous journeys from Burnah and India are made for the purpose of establishing an overland commercial route with China; while the Mongolian desert between Irkutsk in Siberia and Pekin is not only traversed by a regular caravan, but posts established and regulated by the two Governments enable certain and easy travelling.

Since Marco Polo, with perhaps the exception of the Abbé Huc, no one has made so important a contribution to our knowledge of Mongolia and Northern Tibet as Colonel Prejevalsky in the book before us. He reached Pekin from Siberia by the Post route; then, proceeding south-west, he penetrated to the head-waters of the Yang-tse, approaching Lhasa, the sacred city of Lamaism, which, however, he was not able to reach. His was the first European foot which traversed most of this route, although it was generally parallel to the route of the Abbé Huc, who was more fortunate and reached Lhasa. Both Colonel Prejevalsky and Colonel Yule vindicate Huc from the aspersions cast upon his veracity. He romanced somewhat in his descriptions; but it was in colouring rather than in fact. Colonel Prejevalsky is well qualified by scientific training and learning for his task. He is an enthusiastic botanist, and has added some 3000 or 4000 plants to

our knowledge,—at any rate, he brought home this number of specimens; he visited the habitat of the rhubarb plant. His natural history collection, too, is very valuable:—1000 birds, 3000 insects, 70 reptiles, 11 fish, and 130 skins of larger animals were brought home by him. He spent about three years over his journey, and traversed nearly 8000 miles. His great embarrassment was lack of funds; in his whole expedition he expended only £1500. He had to return to Peking after accomplishing nearly half his route, simply because his funds were exhausted,—he had only twenty-seven shillings left. This necessitated a good deal of manual service and valuable time devoted to it which might have been devoted to acquiring information. It is not clear where the responsibility rests, but the result is much to be regretted. At times our traveller was actually hungering, not having money enough to buy a sheep.

His account of the Mongolians and of the Chinese officials in this country is full of interest. From the latter he encountered some rough treatment. Occasionally he had to put up with the loss of his goods and weapons, but more than once he did a good stroke of business. Thus he sold a breech-loader for six camels and £25 in cash. The populations were often sunk in the very lowest vices, superstitions, and filth. Thus, 'the Mongolian never washes his body, and very seldom his face and hands. Owing to constant dirt, his clothing swarms with parasites, which he amuses himself by killing in the most uncereemonious way. It is a common sight to see a Mongol, even an official or lama of high rank, in the midst of a large circle of his acquaintances, open his sheep-skin, or caftan, to catch an offending insect, and execute him on the spot between his front teeth.' 'The cups (in which they take their brick tea) are never washed, but after every meal licked out by the owner.' 'The gluttony of this people exceeds all description. A Mongol will eat more than ten pounds of meat at one sitting, but some have been known to devour an average-sized sheep in the course of twenty-four hours! On a journey, when provisions are economised, a leg of mutton is the ordinary daily ration for one man, and although he can live for days without food, yet when once he gets it, he will eat enough for seven.'

The Mongol is a perfect Centaur—one of the finest riders in the world—but he is so indolent that he will not walk the smallest distance. He is without energy, and is an arrant coward. He is a liar, and inconceivably stupid. The chapter describing the people, from which the above sentences are taken, is full of interesting information, for the most part new. Religion, politics, opium-smoking, war, commerce, are all fully described.

The book is a handsome one, the maps and engravings are good, and Colonel Yule's Introduction and Notes are full of instruction and add greatly to its value. We have not recently read a book of travels more honest,

thorough, and solid, conveying a larger amount of new scientific information, or bringing before us a country having larger claims upon missionary or philanthropic benevolence.

Notes of an Indian Journey. By MOUNT-STUART E. GRANT DUFF, M.P. With Route Map. Macmillan and Co.

Clouds in the East: Travels and Adventures in the Perso-Turkoman Frontier. By VAL-ENTINE BAKER. With Maps and Illustrations. Chatto and Windus.

We have bracketed these two books together, because they relate to adjacent countries, and both touch on the great problem of Russian aggression in the East. Both, however, are primarily books of personal travelling experience, and as such we must chiefly speak of them.

Few men, perhaps, have visited any country more thoroughly equipped with every appliance and advantage for understanding it than Mr. Grant Duff. He had family traditions with India, in which his father held an important office. As Under-Secretary of State for India he had *ex-officio* facilities for getting at the heart of things which few possess; while his rank was not so high as to limit and embarrass his perfect freedom of travel. As an administrator he had had large and special knowledge of India in all its interests, and was qualified to look upon questions and processes with a very unusual measure of intelligence. As a man of large intellectual culture he is well versed in history and acquainted with the literature of Indian travel, while he has largely travelled in other countries; so that he brought what he saw to the test of broad views and cosmopolitan experience. It is, indeed, difficult to imagine a single qualification for Indian travel that he does not possess. There is no literary pretence about his book, it is simply what it professes to be,—a journal of travel, recording the experiences of each day, affecting no philosophical theories or historical character; it is imbued with a varied scholarship and experience, and may have received literary touches in transcription. It produces the effect, however, of spontaneity, save that perhaps the comparisons with other places, very remote, seem as if they may have been looked up for effect, although, of course, this depends upon comparative fulness and familiarity of knowledge. It seems, however, as if the writer had specially guarded himself against reproducing information gathered from books, and was bent upon simply stating his own impressions. One of his special curiosities seems to have been botanical; he was greatly interested in the Flora of India, and knew both what to look for and how to appreciate what he saw. One is impressed from beginning to end, not only with Mr. Grant Duff's knowledge, but with his exceptional eagerness and aptitude for acquiring knowledge. In everything he seems determined to know all that can be known. Necessarily there is a good deal of reticence

in his entries of conversations. He mentions the fact that he has held such conversations, and acquired knowledge that was interesting and important; but he is necessarily discreet concerning its character. The notes are interesting from their intelligence and thorough good sense.

Mr. Grant Duff's views, however, are reserved for a supplementary chapter, in which he answers categorically some dozen or more questions concerning India, its relations to England, the character and effects of our rule, its place in the political future, education, religion, &c., put to him by the Editor of the 'Contemporary Review,' in which the 'Notes' originally appeared. Mr. Grant Duff's views are frankly expressed, and seem to us wise and statesmanlike. He is a philosophical politician, and grasps the problems in hand with vigour and ability. He looks hopefully and confidently upon the future. He thinks that we are quietly but powerfully leavening India with our best political and educational influences. He is not a Russophobe; but he thinks that there are limits to Russian advance at Turkestan, and that these have well-nigh been reached. He would concede Merv, but a further advance upon Herat must resolutely be resisted, inasmuch as we have repeatedly pledged ourselves to preserve it. But then Merv is the key of Herat, so that even with Mr. Grant Duff open resistance to the advance of Russia is a question only of when and where. The volume is both interesting and important.

Colonel Baker started with the purpose of reaching Teheran from the Black Sea and the Caspian, *via* Poti, Tiflis, and the Caucasus. He visited Astrabad, at the south-eastern point of the Caspian; went north to the Atrek, returned to Ashurada, and thence, across the Mazandaran Mountains, to Teheran. His purpose was to reach Merv. This he was not able to accomplish, but he traversed the north-east mountains which separate Persia from Turkestan, proceeding along the southern side of the range as far as Mesh-had, and returning by a more northerly route. We could well have spared a good many pages devoted to the familiar route to Teheran, and still better the pages devoted to details of shooting and fishing on the Elburz. The details of the journey from Teheran and Mesh-had are very interesting. Our first impression is of the utter wretchedness and impotence of Persian rule; if anything could tempt the aggressions of Russia, it is the misrule and lawlessness of this district. Any government would be an improvement upon what exists. Persia owes more to her magnificent mountain defences than to her policy and power. Next, the Turkomans and Persians seem to have accepted a condition of nomadic raids upon villages and cattle, which each indulges as opportunity may serve, although neither permanently advances upon the other. Next, Russian aggression is towards the south, and upon Turkestan, rather than towards the south-west and upon Persia. From the

mountain boundary of Persia Merv was faintly seen. From Khiva and the Khanates the aggression of Russia upon Merv seems almost inevitable. Colonel Baker is loud and fierce in his denunciations. He thinks that Merv is the key of Herat, and that Russia should be forbidden to advance another step.

A good deal of interesting information about the Turkomans, and especially about the splendid Turkoman breed of horses is given. He thinks the latter might be utilized for India, and thinks that we might ally ourselves with the former, against Russia; but what kind of an alliance would be possible or desirable with nomadic savages?

The latter part of Colonel Baker's book is a contribution to our knowledge of the Persian frontier, and is very interesting.

From Pall Mall to the Punjab; or, with the Prince in India. By J. DREW GAY, Special Correspondent of the 'Daily Telegraph.' Chatto and Windus.

Mr. Gay has been expeditious in the publication of his book, and has got the start of his brethren of the newspaper press; for doubtless a large number of volumes describing the Prince's visit to India will appear—some, we see, are already announced. We can only regard this as a good. Not only is information diffused concerning that about which otherwise people would not trouble themselves, but the special correspondent of an influential paper must necessarily be a man of large and varied gifts and acquirements, a scholar, a gentleman, and a practised and effective writer; he has, moreover, accorded to him such special facilities for acquiring information that what he writes must have intrinsic value beyond the average books of ordinary travellers. We have already commended as specially excellent Mr. MacGahan's book on the Arctic Regions, and we must give a word of hearty praise to this book of Mr. Gay's. It was written for a newspaper, necessarily, therefore, as attractively as possible; and we have yet to learn the merit of dry dulness. Very rarely, moreover, can a newspaper correspondent yield to the temptation of sacrificing truth to sensationalism, too many eyes are upon him, too many correctives are at hand, and for him to be discredited on the ground of accuracy would be very speedily fatal either to him or his newspaper.

Mr. Gay's descriptions have appeared in the 'Daily Telegraph.' They are worth circulating through the libraries in this book-form. The incidents connected with the Prince's tour, places and pageants, persons and things, are graphically described and pictorially represented. Unfamiliar manners and customs are described, a good deal of general information is incidentally introduced, and we are made to realize, as far as is possible through descriptive narrative, all that the Prince experienced and saw. Mr. Gay writes very effectively; his colouring is warm, but it never offends good taste. He is smart, but he is not flippant; his powers of description are considerable, and few, we fancy, will read

his book without interest and pleasure. We can commend it only by this general characterisation. It would be easy, did our space permit, to select passages of clever description and of exciting incidents which would abundantly justify our praise. We may refer, for instance, to the description of the Prince at Lucknow. We opened it with some expectations of extravagance in rhetoric or gush. We have been agreeably surprised at its general good taste and skill.

The illustrations, borrowed from the 'Graphic,' are good, and the volume is well got up. It ought to be popular at the Libraries and in Book Societies. The knowledge of India which will be diffused by books such as this is but one part of the beneficial results of the Prince's visit.

All the World Over. Edited by EDWIN HODDER, F.R.G.S. Vol. II. (Thomas Cook and Sons.) A second and very pleasant volume of travelling miscellanies, also a novelle entitled 'A Love Chase,' founded upon travelling conditions, half-a-dozen plans and maps, and short papers about scores of different places and routes interesting to tourists; some of them, such as that on 'Vulgar Venice,' about things little known.—*Akim-Foo: the History of a Failure.* By Major W. F. BUTLER, C.B. Third Edition. (Sampson Low and Co.) It is not often that a book of a comparatively ephemeral character attains to a third and popular edition: it is a sufficient testimony to the merits of Major Butler's account of his abortive endeavours to enlist the Akims against their old enemies the Ashantees—the mere episode of "a little war"—that it has done so. For an account of the book we must refer to our notice of the first edition.—*Historical Course for Schools.* Edited by EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L. Vol. V. *History of America.* By JOHN A. DOYLE. (Macmillan and Co.) We can scarcely conceive an historical manual better written than Mr. Doyle's. Its necessary brevity has not compromised its clearness or its adjustment. It is at the same time succinct and complete; that is, it supplies all necessary links of the history and sufficiently explains them. Picturesque episodes and detailed descriptions are necessarily excluded. Nevertheless Mr. Doyle's history is not a mere dry chronicle; while his views are broad and sympathetic. It includes a full account of the War of Secession, which is naturally given at greater proportionate length than any other part of the history. The entire series is admirably done.—*English History for the Use of Public Schools.* Period I. Mediæval Monarchy, 449–1485. Period II. Personal Monarchy. 1485–1688. With Maps and Plans. By W. BRIGHT, M.A. Two Volumes. (Rivingtons.) Mr. Bright undertook his work to supply a want much felt in public schools, viz., an organic elementary history, in which historical perspective should be preserved, all essential causes and sequences preserved, and the social growth and life of the nation be exhibited equally with its political changes.

Mr. Bright was unaware that Mr. Green's admirable history was in hand. He purposed at first to approach the history almost entirely on its constitutional and social side, but soon abandoned this as unsuitable for the use of schools, and contented himself with briefly indicating these at different points, and mainly developing the course and connection of events. Through the appearance of Mr. Green's history he has cause to congratulate himself upon this. His history, therefore, deals with the political and constitutional, rather than with the social, life of the nation. It is, however, a work of unusual merit. Mr. Bright is a well-informed historical student, and has availed himself of the highest authorities and of the latest results of historical research. His knowledge has enabled him to condense in a most admirable way, where details were impracticable, and where a condensed statement was sufficient for a connecting link. His book is admirably arranged—its presentations are intelligent, vivid and picturesque; its style lucid and its judgments candid. The second volume, however, traverses ground less familiar to Mr. Bright than the first. One naturally suspects ecclesiastical bias in such a work. Cromwell and Puritanism do not often find favour with good Churchmen. Mr. Bright is singularly fair: both Wycliffe and Cromwell are vindicated, so far as impartial judgment can vindicate them. Thus, 'With his [Cromwell's] death closed the only attempt upon record to realise national government based upon religion. In him had been joined the two principles which had been at work in the Revolution,—the political and the religious; with his enemies, and they were very numerous, one or other of these ideas, but not both, was prominent. . . . The one cause to which he devoted himself was the cause of civil and religious liberty. But that liberty, he felt, could be secured only by good government, and that government must have a fixed form. He therefore advocated the widest religious toleration, with the exception only of Papistry, but clung tenaciously to the idea of a regular State-paid clergy; while civil liberty was to be secured by a system of checks almost exactly analogous to the old Constitution of England, but with the fundamental exception that personal merit was to take the place of hereditary and social merit. But this very view, although in theory its excellence cannot be questioned, was the cause of the subsequent failure of his plans. The very greatness of his personal superiority prevented him from making a good constitutional monarch.' We very heartily commend this admirable history to general readers, as well as to schools.—*The Modern World.* By J. A. G. BARTON. (William Blackwood and Sons.) Mr. Barton, whose very excellent compendium on the ancient world we had occasion to commend, has given us a companion volume, on the modern world. He discriminates, with much acumen and justice, the characteristics of the different nations. Great Britain and her dependencies very justly have the fore-

most place; the United States follow, then France, Germany, Russia, and the other States of Europe. A chapter suffices for the other independent States of the globe. For a brief summary of history, and a well-proportioned view of the national forces of the modern world, we can highly commend Mr. Barton's little book.—*A Summary of Modern History*. Translated from the French of M. MICHELET, and Continued to the Present Time, by Mr. C. M. SIMPSON. (Macmillan and Co.) A summary of the history of Europe within the compass of a small school volume is necessarily little more than a chronological table. M. Michelet's admirable art has, however, grouped and classed his materials well, and has furnished an excellent 'cram' for examinations. Of course, France becomes the centre of the universe.—*The Reign of Lewis XI*. By P. F. WILLERT, M.A. With Map. (Rivingtons.) This is one of Messrs. Rivingtons' historical handbooks, which are published under the general editorship of Mr. Oscar Browning. Mr. Willert's theme does not stand in any definite relationship to any general scheme of the series. It has, however, the advantage of being less familiar to general readers than many epochs, but that chiefly because it contains less that is important to history. It was a transitional period,—Feudalism had given way, and constitutional government had not been established. Lewis XI. was a man of sufficient vigour to supply in personal government what was lacking in national organisation. But he was in no way remarkable; he was simply one in a series of kings. One likes to know the successive links of every chain. Mr. Willert deserves credit for the self-denial which has prompted him to give us so good an account of this.—*Campaigning on the Oxus, and the Fall of Khiva*. By J. A. MACGAHAN. Fourth and Cheaper Edition. (Sampson Low and Co.) This fourth edition of Mr. MacGahan's book sufficiently attests its attractiveness. He has few rivals in the combination of qualities that make a good newspaper special correspondent. We have elsewhere commended his new book of travels in the Arctic regions.—*Summer Holidays in Brittany*. By THOMAS J. HUTCHINSON. With Map and Illustrations. (Sampson Low and Son.) Mr. Hutchinson gives us a lively account of a rapid run through some parts of Brittany. Brittany is less known to English tourists than it should be. It is full of antiquarian and historical interest, and Mr. Hutchinson gossips pleasantly on what is to be seen, sketching for us lightly, and we must add superficially, people, places, and incidents.—*Recollections of Four Years in Venezuela*. By CHARLES DANIEL DAME, a Mission Priest in the Diocese of Guiana. (Henry S. King.) Mr. Dame's designation of himself as 'a mission priest' led us at first to think that he was a Roman Catholic; but as he speaks of leaving his family unprovided for, that can hardly be. A little more precision, not in this only, but generally throughout his book, especially in the matter of dates, would be an improve-

ment. He went to Venezuela, however, as a cultivator, and in a light vivacious way describes the country and its inhabitants as he saw them in various little trips to Maturin, and other places. A half-civilised land, abounding in lions, tigers, snakes, and earthquakes; Roman Catholic in religion, and full of desperate wickedness and gross superstitions, he finds plenty to say about it, and says it in a lively and graphic manner. It is a very pleasant little book, but not so valuable in its solid information as it easily might have been.—*Five Weeks in Greece*. By JAMES FOSTER YOUNG. (Sampson Low and Co.) Mr. Young's book cannot claim to be more than a book of *impressions du voyage*, some attempts at classical history notwithstanding, which would have been better omitted. Mr. Young's experiences, however, are interesting: first, of the thorough discomfort of travelling in Greece, owing to the absence of travelling conveniences and comforts, which are found in most civilised countries; next, of the great kindness of the people, which was uniform, and is very pleasant to look at—the kindness almost of a primitive and certainly unvisited-by-tourist people; and, lastly, of the state of brigandage in Greece in 1875, which seems to have been much better then than it has been since. Mr. Young traversed the Peloponnesus in perfect safety. We have been in Athens when it was not possible to visit even the Pentelicus. We can recommend Mr. Young's little book as having more interest than many works of greater pretensions. He gives us information concerning the interior of Greece, of which we really know very little.—*Cook's Tourists' Handbook for Switzerland* (Thomas Cook and Sons) is another compendious volume of the great excursion agents; giving, in concise way, the travelling information absolutely necessary for intelligent appreciation and for practical guidance. Switzerland is now so familiar to everybody that the only new information that a handbook can impart is concerning the practical conveniences of travel. No authority on these matters can be greater than that of Messrs. Cook.—*The Life of Gideon Ouseley*. By WILLIAM ARTHUR. (Wesleyan Conference Office.) Gideon Ouseley was an Irish Evangelical Methodist preacher, who entered into the spirit and methods of John Wesley's revivalism with great fervour, power, and success. Mr. Arthur's memoir is little more than a chronicle of preaching expeditions and experiences; but it is full of stimulus and demonstration. It is easy to sneer at religious fervours; but it is not quite so easy to account for radical conversions of life in hundreds of instances, whereby the most inveterate habits of gross sin were broken, and humble and persistent godliness and virtue induced. Pastors of churches cannot be evangelists like Gideon Ouseley, but every good man and citizen must wish that such as he might be multiplied. There is need enough yet. We have no sympathy with the man who could read this memoir without having his heart stirred.

POLITICS, SCIENCE, AND ART.

William Whewell, D.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. An Account of his Writings, with Selections from his Literary and Scientific Correspondence. By I. TODHUNTER, M.A., F.R.S., Honorary Fellow of St. John's College. Two Vols. Macmillan and Co.

An account of the literary life, works, and correspondence of so eminent a representative of modern science in nearly all its branches as the late Dr. Whewell has been well committed to an editor who is himself a most distinguished mathematician as well as an accomplished writer, and who was a trusted friend and associate of the deceased. The second volume consists entirely of Dr. Whewell's correspondence, which, as addressed to many, if not most, of the distinguished men of his day, presents a valuable collection of documents for the future historian. Viewed simply as a biography, the personal account may be thought somewhat meagre and devoid of incident. Dr. Whewell was essentially an academic man; a resident chiefly at Cambridge, he was thrown in immediate contact with those around him who had similar tastes and pursuits, and this fact probably accounts for his active mind engaging in almost every study that had any representative within the precincts of the University. It is to the scholar, therefore, and to the man of science that these volumes are specially addressed. The ordinary 'padding' of two-volume biographies finds no favour with Mr. Todhunter. As a significant example of this we may cite the two brief sentences (pp. 1 and 239) in which the birth and death of the great philosopher are recorded: 'William Whewell was born at Lancaster, on May 24, 1794,' and, again, 'On February 24, 1866, Dr. Whewell met with an accident while riding on horseback, and died on March 6.' Not a word is said of his parentage, which is well known to have been in the humble ranks of life, nor of the place or nature of the accident, nor of his conversations or interviews with his friends at the close of his very distinguished and virtuous life. His was not, as the biographer remarks in his preface, a life connected with public events; it was almost as devoid of interest from a political as from a social point of view, and it is only as a literary and scientific man that he has any special claims to the interest of posterity.

Mr. Todhunter, whose sincerity is as unquestionable as his judgment, remarks, in p. xvii. of his preface, 'I do not think that adequate justice can be rendered to Dr. Whewell's vast knowledge and power by any person who did not know him intimately, except by the examination of his extensive correspondence.' There were some who in his lifetime used to think that, like Lord Brougham, there was in him something of an ambition to be a 'universalist,' and that for any one man to be really first-rate in pure mathematics, physics, geology, mineralogy,

the theory of tides, architecture, Platonic philosophy, logic, metaphysics, political economy, moral philosophy, and the history of science in all ages and parts of the world, was a self-evident impossibility. Mr. Todhunter, however, tells us (p. 45) that in all he undertook his motto may be said to have been the word *thorough*. His translation of 'Plato,' it is certain, never attained a very high reputation in the judgment of the best scholars; and his 'History of the Inductive Sciences' might have been largely supplemented from such epitomists of early thought as Lucretius and Cicero, in his three books 'De Natura Decorum.' His advocacy (vol. i. chap. xv.) of the mongrel kind of composition known as *English hexameters* will hardly add to his reputation for classical judgment; and his essay on the Plurality of Worlds, in which he took up, against Sir David Brewster, the paradoxical position that our planet only was the centre of life as far as intelligent and moral beings are concerned, was considered by many rather as an ingenious piece of controversy than as the deliberate conviction of the author. Though Dr. Whewell was, for an academic of his day holding high preferment, rather inclined to the Liberal side of things, he nevertheless resisted all movement on the side of reform, and even advocated the continuance of that worst of abuses, clerical fellowships (vol. i. p. 225). His biographer records with regret (p. 92) that he was unfavourable to the admission of Dissenters to the Universities. In p. 213 we read that Dr. Whewell 'disapproved very decidedly of all the changes, which according to the analogy of the Oxford [University Reform] Bill, might be proposed at Cambridge.' He thought the suppression of some of the numerous sinecure fellowships, and the application of the revenue thereby saved to University purposes, 'enormously mischievous and perverse.' Mr. Todhunter adds (p. 215): 'It is a matter of great regret that his power and influence were never used in favour of improvements, since almost universally recognised as desirable.' Had he thrown himself into the movement which, so long and so obstinately opposed by the short-sighted policy of interested parties, has at last become a matter of national necessity, viz., the cause of University reform, Dr. Whewell might with more justice have earned the fame of having been a man in advance of his age. He himself appears to have taken orders as a matter of course; he never took any active part in clerical duty, in theological controversy, or in the religious movements of the period during which he lived. Those who remember him used to complain of a somewhat overbearing manner which he occasionally exhibited, especially towards juniors. His biographer tells us, however, that he had 'an attractive simplicity and generosity of nature, an entire absence of self-seeking and self-assertion, and a warm concern in the fortunes of his friends, even when they might be considered in some degree as his rivals' (preface, p. xvii.).

In p. 107 of the first volume the biographer

makes some interesting remarks on the meaning of *inductive* and *deductive*, as understood, or, as it would almost seem, misunderstood, by Dr. Whewell in his 'History of the Inductive Sciences.' With him, induction always implies praise, deduction, disparagement. When he says that man is prone to become a deductive reasoner, he means that he is apt (as we say) to 'jump to conclusions;' to assume a fact and to force everything to fall in with it. But Mr. Todhunter contends that Newton's doctrine of gravitation, which Dr. Whewell calls inductive, was essentially deductive. The science of astronomy, he adds (p. 109), is almost exclusively deductive. It is one which depends on showing that all phenomena can be explained on certain assumptions, and on no other, and, therefore, that those assumptions, *e.g.*, the central position of the sun, must be right. It is probably time to say that such a position is incapable of proof by induction in the true sense of the word. Reasoning from hypotheses, where those hypotheses (as in the axioms of Euclid) are certainly true, gives conclusions as correct as those formed from data and experience.

It is certainly remarkable that a dispute should have arisen between Mr. Mill and Dr. Whewell on 'the proper application of a word (Induction) involving so much controversy' (p. 231). Mr. Todhunter says it would have been better if each of the writers had invented a word for himself, and used it in his own sense.

The biographer awards by no means unlimited praise to the numerous works published by Dr. Whewell, nor does he express his approval of all his principles and opinions. He has given us an exceedingly fair and judicious estimate of a man who 'left his mark' on the age, but who in many respects was not in advance of it. The chief value of the work, however, in a literary point of view, consists in the learned criticism and analysis of all Dr. Whewell's works and their several editions, including even mistakes and omissions.

Geology for Students and General Readers.

Part I. Physical Geology. By A. H. GREEN. Daldy, Isbister, and Co.

This is a book essentially for students, and a very good one it is; indeed, we know none better. If a reader will thoroughly master it he will have laid a foundation of geologic knowledge on which almost any superstructure may be reared. And yet it is not uninteresting; it lacks indeed the picturesque charms of some of the earlier expositions of the science, but it immeasurably excels them in compactness of construction and lucidity and exactness of statement. After a short sketch of the rise and progress of the science, in which we are chiefly impressed with the rapidity and certainty of its advance, Mr. Green enters upon what may be called mineralogical geology, and discusses the chemical combinations that make up the principal rock masses, their lithological structure, the laws of crystallisation, and their varieties of crys-

talline form; and he then proceeds to deal in a similar way with the non-crystalline rocks, sandstones, clays, limestones, and carbonaceous rocks, both as to their own intrinsic structure and mode of occurrence, as stratified and unstratified, fossiliferous and unfossiliferous. After these preliminaries he passes on to what may be considered the main subject of this first part—physical geology,—and begins with the great question of denudation. He points out and differentiates the effects of each of the leading denuding agents, such as the ocean, rivers, rain, wind, frost, and ice, and then shows how at the bottom of ocean and lake the removed materials are spread out and again compacted into rock masses. Then come the volcanic rocks, the lavas and ash deposits, and their share in building up the framework of our globe; and, lastly, in this section, what were originally metamorphic rocks, altered to sedimentary rocks and an account of all their leading forms. Professor Green holds the later views regarding granite, believing it to be only the ultimate result of metamorphism. Generally, of course, he follows the uniformitarian school of geology, but, like most of our younger men, realises more than Sir Charles Lyell did the possibility, not to say probability, that existing forces were more active and powerful in the days when the earth was young. To these forces he assigns the chief place in causing the irregularities of strata indicated by the terms dip, displacement, folding, unconformity, and faults. In this portion one of the chief excellences of the work comes out, namely, the clearness and yet conciseness of its definitions of geologic terms.

The book closes with a short chapter or two on the bearing of the facts recorded in the speculations of geology; and in these matters the writer, remembering that this is a student's handbook, indicates his preferences rather than affirms strong opinions; but his evident leaning towards the secular theory is a fresh proof of the hold Mr. Croll's book, 'Climate and Time,' has taken on geologists. This analysis will give our readers some idea of the scope of this important work. It is not a book to take up to wile away an idle hour, but if any one wishes to know the direction in which geologic science is tending, and the enormous mass of facts by which its conclusions are sustained, he cannot do better than give it a most careful reading.

Zoology for Students. By C. CARTER BLAKE. Daldy, Isbister, and Co.

The worst part of this book is the portion of its title page which says, 'with a Preface by Richard Owen,' when that preface is nothing that Professor Owen has written for the book, but merely consists of extracts chosen by the writer from one of the Professor's previously delivered lectures. This is so novel a mode of attaching a well-known name to the title-page of a book, that it may be hoped that to draw to it a little public attention may nip the practice in the bud. And in this instance it was quite unnecessary, for to say

nothing of the position Dr. Blake has won as a careful lecturer and able man of science, the book is a really good one, well up to the present position of the science, and, on the whole, as a handbook should be, is kept to what has actually been ascertained. One exception to this should be stated: the writer divides man into two species,—*homo sapiens* and *homo afer*, the latter comprising the Australian and negro races, and this without a hint that the great majority of our scientific authorities, Richard Owen amongst them, take the other view. We do not complain of Dr. Blake advocating his own opinion, nor can we here discuss it, but we do say that in the present state of this question a handbook for students ought to have given some account of the more generally received belief. But in spite of this bad beginning of the book, we can honestly praise it on the whole; and when the former secretary of the now defunct London Anthropological Society gets off his hobby he becomes a safe, almost a conservative, guide.

Lectures on some Recent Advances in Physical Science. By P. G. TAIT, M.A. (formerly Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge), Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Macmillan and Co.

This is a work of the highest order, written in a plain and popular style, by one who is well known as holding a position among the first physicists of the age. The author explains, in his preface, that these lectures are published almost as they were delivered extempore, and he adds that his work must in no sense whatever be regarded as a finished production. It is, nevertheless, an important contribution to science, as a treatise in which the position of physical knowledge up to the latest time is sketched by the hand of a master, and the subtle laws of heat, force, motion, matter, and the phenomena of the spectrum analysis, are expounded with singular clearness, in spite of the abstruse nature of the subject.

In the introductory chapter (p. 6) he advances the grand, but bold, proposition that science must be based *entirely* upon experiment or mathematical deductions from experiment, and that *nothing* physical is to be learned from a *priori* reasoning. Among several fallacies which he mentions as still prevalent among even well-informed people, he gives as one example the belief that the motion of the heavenly bodies in the solar system is immutable, or, at best, liable only to secular changes of insignificant value. Whereas the truth is, he tells us (p. 9), that 'stability of the planetary system is impossible under present conditions.' And after some interesting, but disparaging, remarks on the apathy and credulity of most English inquirers after Newton, or, as he expresses it, 'the sad fate of Newton's successors,' he proceeds to tell us (p. 17) that 'it is only within comparatively recent years that it has been generally recognised that there is something else in the phy-

sical universe which possesses to the full as high a claim to objective reality as matter possesses, though it is by no means so tangible'—viz., Energy. This is a power constant in the universe; it can never be increased, diminished, or put out of existence by any means at our command; but on the conservation of energy the upholding of all life and all existing order depends.

We may here remark, as a curious fact, how near some of the ancient thinkers were to realising this doctrine, while yet they failed fully to do so. What, for instance, is the following passage (Cic. De Nat. Deor. ii. § 81), but a perception of the principle of energy (or force, in its common acceptance) in the universe?—'*Alii naturam esse censent vim quandam sine ratione, cipientem motus in corporibus necessarios.*' This, we can hardly doubt, is the *ἐντελέχεια* of Aristotle; 'the acting and efficient principle of all those things which exist potentially (*δυνάμει*),' as Donaldson explains, a somewhat obscure word (New Cratylus, § 343). For this 'irrational power,' as distinct from the Pantheistic doctrine of volition, lies at the bottom, if we mistake not, of the modern doctrine in question. It is not, like matter, incapable of being transmuted; but it can readily be transformed, and so adapted to the uses of man, though, in all its forms and phases, the *quantity present remains precisely the same* (p. 18).

In the chapter (lecture ii.) on 'The Early History of Energy,' the lecturer pays a high tribute to the prescient genius of Newton, in some of whose brief *dicta*, or 'laws,' he shows that no inconsiderable portion of modern science is by implication contained. Among the inquirers who did good service on this subject he mentions with praise Sir H. Davy, and he quotes a passage from his works, written in 1812, which shows 'to what an immense extent the science had been advanced in Davy's time' (p. 47). His discovery that the cause of heat was motion, and not in itself a form of matter, almost anticipated our present knowledge, although, the lecturer tells us, the statement remained long unnoticed.

A large portion of the present work is devoted to the transformation and transference of energy, that is to say, its change from one form into another, as from heat into motion in an engine, and its passage from the source into some other material, as the rays of the sun into the latent power stored up in our coal-fields.

The chapters on the spectrum analysis and the structure of matter are extremely interesting, and so lucidly written as to bring these difficult subjects within the comprehension of almost any well-informed and attentive reader. The nature of matter, he observes (p. 283), has exercised the intellects of philosophers from the very oldest times. The atomic theories of Democritus and Epicurus, and the *ἀπειρον*, or chaotic mass, of still earlier physicists, were ingenious, and had something of truth in them, Professor Tait, however, inclines to a new opinion of Sir William Thompson's (if we mistake not, Humboldt,

in his 'Cosmos,' makes use of a similar theory to account for the formation of the earth and planets), that matter is in effect that which becomes perceptible to our senses by a process of rotation or vortex motion (p. 294). He illustrates this by interesting experiments and an illustration (p. 292) showing that gas-rings may be formed and thrown off, so as to be not only visible, but to possess some kind of consistency.

The 'Conduction of Heat' (lecture xi.) is treated in reference to the gradual cooling of the crust of the earth, which, he elsewhere tells us (p. 167), as a mathematical calculation from ascertained data, may be fixed at a limit of about ten millions of years, beyond which period our globe would have been too hot to sustain any such organic life as has been found in a fossil state.

The volume altogether is most interesting, and no merely brief notice can do justice to its varied contents and the vast amount of scientific information it contains.

The Logic of Chance: An Essay on the Foundations and Province of the Theory of Probability, with especial reference to its Logical Bearings and its Application to Moral and Social Science. By JOHN VENN, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer on the Moral Sciences, Caius College, Cambridge. Second Edition, Rewritten and greatly Enlarged. Macmillan.

Mr. Venn disclaims in this work all attempts to treat the subject of Probability mathematically, and discusses it as a branch of the general science of evidence. He expresses his approval of Mr. Mill's exposition of the nature and foundation of the rules of probability in his 'System of Logic,' though he thinks it much too brief, and not wholly free from error (preface, p. 10). Probability, Mr. Venn says, is to be regarded as a portion of that province of logic which is *material* rather than *formal*, *i.e.*, which takes cognisance of the laws of things and not with the laws of thought about things. The subject, though generally uninviting, he is convinced 'can, and ought, to be rendered both interesting and intelligible to ordinary readers, who have any taste for philosophy.'

The subject, it must be confessed, is too technically treated to be readily understood by those not accustomed to metaphysical reasoning. Yet the bearing of the laws of probability, not only on the conduct of business in ordinary life, but in their relation to the trustworthiness of evidence on all our hopes for the future, is so important, that Mr. Venn is fully justified in lamenting that, 'by the general body of thinking men, its principles seem to be regarded with indifference or suspicion.' As a matter of fact, however, we all act upon probability. Every investment we make, every fluctuation in the price of Consols or Stocks, or of the markets, every calculation or rate of insurance, every average of mortality, is guided by the unfelt but surely acting laws of probability. What we speak of as 'demand and supply,' and so bring within the range of political economy,

is itself solely based on the laws of probability,—the likelihood, that is, that so much food or other material will be wanted, and that just so much, or more or less, will be supplied or imported. And these laws must produce in their operation that kind of certainty which fixes the exact price of a particular stock. This practically means that the majority of persons capable of judging have agreed that the chances of so much dividend being paid are capable of being estimated, and are purchased by them accordingly. The law, strange as at first sight it may seem, by which precisely the same number of births or deaths, or of houses burnt down, or of letters posted by mistake without any direction on them, is found annually to occur in a given total of very large amount, will be found to depend on some principle. The investigation, then, of this principle is of vast practical importance, and ought to be of corresponding interest to all.

'If,' says Mr. Venn (p. 3), 'I am told that some cows ruminate, and if I see a herd of cows, I should feel more sure that some of them were ruminant than I should of a single cow, and my assurance would increase with the numbers of the herd about which I had to form an opinion.' In truth, there really is no single act which we do without unconsciously having reference to probability. A certain number of people are killed by railway accidents or by being run over in the streets; a *certain* number, in the literal sense of the word: and therefore the insurance office, which issues your ticket for twopence or threepence, knows that it means that one person in every five millions *is* killed or hurt; while you, on your part, have your fears removed by *knowing* that it is the odds of five millions to one that you will *not* be killed; and you regard this as a practical certainty of safety. The gambler and the betting man make their fortunes by probability. It predominates in every resolution we form and every act that we do; yet few of us reflect that it is so, because we have been so accustomed to it as our rule of life that we cease to notice its influence upon us.

Mr. Venn asks (p. 4), 'What is the meaning of the statement that two children in three fail to attain the age of sixty-three! It certainly does not declare that, in any given batch of, say thirty, we shall find just twenty that fail,—it rather contemplates our examination of a large number, of a long succession of instances, and states that in such a succession we shall find a numerical proportion, not indeed fixed and accurate at first, but which tends in the long run to become so.' This he terms the law of *series*. Its truth depends on the fact that the *mean* taken in a very large number must always approximate to unity, simply because if what we call *chance* produces a more here and a less there, the excess tends to neutralise the deficiency more and more as the numbers of the series increase. If two persons count the eggs in a herring's roe, and one makes the total a million, the other nine hundred thousand, we must get a much

greater number of persons to count them, and the average between the highest and the lowest number will, to a certainty, be nearer to the truth exactly in proportion to the greater number of the counters.

In the chapter on the 'Rules of Inference in Probability,' Mr. Venn gives some simple algebraic formulæ by which risks are calculated, say of fire, death, accident, &c., such as are employed by accountants in the calculation of assurance rates. In that on 'Insurance and Gambling' he explains the application of these principles in a very clear and masterly manner. Mr. Venn does not speak very enthusiastically in favour of what is called 'the prudence of insuring.' He says (p. 412) it is simply 'to commute contingent great losses for certain small ones,' but he thinks that, in the case of a very large business, it becomes more doubtful. 'There does not, for instance, seem to be any reason why the owners of a large shipping business should insure, at least in peace time, and it is, I believe, the fact that our great steam-packet companies do not do so. The same remark would generally apply to the case of the owners of much house property scattered over different parts of a town.'

Other chapters are more technical in their nature; but the work as a whole is a very excellent one, and it will probably take and retain its place as the best manual on the subject.

Essays on the Endowment of Research. By Various Writers. Henry S. King and Co.

An attempt is made to give some kind of unity to this volume by classifying the various essays that compose it under the headings, first, of 'Principles,' and, second, 'Examples.' There is no further connection between them, however, than is due to the fact that they deal with different aspects of the same subject, and all bear upon the important question of the Endowment of Research. They will be found worth reading as contributions to the formation of a sound opinion on the subject, though no candid reader will say they settle it. The economic evils of endowments, and the dangerous side they offer in a community, are not slurred over; but there must be a good deal of further discussion before public opinion will be ripe for decisive utterance on this matter. In the meantime good will be done by pointing out, as the early essays in the volume do, the numerous imperfections of the present system of University fellowships, which the bill of Lord Salisbury will not permanently remedy, though it may be accepted as a temporary palliative. The sticklers for the letter of the wills of pious founders may derive profit from the second essay, on the 'Intentions of Founders of Fellowships,' which proves by extracts from the Oxford University Commissioners' Report that the promotion of study, and not the maintenance of sinecures or the provision of common instruction, was the object in view; and academical reformers ought to aim at recovering the fellowships for their original

destination. 'The money should be devoted to study, and study alone; enforced as a duty, and protected by adequate guarantees, but unencumbered by any obligation to impart common instruction.' The essays by Mr. Appleton, reprinted here, are well known, having excited considerable interest when they appeared in the 'Theological' and 'Fortnightly' Reviews, but they have, of course, been thoroughly revised. Among the 'Examples,' there is an excellent contribution on 'the Maintenance of the Study of the Bible,' which urges the necessity for adequate provision, through making possible leisurely research for the advancement of theological and critical inquiries at the English Universities. 'The Needs of Historical Sciences' and 'The Needs of Biology' are discussed in separate essays, and the volume closes with a paper on 'The present relations between classical research and classical education in England.'

Letters from Russia in 1875. By E. J. REED, C.B., M.P., &c. John Murray.

Mr. Reed is an authority on ironclads, and his views regarding the Russian navy and its fighting powers are, of course, valuable, and may be considered of peculiar interest at the present crisis in European affairs. As, however, these letters, which appeared in the 'Times,' were confessedly written in haste on a holiday ramble, and are reproduced without alteration, we confess it seems to us that Mr. Reed has been somewhat ill-advised in so readily complying with 'the many requests from friends and others for their republication.' If the information and views they contain are worth giving at all, it was surely worth Mr. Reed's while to bestow some little time upon their revision, and thus let us have the advantage of his mature views. As it is, the book is more like an attempted vindication of Mr. Reed himself against the attacks of personal adversaries and detractors, than a serious treatment of a question of grave moment to the English public.

Contemporary Evolution: An Essay on some Recent Social Changes. By ST. GEORGE MIVART. Henry S. King and Co.

This thoughtful work is a survey of the scientific and religious movements of the present age, with speculations as to the result, and warnings as to the tendencies of the views now so prevalent in the advanced thinkers of the day. The author is of opinion that a form of revived paganism has taken strong hold of many minds in that pantheistic view of nature-powers which science seems to them to unfold. He thinks the general aspect of affairs ominous, though he has no fear for the triumph of Christianity, or at least of Christian ethics, in the end. 'But the widespread break-up of definite religious systems' (he says, p. 9), 'accompanied by a more or less marked tendency to democracy in politics, which exists to-day, is generally allowed to be the expression of a spirit similar to, if not identical with, that which predomi-

nantly influenced the great French movement of the last century.'

The Aryan mind, the author well observes (p. 14), is predisposed to pantheistic theories, and, therefore, such views are the more liable at any time to break out among the thoughtful and educated. The anti-Christian developments of to-day are mainly due to men of culture and education, not generally intent upon a restoration of paganism nor consciously imbued with its spirit. The Spencerian philosophy, he thinks (p. 39), may some day be developed into a pagan cultus of the forces of nature and the Unknowable. The worship of the First Cause, as manifested in the material world alone, may supersede a belief in the supernatural and the miraculous to an extent which may startle the rationalist of to-day (p. 44).

The author treats his subject under the heads of Political, Scientific, and Philosophic evolution; to which is added a concluding chapter on *Æsthetic Evolution*, discussing the probabilities of a new style in architecture, music, sculpture, and what may be called the Church arts generally, to suit the requirements of our more advanced age.

The chapter on Political Evolution naturally expatiates on the attitude taken by the German Government in relation to the Church. Mr. Mivart holds that one of the glories of the mediæval Church was its recognition and defence of the rights of conscience, and he contrasts unfavourably the action of a secular Power which seeks to coerce it. 'There can be little doubt,' he concludes (p. 58), 'but that this tyranny will in time so arouse consciences in opposition to it that a separation between Church and State will have to be ultimately effected, and thus in Switzerland, as in France, England, and Spain, the Christian theocracy, on its old basis, will have ceased to exist.' But he thinks—and we may in this well agree with him—that the result will be 'to increase the coherence and strength of the Christian organism, and to give greater efficiency to its action by occasioning a series of internal integrating processes responsive to external disintegrating influences' (p. 131).

In his remarks on Scientific Evolution he urges that while physical science is more than ever studied by the laity, it is less and less studied by the clergy, from their increasing work and decreasing number. Hence there will be an increase in 'the already widespread belief in a real antagonism of reason between science and Christianity' (p. 135).

The chapter on Philosophic Evolution goes somewhat more deeply into metaphysics than some readers will care to enter. He concludes, however, that the course of general philosophy is favourable to Christianity rather than injurious to it (p. 217), and entertains hopes that a new and healthier aspect of religious life may yet prevail under its guidance and auspices.

Mr. Mivart's knowledge of modern history is great, and he uses it in a philosophic spirit, viz., by drawing analogies between the past

and the present. His work is well worth a careful perusal. The style is perhaps a little laboured and wanting in simplicity; but every page contains evidence of thought, and that the thought of a man both able and accustomed to think.

The Races of Mankind: being a Popular Description of the Characteristics, Manners, and Customs of the Principal Varieties of the Human Family. By ROBERT BROWN, M.A. Vol. IV. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

We have more than once, in the course of its issue, commended this very excellent popular work. It is now completed, the fourth volume treating of the Oriental races—the aborigines of India, the Hindoos, the Singalese, Mongol, Burmese, and the Chinese and the Turanian races.

The work is popularly done, but with competent knowledge. We know not where else general readers could acquire the knowledge of men and manners it affords. Thus to put into the hands of the million even rudimentary ethnographical knowledge—and Mr. Brown does a good deal more than this—is a great service to education and to civilisation.

The Five Senses of Man. By JULIUS BERNSTEIN, Professor of Physiology in the University of Halle. With Ninety-one Woodcuts. (Henry S. King and Co.) The senses of touch, sight, and hearing occupy by far the greater part of this volume, those of smell and taste being limited to a single sheet. This may be partly accounted for by the fact that the book does not pretend to originality, and that the author is a close follower of Weber and Helmholtz, who have done so much for the scientific study of the first group. For thorough students making optics or acoustics their specialty the exhaustive treatises of Helmholtz may be regarded as indispensable; but they are too elaborate and too full of mathematics for other readers, and there is therefore a necessity for such books as the one before us. Taking this as his standpoint, Professor Bernstein has done his work well, the subjects being treated both with clearness and conciseness. To justify the title which has been adopted, more attention should have been given to the senses of smell and taste, even though hitherto they have been less thoroughly studied than the three others, and perhaps may not afford the same scope for scientific investigation.—*A Class-Book of Chemistry, on the basis of the New System.* By EDWARD L. YOUNG, M.D. (Henry S. King and Co.) To call this a class-book is hardly correct, as the section devoted to descriptive chemistry is far too meagre to serve any practical purpose. Several of the elements, including even thallium, vanadium, and uranium, are omitted altogether. The relation of chemistry to the other physical sciences is treated much more fully, and so are the laws relating to the combination of the elements. The author attaches great im-

portance to the doctrine of quantivalence, and the expression of it on all occasions by the use of what are commonly known as rational formulæ. We do not wish to disparage this system, but we think that in a handbook of this character it is a needless refinement to classify the elements as Perissads and Artiads. We think, too, that it is a mistake to ignore systematically the familiar nomenclature in such cases as that of hydrochloric acid. A greater mistake is to associate with the alcohols of the scientific chemist a description of the spirituous liquors of the drinking-bar, the distinction between still and sparkling wines, and the particular merits of lager beer.—*The Origin of the Stars, and the Causes of their Motions and their Light*. By JACOB ENNIS, A.M. (Trübner and Co.) We are told, in an opening address, that this book has passed through four editions in the United States; we can only regret that so many persons should have wasted their money upon it as this fact would indicate. The author modestly confesses that he cannot compare himself with Newton, because he is weak in mathematics; but, nevertheless, he has the presumption to dispute the deductions of Thomson and Joule, and to offer to the acceptance of the public theories of his own on matters which can be handled only by profound mathematicians. The book indicates equal weakness in the logical faculty.—*The Revised Theory of Light*. Section I. The Principles of the Harmony of Colour. By W. CAVE THOMAS, Author of 'The Science of Moderation,' &c. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) A brief but thoughtful treatise, showing that light and colour are purely subjective, and that the phenomena of complementary colours are due to reactions in the nervous system by which an equilibrium in the retina is restored. This view of the matter is based upon a consideration of ocular spectra, which can easily be induced, and which, indeed, are constantly produced involuntarily, by looking successively at a bright object and a dark one. The author proposes that induced ocular spectra should be used by artists in regulating their choice of colour, both in regard to mass and tone; but this practical application is only lightly touched upon.—*Notes on the Climate of the Earth, Past and Present*. By Captain R. A. SARGEANT, R.E., Assoc. Inst. C.E. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) All geologists are agreed that great climatic changes have taken place in past ages; the evidences of this are beyond all dispute. Much difference of opinion has existed, however, as to the cause of these changes and the periods when they have taken place. Captain Sargeant reviews the various theories, and gives his reasons for considering the precession of the equinoxes combined with the varying eccentricity of the earth's orbit as the main causes of these climatic changes. He seems to be under the impression that their influences have been underrated. No doubt that is true if he is mentally looking back only a very few years, but we do not think it is the case now.—*Vivisection*. The Royal Society for the

Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and the Royal Commission. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) The Report of the Royal Commission on Vivisection, presented to Parliament in January last, together with the minutes of evidence on which it is based, forms too bulky a Blue-book to be generally read, even by those who have taken the matter up warmly. Nor will this condensation of it be found very enticing reading. The Society that has prepared it for publication is obliged to admit that widely divergent views on this question are held, even by the individual members of their own committee; and that the balance of medical testimony is decidedly in favour of the necessity of practising vivisection. The opinion of the most eminent surgeons as to the advisability or otherwise of any legislation on the subject seems to be almost evenly divided. In some cases the secretary has not maintained that judicial impartiality of expression which ought to characterise such a summary of evidence.—*Studies in Political Economy*. By ANTHONY MUSGRAVE, Governor of South Australia. (Henry S. King and Co.) These are intelligently written essays on some of the most common principles and facts of political economy, such as Money, Capital, Value, and Foreign Exchanges. The writer derives his claim to deal with them from the experience which twenty years of official life have given him. During that time, the public financial and economical questions with which he had to deal convinced him that facts and circumstances did not always coincide with what have been regarded as the well-established principles of political economy. The main error on which he dilates is the inconsistency of political economists in dealing with money, first of all, as a commodity, the same as other articles of exchange, and yet treating it subsequently as merely a 'circulating medium,' having no character of exchangeable property. The object of these essays is to trace the effects of this inconsistency, and the writer does this with clearness and force, and in a sufficiently interesting manner. The importance of the subject cannot be overrated, for the theoretical errors of the political economist directly affect commercial legislation and have important bearings on many branches of administrative action. We do not say we accept Mr. Musgrave's views; but they deserve to be carefully weighed even by those who may be regarded as competent students of political economy.—*Practical Educationists and their Systems of Teaching*. By JAMES LEITCH, Principal of the Church of Scotland Normal School, Glasgow. (Glasgow: James Maclehose.) Mr. Leitch has hit upon a good and fruitful idea. He delivered a course of lectures to the students under his training on the principal 'Practical Educationists and their Methods'—Locke, and his advocacy of private education; Pestalozzi, and his industrial and elementary schools; Bell and Lancaster, and their monitorial system; Wilderspin, and his infant schools; David Stow, and his normal school training; Herbert Spencer, and his advocacy of scientific teaching. A

large amount of useful information in its practical applications is thus supplied. Failures as well as successes educate us.—*How to Live Long; or, Health Maxims, Physical, Mental, and Moral.* By W. W. HALL, A.M., M.D. (Sampson Low and Co.) Dr. Hall gives us 1400 maxims whereby we may make the most and the best of life, enjoy in it what is truly the best, and enjoy them the longest—the moral maxims of the preacher and the physical maxims of the physician are both here in abundance.—*Shooting: its Appliances, Practice, and Purpose.* By JAMES DALZIEL DOUGALL. (Sampson Low and Co.) Mr. Dougall tells us that he has been for forty years a writer on field sports. He claims, therefore, to speak on 'shooting' with some authority. His book is a sportsman's book, written by a practical sportsman, and its aim is to furnish a handbook of practical information for all in the field. He treats first of the appliances of shooting—the gun, its different parts, and its varieties; ammunition; dogs; choice of ground; different kinds of game; the art of shooting; its physical benefits, &c. We do not profess to sit in judgment on Mr. Dougall's recommendations; we content ourselves with stating the scope of what appears to be a very intelligent and useful handbook.—*The Fern Paradise: a Plea for the Culture of Ferns.* By FRANCIS GEORGE HEATH. Second Edition. (Hodder and Stoughton.) It is a gratifying indication of popular taste that Mr. Heath's very pleasant book on fern culture has reached a second edition. If word of ours can induce our readers to get it, and to give themselves to the culture which it commends, we very heartily testify to its pleasantness and instructiveness.—*A Few Words of Advice on Travelling and its Requirements, addressed to Ladies.* By H. M. C. S. With short Vocabulary in French and German. (Hodder and Stoughton.) A little manual whose practical value is in inverse proportion to its size. Those unaccustomed to Continental travel, and at the mercy of casual recommendations, may save themselves much practical inconvenience and expense by following the sensible advice here given.—*Homes of the London Poor.* By OCTAVIA HILL. (Macmillan and Co.) A reprint of articles contributed to 'Macmillan's Magazine,' and other periodicals on 'Cottage Property in London;' 'Life in London Courts;' 'The Organisation of Charity,' &c. Miss Hill has consecrated herself with determination, vigour, and wisdom to the problem of the dwellings of the poor in London; one of the most difficult, as it is one of the most vital, questions of moral reform. Religion and morality are largely conditioned upon physical circumstances. Miss Hill's book deserves most earnest consideration by all classes of philanthropists. The results which she chronicles are as encouraging as her urgencies are wise and important.—*A Handbook of London Bankers, with some Account of their Predecessors the Early Goldsmiths, &c.* By F. G. INGRAM PRICE, F.G.S. (Chatto and Windus.) This is a book full of curious information, as

interesting to the historian and antiquary as it is useful to the business man. It is an account of the banks and bankers of London, alphabetically arranged dictionarywise for convenience of reference. The history of each bank is given, from its origin to the present day, so far as it is of any interest. And the accounts of some of the older banks, such as Childs's, Coutts's, Drummond's, &c., are full of interesting anecdote, connecting itself often with notable biographies. We have, however, looked for particulars of houses which we have been surprised not to find. Five lines are hardly a sufficient account of the disastrous failure of the Royal British Bank, or of the Albion Bank, or of the English Joint Stock Bank. Mr. Price has necessarily been restrained to such facts as a directory would contain in relation to existing houses; but concerning such as have ceased to exist he might have told us more. But it is ungracious to take exception to a volume got up with so much careful research, and affording so much and such curious information. We trust that a second edition will soon show further fruits of the editor's labour.—*The Book of Menus.* By FIN BEC, Author of 'The Epicure's Year Book,' &c. (Grant and Co.) Everybody knows that a perfect dinner is the highest achievement of civilisation. Nature and art, men and manners, contribute their best to it, and in most departments of their excellence; whether men eat to live or live to eat, the fact remains. Fin Bec has done all that, by precept and example, an accomplished *bon vivant* can do to reach this perfection—so far that is as the provision of the table is concerned. He aims to be a kind of English Carême, whose cooking probably influenced more than one European Congress. For digestion has much to do with both our wisdom and our grace. His book is, first, an epicure's almanack, setting forth for each month the dishes that are in season, with their respective adjuncts. Some of the entries in the calendar are odd, e.g., under March 13th, 'Sir T. N. Talfourd d. 1854. Woodcock last seen.' Whitebait, by the bye, is not young smelt, but only herring fry. Then he gives us a collection of menus, being those of diners actually given, from those of Royal and public diners to those of a modest social table and *diners maigres*. Wines have a chapter devoted to them, and sundry scraps of criticisms and quotations, from Jeremy Taylor to the 'Hour' newspaper, are added. We commend it to all whom it may concern; that is, to all who give dinners regardless of expense.—*Seven Letters concerning the Politics of Switzerland pending the Outbreak of the Civil War in 1847.* By GEORGE GROTE, Esq., Author of 'A History of Greece.' With the Addition of an Unpublished Letter, Written by the Author to M. de Tocqueville shortly after the Termination of the War. (John Murray.) This is a republication of several letters originally contributed by the distinguished author of the 'History of Greece' to the 'Spectator,' at a time when Switzerland was agitated by

questions similar to those which still engross the attention of her statesmen. Although the Sonderbund quarrel was local and temporary, the principles it illustrated are still operative, and the reflections of Mr. Grote are valuable, as setting forth the causes that brought about the struggle, and as explaining the political relations of the several members of the Swiss Republic. The contest between the clerical and lay elements is being waged in Switzerland now, as in other parts of Europe; and these letters may therefore be read as a contribution to the comprehension of a controversy that seems likely to go on for ever and to grow more intense with time. The concluding letter to M. de Tocqueville, which is new, sums up the controversy, and will be read with interest by all who concern themselves with the political and ecclesiastical disputes of the day.—*The Three Heavens*. By the Rev. JOSIAH CRAMPTON, M.A. (William Hunt and Co.) It is not easy to say whether Mr. Crampton's book belongs to the domain of science or to that of theology. In the first two sections of it, the 'World of Air' and the 'World of Stars,' we have a good deal of popular scientific information, but presented on its religious side. In the third part, the 'Heaven of Heavens,' we are of course transferred to the domain of pure theology, but it stretches its tendrils towards science, if haply science may furnish it a stem round which to climb. Is there, as revealed or indicated by science, any domain in space which is probably or possibly the heaven of God and of immortal souls? To such a query science has of necessity no answer; and whether God's heaven be a place or a state only, so far remains unanswered. Mr. Crampton's book has interest as a popular summary of atmospheric and astronomical science, but its value to theology is not great, scientific fact and theological teaching not being discriminated with sufficient precision.—*The Argonaut*, edited by GEORGE GLADSTONE, F.R.G.S., &c. (Hodder and Stoughton), has a very miscellaneous table of contents. Its papers have, characteristically, a scientific cast. Every topic is discussed with reverence as well as intelligence. It is a kind of magazine in which intelligent young people will find much to gratify and instruct them.

POETRY, FICTION, AND BELLES LETTRES.

Myths and Songs of the South Pacific. By the Rev. W. WYATT GILL, B.A., of the London Missionary Society. With a Preface by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford. Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. Wyatt Gill proves himself a missionary of the true type. To gain the better access for Christianity he has set himself to study and to understand the earlier modes of feeling and habits of thought of the people of the

South Pacific. This, accompanied with true human interest, has often been found the best mode of conciliating heathen people. These myths are interesting for two reasons in particular: first, they show how, even in the remotest corners of the earth, certain primitive and fundamental ideas reappear—ethnic ideas they may be called; and, next, how, scattered through these, stray reflections of the highest truth become visible the more closely we look. If there is much here to cause distraction to the scientific mythologist bent on reducing everything to hard and fast system, there is certainly much to cheer the believer, if he will but for a moment take the wise point of view of, say, the late Mr. Maurice. The whole section here given relating to Maui the Firebringer is most suggestive, and may well be contrasted with other myths having a like purpose. Then, again, in Ina the Fairy Voyager there is much that will be found to suggest some of the most beautiful fancies of Greek mythology, though running into the most *outré* variations; while certainly it is surprising to find the story of the Deluge and the idea of sacrifice so distinctly enunciated. 'The Polynesian name for God,' says Mr. Gill, 'expresses a great truth.' The continued existence of the human spirit after death is implied in 'the torments' in the beautiful allegory of Veetini. The cruel system of human sacrifice is but a perversion of ancient truth. The common origin of mankind is taught in the contrast between 'the fair-haired children of Tangaroa' and the dark-haired children of Rongo, both the offspring of Great Vatea. The Mangaian idea of the spirit-world is at once quaint and grand, though it does not relieve itself from a certain childlike localism; but the conception of the manner in which the sky was raised up—for at first it pressed closed down upon the earth—is at once most primitive and imaginative. These legends have the freshness of the virgin earth, the odour of unwrought soil, and will be read with great relish by all interested in legends and mythic lore. To students, the various points of contact with classical myths will be all the more interesting that Mr. Gill can inform us that 'whilst collecting my myths, I put away from me all classical mythology, being afraid that unconsciously I might mould these Polynesian stories into similarity with those of Greece and Rome.' Professor Max Müller accepts these stories as a warning against exclusive theories—for neither a theory of fetishism, nor a theory of nature-worship, nor of ancestor-worship will exhaust them. 'There is fetishism,' he says, 'there is ancestor-worship, there is nature-worship, whether of trees or serpents, of mountains or rivers, of clouds and meteors, of sun, and moon, and stars, and the vault of heaven; there is all this, and there is much more than all this, wherever we can watch the early growth of religious ideas; but what we have to learn is, first of all, to distinguish, to study, each religion, each mythology, each form of worship by itself, to watch them during successive periods of their growth and

decay, to follow them through different strata of society, and, before all, to have each of them, as much as possible, studied in their own language. . . . Parts of mythology are religious, parts of mythology are historical, parts of mythology are metaphysical, parts of mythology are poetical; but mythology, as a whole, is neither religion, nor history, nor philosophy, nor poetry. It comprehends all these together under that peculiar form of expression which is natural and intelligible at a certain stage, or at certain recurring stages, in the development of thought and speech, which, after becoming traditional, becomes frequently unnatural and unintelligible.'

Any way, Mr. Wyatt Gill's book is to be heartily welcomed as a most intelligent and conscientious endeavour to show what heathen mythology in the South Pacific really was.—and as such it is equally interesting to the comparative mythologist, the theologian, and the literary student; for, as Mr. Max Müller well adds, 'it contains much that in itself will deeply interest all those who have learned to sympathise with the childhood of the world, and have not forgotten that the child is father of the man; much that will startle those who think that metaphysical conceptions are incompatible with downright savagery; much also that will comfort those who hold that God has not left Himself without a witness even among the lowest outcasts of the human race.'

It should be added that the publishers have done their utmost to make the volume tasteful and elegant.

The She-King; or, The Book of Ancient (Chinese) Poetry. Translated in English Verse by JAMES LEGGE, D.D., LL.D. Trübner and Co.

The 'She-King' consists of odes or ballads, made during the eighteenth and the sixth century before Christ, that is from Joseph to Josiah; begun upwards of a thousand years before the date assigned to Homer, and completed when the Greeks had just begun to write and read; collected, edited, and prefaced at about the period of the Kings of Rome, and centuries before our ancestors adopted woad as a pretence for clothes.

These three hundred relics represent the Chinese provincial poetry of that twelve hundred years which ended twice twelve hundred years ago; when European populations lived in small communities in crannoges and caves, though China had for ages been the cultivated home of men well skilled in government, in liberal arts, in poetry, and possibly in war. The kings of Chow, the embryo of China, 'had, in their progresses, the odes of tributary States presented to them, "that they might judge from them of the manners of the people," and to come to a decision regarding the government and morals of their rulers.' Confucius called these poems,—'Thought without depravity.' They were collected and preserved for the promotion of good government and virtuous

manners;' and though a certain few of them would scarcely lead directly to this object, these perhaps were introduced artistically to obtain effect by contrast. 'The merit of the poems is that they give us faithful pictures of what was good and what was bad in the political state of the country and in the social habits of the people.' The odes of the different States were collected by the music-masters who attended their princes at each royal rendezvous, and there presented the provincial odes to their superior, the music-master of the royal court. The odes were not intended then for mere calm reading; they were to be sung; and this must be remembered when the reader takes in hand the present metrical translation. These are the actual poems we are told and not others made by paraphrase from them. 'If the dress be English, the voice is always Chinese.'

The odes do not in many cases rise above a very primitive simplicity. Their chief interest is in the pictures they afford of social manners; 'but there are not a few pieces which may be read with pleasure from the pathos of their descriptions, their expression of natural feeling, and the boldness and frequency of their figures;' and very early in the volume, at pp. 85, 94, 95, 104, and 105, for instance, we have found poems of striking beauty, which, if space allowed us, we should have very greatly gratified our readers by transcribing.

The subjects of the poems are of curious variety. One is,—'Celebrating the Industry and Dutifulness of King Wan's Queen.' Another is in 'Praise of a Rabbit Catcher as fit to be a Prince's Mate.' There is a long ode 'containing various counsels which Duke Woo of Wei made to admonish himself when he was over his ninetieth year;—especially on the duty of a ruler to be careful of his outward demeanour, and to receive with docility instructions delivered to him;' and 'a lively picture of the license and drunkenness of his times,' also by Duke Woo. There is a remarkable prayer by King Seuen (800 B.C.) on the occasion of a drought; and, in a few lines, 'King Ching acknowledges that he had erred, and states his purpose to be careful for the future; he will guard against the slight beginnings of evil, and is penetrated with his own incompetence.' The collection gives a very favourable impression of the social and political and intellectual condition of these ancient men of Chow. They were industrious, considerate, and careful. Horticulture seems to have been their chief national delight; and the poetic references to millet, mulberry, medlar, mallow, pond-weed, cress, &c., and their anxiety, continually expressed, about their families, their parents, and their homes, reveal the stationary habits and domestic character that made these people the firm nucleus of the nationality that now includes one-third of human kind.

We venture to commend this book of Chinese odes to English readers. Confucius, the sage, declared that,—'A man ignorant of

them was like one who stands with his face towards a wall, limited in his views, and unable to advance.' We, therefore, have most gratefully to tender thanks to Dr. Legge for having, by his learned and valuable work, endeavoured to relieve us from so very hopeless and perplexing a condition. We conclude by giving a short piece in which 'Chwang Këang bemoans the supercilious treatment which she received from her husband' (pp. 80, 81):—

Fierce is the wind and cold,
And such is he.
Smiling he looks, and bold;
Speaks mockingly.
Scornful and lewd his words,
Haughty his smile.
Bound is my heart with cords
In sorrow's coil.

As cloud of dust wind-blown,
Just such is he.
Ready he seems to own,
And come to me.
But he comes not nor goes;
Stands in his pride.
Long, long, with painful throes
Grieved, I abide.

Strong blew the wind; the cloud
Hastened away.
Soon dark again, the shroud
Covers the day.
I wake, and sleep no more
Visits my eyes.
His course I sad deplore
With heavy sighs.

Cloudy the sky and dark;
The thunders roll.
Such outward signs well mark
My troubled soul.
I wake, and sleep no more
Comes to give rest.
His course I sad deplore
In anguished breast.

King Erik. By EDMUND W. GOSSE. Chatto and Windus.

Mr. Gosse has written a tragedy of singular power. In spite of a certain effusiveness, which has been encouraged by rather too deep a devotion to some near influences, he, like Mr. Morris, gives us the impression of having *lived* in the remote times he pictures. We feel, in reading many passages of this poem, as if the 'loud voices' of the present had been heard by him but from afar. There is a dreamy grace and sweetness, and yet now and then a certain decided dramatic touch in dealing with character, which gives us great hope of splendid work from him in the future. His Danish King Erik is a truly fine conception, and is touched just sufficiently with a remote suggestion of refinement, struggle, and divided aims to make him really attractive to modern readers. It is in the conflict of a certain inherited barbarian influence with these higher tendencies that Mr. Gosse really finds—as we presume he intended to find—the truly tragic character-elements of his drama. Here we have the King surrendering himself to deeds such as his ancestors

would have done in perfectly cold blood; but, unlike them, he is swept up in a surging emotion that demands casuistical satisfactions for the conscience in Church rites, and so on; justifying thus his aspirations to infect his people with desires after a higher civilisation and nobler forms of life. The Queen, too, is deeply interesting by virtue of her beauty and the influence she exerts on King Erik. The presence of Grimur, the Danish poet, is also well contrived. Into his mouth are put some of the most memorable songs and speeches. His hopeless love for the Queen is a point that is made good use of for emotional effect, and this little song, which Grimur sings just before he passes away, is so touching and beautiful that we must quote it:—

'Autumn closes
Round the roses,
Shatters, strips them head by head.
Winter passes
O'er the grasses,
Turns them yellow, brown, and red;
Can a lover
E'er recover
When his summer love is dead?
Yet the swallow
Turns to follow
In the northward wake of spring,
To refashion
Wasted passion
With a sweep of his dull wing,
As returning
Love flies burning
To those stricken lips that sing.'

We regret that we cannot find space to go into more detailed examination of this poem—a work which strikes us as shadowing distinct genius of a rare type. The mixture of dreamy lyric passionateness with real dramatic perception is very far from common, and, in Mr. Gosse's case, results in something almost unique. One does not need to do more than to open the volume and read the 'Dedication to Robert Browning' to see in how masterly a manner he can use difficult metres; the patient study of the drama itself is needful to show his skill in construction, his variety of resource, and grace of expression. In some of the songs, we must say, there is rather too much of the echo of another voice; but, generally, the blank verse is sweet, fluent, mellow, and distinctly individual.

Exotics: A Translation of the Spiritual Songs of Novalis, the Hymn-book of Luther, and other Poems from the German and Italian. By GEORGE MAC DONALD. Strahan and Co.

Mr. Mac Donald's devotion to Novalis deserves a fuller reward than we fear it will obtain. He has for a quarter of a century persevered in his aim to give to English readers a complete translation of Novalis; and this rendering of the '*Spiritual Songs*' is a further instalment. But much as Novalis deserves to be known in his integrity, his extreme refinement and mysticism do not recommend him widely to English tastes: it is

but a limited circle to whom he will appeal. But he will always command a choice audience, and Mr. Mac Donald's versions, we do not doubt, will direct not a few ingenuous seekers to the fountain-head. We cannot but regard it as unfortunate that Mr. Mac Donald set out so rigidly with a determination to reproduce the double, or feminine, rhymes, which are so plenteous in German, so sparse in English. He has through this occasionally been stiffer than there was need for, and in one or two cases has not improved on his earlier versions. This is especially the case, as we think, with that exquisite song, 'Who in his chamber sitteth lonely,' and it is almost laughable to find that, after Mr. Mac Donald's avowal in favour of feminine rhymes, he has to renounce them and confess the failure at the Fifth Song, and that he lapses now and then afterwards. But that Fifth Song we regard as the most masterly piece of work of the whole.

'Sacred boon to old desire's rogation,
Sweet love in Divine transfiguration ;'

which is a rendering of—

'Alter Sehn, sucht heilige Gewahrung,
Susse Lieb' in Göttlicher Verklarung,'

in the Second Song, which we cannot regard as wholly escaping from our criticism of stiffness resulting entirely from adherence to double rhymes. The versions of Luther's hymns are quaint, strong, and very faithful; and those from Heine and others are graceful and finished. Altogether it is a volume which will be greatly prized by those who at all care for such things, and they, we trust, are an ever-increasing community.

The Tragedy of Israel. By FRANCIS GEORGE ARMSTRONG, M.A., Professor of History and English Literature in the Queen's College, Cork. Part III.—'King Solomon.'

Professor Armstrong has now finished his great drama of 'Israel.' He had many difficulties to contend with: the disposal of so much in separate episodes, *connected* yet not yielding easily to *connected* dramatic treatment, rendering it necessary for him to have recourse to expedients rather out of keeping with the severity of the Hebrew story. But he has, in this respect, exercised great judgment; and, long as it is, his work will bear careful reading and study as a whole. The blank verse is generally admirable; now and then, though without sacrificing broad dramatic consistency, it rises into real music. 'King Solomon' opens with an account of the building of the Temple, told dramatically by Hiram to the King of Tyre; after which we follow Solomon step by step, the great tendencies of his course well foreshadowed and revealed, till at length, with a divided and strongly assailed kingdom, he falls, and his body is carried out before us. There is a certain lofty and sustained consistency in Professor Armstrong's conception; he never actually violates dramatic truth, though he does sometimes slip into purely modern tone,

as in the following, put into Solomon's mouth just before the curtain falls:—

'For our own selves change,
And fade in air, and other selves are born
Out of our quick decay ; and memory
Is fitful as the nightfly's gleam ; and *nothing*
Binds past with now but a frail gossamer.'

Poems. By EMILY PFEIFFER, Author of 'Gerard's Monument.' Strahan and Co.

Mrs. Pfeiffer has remarkable powers of thought, undoubted faculty of seizing the specific forms in which some of the doubts and difficulties bred of excessively exercised speculative faculties take shape at present, and a ready metrical facility, not always, however, so chastened as it might be. It strikes us as that, in some cases, the intellectual struggle shows too barely and crudely through the imaginative form; and we feel that, in one instance, at least, the poem, in spite of well-directed effort, absolutely fails, from this cause, in producing any high imaginative impression. The climax, because of the lack of real harmony between matter and form, is something of an anti-climax. But no one could doubt, after reading the 'Hymn to the Dark Christmas of 1874' and the first four sonnets, that Mrs. Pfeiffer has it before her, as a possibility, to give permanent voice to some of the more persistent, because subtler, intellectual conflicts that are at this time being waged. The 'Crown of Song' has some powerful stanzas, but it is vitiated as a whole by over-rhetorical turns and by bad rhymes and artificial expedients which destroy what should, in such a poem, produce the impression of earnest simplicity. Such rhymes as 'dawning' and 'morning' are not good, though they have the high sanction of so great a metrist as Mr. Swinburne. Even in the sonnets Mrs. Pfeiffer not seldom fails—rhyming such words as 'short' with 'thought,' which will grate on certain ears. Of the minor poems and love poems we are not enraptured; they are full of that over-lusciousness, and evident lack of correspondent experience, which relegates them at once to an inferior class. We cannot help expressing our surprise that Mrs. Pfeiffer, with so much good work in the book, should have given to poor trifles like these so great a prominence. One or two even of the sonnets are injured by an over-strained realism.

The Soldier of Fortune: a Tragedy. By LEICESTER WARREN, Author of 'Philoctetes,' &c. Smith, Elder and Co.

Mr. Leicester Warren has written a tragedy which contains many fine passages. It is hardly, however, equal to some of his former works in respect of construction and finish. He is often diffuse, and falls into the fatal error of allowing his personages to slip into the same style. Now and then, too, he is purely rhetorical, as when, near the opening, the Queen of the old King Sigismund is welcoming him on the anniversary of their marriage, the speech passes into the merest conceits—the one flowing out of the other and

filling many blank verse lines. The motive of the tragedy is the effort of a soldier of fortune to gain the throne by marrying the king's daughter, to whom, after having secured his aim, he would seem to be untrue; and his falseness to her precipitates his ruin. The domestic interest and the national interest are made to turn on each other with fine effect, and there can be no doubt of the high lesson Mr. Leicester Warren would fain teach. Some of the dialogues between the adventurer and the girl he has seduced are masterly, and, if they occasionally fail in the reality and the directness we expect in dramatic work, they certainly show fine imagination and true poetic fervour. Even yet, with some condensation this tragedy might be made a powerful work—for, as it is, it gives a vivid idea of the condition of German Court life at the end of the sixteenth century.

The Temple. Sacred Poems and Private Ejulations. By GEORGE HERBERT. Being a Facsimile Reprint of the First Edition. With an Introduction by the Rev. ALEXANDER B. GROSART. Elliott Stock.

Mr. Stock's new facsimile reprint is of singular interest. George Herbert, when dying, according to Isaak Walton, delivered to good Mr. Edmund Duncan the manuscript of 'The Temple,' the date Mr. Grosart proves to be February 1633. Nicholas Ferrar seems to have printed a few copies of the little book, without date, for the use of immediate friends. Of these only a single copy is known—that from which, by the kindness of its owner, Henry Hull, Esq., this facsimile has been made. With the exception of the title page, however, the first and second editions of 1633 are identical; the thirteenth edition was published in 1709.

This is strictly a facsimile—in type, paper, binding,—photography having been employed in its reproduction.

Mr. Stock deserves the hearty thanks of all Bibliophilists for thus enabling them so cheaply to see what the first editions of famous books were like.

Hymns and Chants. By GEORGE RAWSON. Hodder and Stoughton.

This volume will be welcomed by those who have for many years prized the most popular and precious of the hymns contained in it. The well-known 'Evening Hymns' are worthy of a high place among the sweetest and devoutest of the anthology to which they belong. The trumpet-note of praise which the author has taught multitudes to sound over the open grave, commencing,—

'Ye principalities and powers
That never tasted death,
Witness, from off your heavenly towers,
Our act of Christian faith,'

is more than a hymn, and its grand sentiment atones for certain inaccuracies of rhyme. The 'Litany to the Comforter,' the two 'Saturday Evening Hymns,' and several versions of the Psalms, will, we think, have an abid-

ing-place in our hymnology. The tones of triumph and the sweet music of humble love, the awe and the reverence, blended in a Divine familiarity with God, enriched here and there by a touch of daring mysticism, will raise this volume high in the class to which it belongs. Many of the pieces, which are here for the first time published, are quite equal to the well-known compositions to which we have referred. The Ascension hymn contains some touches of lofty fancy, and requires special music to develop it. Several of the 'miscellaneous' verses have in them the true poetic ring. We are heartily glad that the author, whose name was so long withheld from his productions, has been induced to offer us so rich a feast of intellectual and spiritual refreshment.

The King's Sacrifice, and other Poems. Smith, Elder, and Co.

The author assures us that we have in this volume 'the fruit of mature life,' that though some of his 'early work' has been admitted, he has only withheld his revising hand when he felt that he 'had nothing to hope from additional labour.' He does not altogether 'hope to escape the accusation of obscurity,' but 'that there is a sufficient number of pages free from every suspicion of this fault.' We are sorry to say we have tried to find them, but failed. We have had the suspicion repeatedly forced upon us that the author, who is evidently well read and highly cultured, must, like the author of 'Firmilian,' have been playing a solemn joke upon the Spasmodic school, intending to show us how incomprehensible jerks and explosions, with the assistance of endless asterisks, hyphens, chopped-up lines, abrupt transitions, and here and there dazzling jewellery of Oriental, Mediæval, or Mexican manners can be taken for poetical sentiment or historic or dramatic art. There are here and there bits of description which show that the author could have been explicit if he had taken more trouble in being so. These happy intervals are, however, too like the real common sense and verisimilitude which now and then surprise us in the memory of a dream, before and after which all returns to blank chaos. Perhaps the most lucid, interesting, and highly wrought passage in the volume is the description of the youth of the Bride of the Dread King, in the 'King's Sacrifice;' but there are lines in it which, after reading many times, we cannot construe, or in the least understand. Doubtless, like riddles solved, they are as clear as daylight to the author; but he ought to have had pity on us.

Greenwood's Farewell, and other Poems. By the Earl of SOUTHBESK. Strahan and Co.

Unless the reader keeps well in view the distinguishing dramatic intention of the earlier and longer poems in this volume, he may be somewhat inclined to find fault with the predominant realism of separate expressions—amounting occasionally almost to coarseness. But the author is fully alive to this

possible criticism, as it seems to us; and we should be inclined to say that he himself owes more to fine spiritual conceptions than would appear on the surface. We, at all events, are disposed to regard the first three poems as being informed by a distinct purpose, in which the contrast between the three characters lies rather in the effect which has been brought about by influences of a certain order, than in anything strictly personal. 'Ben Dixie' and 'Pigworm' may be taken as studies of men who, originally of no very keenly contrasted traits, find a very different destiny in life, because of their surrender to contrasted influences. And this, it seems to us, is communicated without any effusiveness such as would disturb the realistic strain of the confession in each case, so that we really have a narrative which is now and then, perhaps, a shade too prosaic in its turns, associated with the most mystical suggestions. All this the reader will soon discover for himself in the reading. Now and then we come on a bit of picture which is peculiarly fresh and graceful, yet true and in keeping. Take this for instance:—

'Then I paced up and down; till observing a door
In the wall, just in front of the cottage—
(grown o'er
With thick ivy and woodbine, and partly o'er-laid
By two larches, where chaffinches flutter'd and play'd,
Partly hid by old laurels)—I lifted the latch;
Lo! a small shelter'd garden, most cunning to catch
Every ray of the sun, yet to baffle the storm;
Very open and airy, tho' quiet and warm.
There were gooseberries, raspberries, currants,
and pease;
There were fuchsias and lilies, and roses like trees;
And a walk hedged with heather, more bloomy than neat,
Led you down to an arbour—a rustical seat.
Half imbedded in creepers; this scarce could be seen
For a cairn of white quartzes which stood like a screen,
Pleasant herbs, mosses, ferns, in its crevices grew,
And its crest was of juniper mingled with yew.'

Of the shorter poems some are evidently youthful, some are simple rustic ditties, others again, for lightness, come close to the border of *vers de société*. There is considerable range of subject, sometimes sweet rhythmical effects, and a bold descriptive quality unmistakable, as in 'The Wanderer of Clova,' where we see the faculty of associating pictures with suggestions of half tragical human interest. This, too, is the character of 'The German Tower Keeper.' 'Roselip and Cherry' is very bright and piquant. In 'Ydel Spelling' we have something of the quaintness and simplicity of the old German ballad. One or two of the very short poems have a delicate half-Heine-like touch, as in this, 'November Snow.'—

'The snow upon the rose-flow'r sits,
And whitens all the spray;
Sweet Robin-Redbreast o'er it flits,
And shakes the snow away.

The snow upon my life-bloom sits,
And sheds a dreary blight;
Thy spirit o'er my spirit flits,
And crimson comes for white.'

The Hand of Ethelberta. A Comedy in Chapters. By THOMAS HARDY, Author of 'Far from the Madding Crowd,' &c. Smith, Elder and Co.

Mr. Hardy has here most successfully entered on a new field. His sub-title really describes his work—it is a comedy. Let no one, however, run away with the idea that there is no *purpose* in it. It is one of the most masterly pieces of satire we have recently read; and, in one point of view, the satire is made to *tell* all the more by the very elements of improbability which have been so much spoken of. What we mean is that the improbability of incident and situation which is, in some sort, essential to the work—assumed and rendered distinctly evident *in intention* at the very outset—is made to harmonise with a certain probability and consistency of character, which indicate rare psychological insight and power of analysis. Yet Mr. Hardy contrives to conceal his processes so well that, although it is quite clear he has constructed 'Ethelberta' completely 'out of his own head,' the careful reader is puzzled; and he is puzzled with just such contradictions as are often felt in close contact with real characters. We may have momentary twinges of disbelief in her as a real person, precisely as we have sometimes in the personages of Hawthorne, or in such creations as the Gwendolen Harleth of George Eliot; but it suffices that we cannot help being *interested* in her, and that, through the sentiment with which Mr. Hardy endues her, she gives a unity to all the *outré* and improbable scenes depicted. A certain effective relief is thus gained, as well as contrast of light and shade, between which the various personages of the drama flit, taking on the most surprising tints and colours, as the atmosphere suddenly and rather capriciously changes. Here Mr. Hardy's art is clearly seen, and differentiates his work once for all from what might be called the mere light society satire such as we have frequently had from Mr. Mortimer Collins and Mr. Francillon. Ethelberta is the daughter of a butler, and has been stealthily married to the son of Sir Arthur and Lady Petherwin, to whose daughter she was governess. Petherwin dies on their wedding trip. The young widow is forgiven, and taken in hand by Lady Petherwin. But when that lady dies she is left unprovided for, and has to find a means of making her own living. This she does, still maintaining all the dignity she had shown whilst under the wing of Lady Petherwin. Mr. Hardy clearly means us to accept Ethelberta as a woman in whom passion is controlled by reason, but in whom, for her salvation from becoming a low and

shameless calculator, reason needs a sentiment to stay itself upon. Ethelberta, in order to elevate her family, sacrifices herself—in the first place surrendering Mr. Julian, whom she really loved, to her little sister Picotée; and then,—what is a yet sterner demand on a woman's aspiration,—in the end, marries an old *roué*, Lord Mountclere. The 'comedy' of the story results from the peculiar positions into which she and her family are thus occasionally thrown. The picture of her father hearing her poems praised as he waits at table, not to speak of his waiting on his own daughter when visiting at the house where he is a servant, is very powerfully done, and there is a certain accent of tragedy in the account of the father's breaking down and committing himself when he first heard the guests discussing Ethelberta's marriage with Lord Mountclere. Ethelberta, it may well be said, had a passion for distinction; but this is skillfully qualified at every point by the determination to avail herself at no point of any gratification which would shut her out from her family, whom yet, in their interest more than in her own, she must not openly recognise. Her scheme of having all her family beside her as servants is conventionally the absurdest, yet not out of keeping with the mingled calculation and sentiment of the character as *conceived* by Mr. Hardy. We have had many portraits of the adventuress pure and simple, from Lady Audley downwards; the elements which so distinctly separate Ethelberta from these go very directly to complicate the problem for Mr. Hardy, and his success is the more memorable on that account, since he has appropriated much of their interest.

As to the satirical drift of the novel there can be no doubt that Mr. Hardy had it in his mind to satirise the hold which false conventional ideas exercise over society,—the hollowness, the pretence, and general hypocrisy of fashionable life,—no less than the idea that good breeding and perfection of manner are the monopoly of the high born, and in fact belong to blood. Amid the many temptations to run into digression which this secondary purpose presented, Mr. Hardy has wisely kept close to his central interest, never letting the reader forget that the 'Hand of Ethelberta' is the main interest of the story. So, to his many qualifications, he adds the art of construction, leaving no loose threads on his tapestries. The word is, in one way, not inapt. The 'Hand of Ethelberta' is in one respect a novel of manners, but it adds to that a rare order of humour which is at once serious and grotesque, not seldom giving one the impression of looking at a picture or at a play rather than at scenes in real life. But, then, it is a picture or a play which has its basis in a deep and consistent perception of life and its issues, so deep and consistent, indeed, that the very playfulness of the mood adds to the tragic effect in the *dénoûment*, and emphasises such wonderfully real and piquant touches of nature as that of Picotée's behaviour while watch-

ing for Mr. Julian, and such graphic and realistic portraiture as that of Mr. Julian's sister. The cross purposes, the conflicting claims, the little casuistical deceptions of our petty everyday life, which so tend to drug the conscience and to annihilate the grander ideals, are here held up to view by a master who, though he sees them clearly, retreats from the cynical view as from the brink of a precipice, and recovers safe standing ground in the idea of self-abnegation, however confused the intellectual guidings which prompted it. Mr. Hardy has in this novel made a good claim to be considered, with Thackeray, a teacher, if not of the greater then certainly, of some of the minor moralities.

The Dilemma. By the Author of 'The Battle of Dorking.' Three Vols. William Blackwood and Sons.

A novel of the Indian Mutiny by Colonel Chesney naturally excites great interest. Nothing can be abler than the descriptions of the second volume, especially those of the siege of the Residency of Mustaphabad. They have all the literalness and precision of a military report. Even a plan of the Residency is given. This is both an excellence and a defect, a defect inasmuch as the consciousness of the soldier hinders the delineation of the artist. It produces the effect of one of Defoe's descriptions, and becomes so realistic in its precise details that we are beguiled into the feeling that we are reading actual history. Actual history it is in its typical incidents. Any one familiar with the scenes of the Mutiny would probably feel no difficulty in recognising thinly disguised characters and incidents. At the same time no one would say that in the vivid and highly wrought scenes of the writer anything is exaggerated. Even we, who remember only the narratives which filled our newspapers, feel that situations more tragic, incidents more horrible, occurred. The descriptions of the defence of the Residency, the military devices, the contrasts of character, the heroism and the poltroonery, the tragedy and the comedy, the fidelity where fidelity could not have been expected, the dash of cool calculating heroism in such men as Falkland, the impotent bumptiousness of such men as Polwheeldle, the desperate resolve, the agony of suspense, and the sense of relief are done with great graphic power. So also is the description of Indian military life at Mustaphabad prior to the Mutiny. We do not remember delineations more individual and keen of the manifold types of character of the military officers at Mustaphabad—the incompetent commander, the bold, reckless, unscrupulous leader, the half-demoralised young officers, the wise statesman-like civilian, the determined young soldier, together with such varieties of women as are represented by Mrs. Polwheeldle and Olivia, and three or four more. More spirited and graphic pictures can scarcely be imagined. Colonel Chesney, with true artistic instinct, moreover, has so grouped his descriptions and characters that

they are made to subserve the fortunes of his hero and to bring out the peculiarities of his characters. From beginning to end the character of a fiction is maintained, only Colonel Chesney seems somewhat to mock at the usual conventionalisms of novels, and to prefer representing the seamy sides and the tangled ends of actual life to the maintenance of the unities or doing poetical justice. Hence the third volume somewhat disappoints us in both Yorke and Olivia, although we cannot help feeling that such are frequently the issues of common life. Olivia is delineated as so good, refined, and lofty that her marriage with Kirke, coarse and unprincipled as he is, especially after her scarcely-to-be-mistaken interest in Yorke, comes upon us as a shock, which is succeeded by a sudden feeling of revulsion as her sorrowful history develops.

Yorke, too, deteriorates. We can scarcely make up our minds that there is no break in continuity when we find him accepting Lucy, and especially Lucy's father-in-law, after his love for Olivia. Colonel Chesney appears here, as in many parts of his book, as a somewhat cynical satirist of human life. Clever as his descriptions of the dis-illusionising process in Yorke's home and in Mr. Peever's mansion are, and just as is his satire on both canting clergymen and purse-proud balsam vendors, we feel somewhat of disappointment, not to say disgust. We can hardly think that even in actual life such a character as Yorke could have accepted such a destiny.

We feel, too, throughout that Colonel Chesney is greater in describing incidents than in analysing feeling and motive. His delineation of Olivia is in this respect defective. There are at least half-a-dozen situations in which true art as well as passion demanded that we should have seen the workings of Olivia's nature: thus, on the offer of Falkland, at his death, on her marriage with Kirke, on her discovery of his baseness, there were great opportunities for a great analyst of human passion. Colonel Chesney has evidently shrunk from the attempt to represent them. But the novel is one of great power. It moves in a sphere where professional knowledge, and tragic history connected with it, tell amazingly, and Colonel Chesney has made the most of his opportunity.

Phæbe Junior: a Last Chronicle of Carlingford. By Mrs. OLIPHANT. Hurst and Blackett.

A recent high authority discovered that Mrs. Oliphant's view of life was, like Mr. George Mac Donald's, *genial*. We hope he may not read 'Phæbe Junior;' for a comparison of that story with the earlier 'Chronicles of Carlingford' could not, we think, but make him waver in his opinion and feel uncomfortable. Mrs. Oliphant's first books were touched with geniality; we should say her later ones—where she is not working on a distinct *theory*—are cynical. Her incisive and powerfully written story 'Whiteladies' was unrelievedly so, its one defect being that no

portion or character was untouched by the cynical spirit; and when, towards the end, the authoress felt the imperative need of a little fillip of sentiment, it was obtained at the expense of truth to nature, for she foisted on us a very poor substitute for Giovanna, who *psychologically* disappears. And what can be said for 'A Rose in June,' and 'The Curate in Charge'? They have a value,—not certainly as showing that geniality has grown upon her, but rather that she can, on occasion, so far free herself from the lesser prejudices that are apt to haunt those who venture on ecclesiastical ground. Her Church people here are either contemptible simpletons, like the Vicar in Charge; self-indulgent dilettants, like the new rector, or Mr. Damerall; or vulgar pretenders like the lady at the Manor, who cuts the curate's daughter when she begins to teach in the school. But it would seem as though Mrs. Oliphant had felt that she had gone a little too far in these creations, and needed to make matters even by administering a kick to Dissent and Dissenters. So, in the new 'Chronicle of Carlingford,' she reverses her plan. The Dissenters are low, vulgar, contemptible persons. The Rev. Mr. Beecham, of Salem, and later of Crescent Chapel, Regent's Park (who has wedded Phæbe Tozer, and has also a daughter Phæbe, the heroine), is a fluent, unctuous schemer, who *manages* people admirably, but more by dint of device and cringing than anything else; Mr. Copperhead, the millionaire railway contractor, who is *the* influential man in the Crescent Chapel, is a boor, a bully of the most transcendent kind, who never could have attained the position he is represented as holding, not to say kept it. He browbeats his wife, and gets up balls that he may attitudinise and proclaim his wealth; Mrs. Oliphant showing in the picture genuine cynical fun. Even in Phæbe the culture, we take it, is meant for a coating—the Tartar appearing when the Russian is scratched. Clearly, not a little in 'Phæbe Junior's' attractiveness is due to a desire to escape from the fault of 'Whiteladies.' *En revanche*, as we think, her Church people here are exceedingly pleasant. The Rev. Mr. May, who actually commits a forgery, is painted so as to be attractive and interesting; and Mr. Northcote, though he never abandons Dissent, is made the more attractive the more he loosens himself from extreme Nonconformist opinions. Clarence Copperhead's love-making is not of the liveliest; but Phæbe, as we have said, does interest us—though we shall not do Mrs. Oliphant the injustice of disclosing how things fall out at the end with her—hardly so well, in spite of circumstances, as we could have wished. The most touching passages in the book are the descriptions of the sufferings of Mr. May's family. Mrs. Oliphant, as always, writes with great power, her story is well constructed, and she shows all her old knack of analysis, which, here as hitherto, leads her now and then into repetition and diffuseness. But we absolutely decline to accept her pictures of Dissent as in any way faithful; and, if it

should be that she has any purpose in 'Phœbe Junior' beyond that of simple amusement, we would say that she errs by painting in too dark colours; for 'overstating your case is worse than understating it.' As a work of art this story is inferior to the earlier *Chronicles*; it is less real, less convincing, clearly less fair. Here we have no such characters as Mr. Vincent and his mother. Caricature is the easiest, as it is the riskiest department of fiction. This story is on one side a caricature, but that element in it is spoiled by its association with what aims at a higher grade of creation, and *vice versa*.

Cripps the Carrier. By RICHARD DODDRIDGE BLACKMORE. Three Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

Mr. Blackmore is always picturesque, and commands ready humour of a quiet and effective kind. He constructs his story well, and is master of certain dramatic devices calculated to puzzle, and therefore to prolong the interest. But in 'Cripps the Carrier' his specialities are just a little overdone; and the work seems forced, compared with 'Lorna Doone' and others of his earlier works. We cease to be so much interested in Grace Oglander as we should be, and too soon foresee how Mr. Luke Sharp, of Oxford, has 'prospected.' Esther, Cripps's sister, is admirable; but the very point gained at the opening by connecting her with the mystery is at the expense of character. We do not believe that she could ever have gone out of her road that night, not to speak of listening and observing so carefully. Old Squire Oglander is a little of a stock person, and so is Mr. Luke Sharp. The freshest character certainly is Cripps himself, on whom, clearly, no slight care has been expended. He is a masterly study; bubbling over with a naive unconscious humour, saying memorable things without any sense of their being out of the ordinary. What a pity he was a bachelor! Contact with children would have made Cripps grand. The scene between him and his butcher-brother Leviticus, over the rabbit-man in the market, is touched with genius; and the comparison of young folk with a young horse is excellent. This, too, is certainly characteristic: 'Railly now, I dunno, your worship, how to get on, all a-ating by myself. Some folks can, and never breaks down at it. I must have somebody to ate with me—so be it was only now a babby or a dog.' But Mr. Blackmore is a little undramatic in making Squire Overshute, when giving Cripps an account of certain adventures, speak of 'the reckless tumults of the earth and air.' That is too fine by half. The surroundings of Aunt Patch and her charge in the lonely cottage in the wood affords Mr. Blackmore room for his peculiar genius in description, and for indulgence in a certain little whim of his. But the most effective piece of painting is the description of the gipsies' encampment, to which young Overshute rides with the sick child on a

stormy night. Mr. Blackmore has not failed to give us a very lively idea of certain elements in Oxford life, as well as peeps of one district of country round Oxford. But, though 'Cripps the Carrier' is good, and bright, and, everywhere readable, it scarcely reaches the high-water mark of Mr. Blackmore's possibility. We shall therefore look with the more eagerness for his next effort.

Israel Mort, Overman. By JOHN SAUNDERS. Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. John Saunders, in several of his recent works, has struck us as a writer who has weakened fine faculties by an ambition after perverted ingenuity. He knows how much the great novel-reading public like involved plots, and he sets himself, by force of will, to please them in this particular. Unfortunately he does not succeed in concealing the efforts he makes, and is not seldom wearisome in his spinning out of very commonplace Chinese puzzles. Yet he can write with great force, he can conceive character well within a certain range, especially characters of a rude, strong-willed, and self-secluded kind, and can command a certain pitch of really tragic situation—the full effect of which is not seldom sacrificed through the weakness we have indicated. He has shown very fine descriptive faculty, as the picture of Tymawr, the Welsh mining village where the scene of 'Israel Mort' is laid, might bear witness, while the picture of the scene in the church and churchyard, at the opening, shows a capacity for a subdued serious humour. Griffith Williams, the original proprietor of the mine in which Israel Mort works and in which he secures an interest, is most skilfully portrayed; as, indeed, are all the typical characters of the Welsh mining village. The picture of Israel Mort in the ruined mine—the mysterious whisper in his ear—is done with no little effect; and, though we are doubtful of some points in Mr. Saunders's method of presentation, we cannot regard the sudden change of Israel's character in the process as wholly improbable. Psychological exactitudes are, however, in some measure sacrificed for the necessities of incident. It is hardly possible, we think, that the fears which afterwards possessed Israel of inundations—due to his own recklessness—arising from the shocks the mine had experienced, should not have indicated themselves in another way. But the tragic scenes which soon take place are painted with great force and with a kind of pathetic realism. We have given this somewhat lengthened notice to 'Israel Mort, Overman,' because we think we can see in it what Mr. Saunders could do in the way of pure study of motive and conscience, if he would but exercise self-denial enough to keep free from the excess of plot, which we cannot but think has somewhat spoiled this story. But as a sketch of mining life it has its own value—the more that it reveals something of the rough, daring, reckless, yet essentially brave and true, natures that are to be found amongst the Welsh

miners, with their peculiar mixture of religious enthusiasm, sordid thrifty worldliness, and occasional unscrupulousness.

Mr. Dorillion. By JEAN MIDDLEMASS. Chatto and Windus.

There is a good deal of mild mystery in Jean Middlemass's new novel which does not come to much. The father of the hero has committed forgery, and Mrs. Carne's husband has forsaken her; and out of these two chief incidents three volumes of hide-and-seek are spun. Either mystery should be constructed for its own sake, as in Mr. Wilkie Collins's 'Woman in White,' or it should be subordinatedly used for the purpose of developing character. Neither is done in this story. The complications lead to nothing; the mysteries are in excess of the conditions; Keene and his mother, Mrs. Carne and her son, are in melodramatic situations, which nothing adequately explains. Arthur Dorillion is to turn out a villain, but does not. Mrs. Carne's mysterious house, and the seclusion in which her boy is kept, should be connected with some tragedy, but is not. Old Mr. Dorillion is a dark shadow. The only key to a *motif* in the story, beyond that of weak ingenuity in the authoress, is that Kate, who narrates the story, has a sinister imagination and surrounds common-place characters with her fancies, which quietly dissipate like a mist. The main solution of the situation is a chateau, not in Spain but in France, of which Keene proves to be the heir. Nor is there much skill in character drawing. Mrs. Carne, with her touch of madness, Mrs. Keene, in her underground rooms, do not come to much; the nagging sisters of Ditmarsh School are good; so is pompous Dr. Nasmyth. The authoress wants grip and constructive power. We have difficulty in recalling what she has written so as to give our readers an account of it.

The Atonement of Leam Dundas. A Novel. By E. LYNN LINTON. Three Vols. Chatto and Windus.

There is unquestionably great power, both of conception and execution, in Mrs. Lynn Linton's new story. In both, however, the power takes wayward forms and passes into exaggerated expressions. The character of Leam Dundas is not only original, it is abnormal to a degree surpassing probability. Her early tenacity of prejudice, passion, and ignorance is scarcely conceivable in actual life, and is hardly congruous with her later development. If the former could have existed, it could not have produced the latter. Up to the period of Leam's return from school, and her love for Edgar, the story is so unnatural as to be repulsive. The authoress hits upon the vein of her true power only in the later tragic development of Leam, and her passion and remorse: here she rises to true tragic art, she interests us because she awakens sympathy, which up to this point she repels. Pepita is likewise an exaggeration in both her prejudices and their coarse brutal expressions; nor

is there more naturalness in the very different types of character exhibited in Madame, and afterwards in Mr. Gryce. All the principal characters are defective in human nature, and if this does not strike us so much in the subordinate ones, it is because they are less developed. Almost the only character in the story who really engages our sympathies is Alick; and his passion, too, is exaggerated into an obsequiousness which is so degrading as to be impossible.

One of Mrs. Lynn Linton's great faults is excess of sarcasm—the sub-acid of cynical feeling which runs through all she writes. We do not emphasise the bad taste that speaks of early Christianity as 'a Church founded by a handful of Jewish communists,' nor the sneers at belief in Providence when she speaks of Condy's fluid as a means whereby the 'work of Providence might be rendered easier to it'—these we expect from the author of 'Joshua Davidson.' We would simply suggest to her that no great teacher of humanity ever succeeded in doing much by cynicism and sarcasm. If it be clever enough men will listen and laugh; but it will take no hold of their nature, and certainly it will not make them better. The delineation of wickedness does not necessitate vitriol instead of ink, as Shakespeare might teach; and the castigation of follies and shams does not necessitate unmitigated sarcasm, as Thackeray has shown us; much less does the rebuke of superstition necessitate sneers at the Supreme Being. Mrs. Linton produces the feeling that the east wind produces. She not only fails to enlist any sympathies, she irritates us and makes us feel uncomfortable;—we simply dislike. Mrs. Linton has very great powers, and they are here unmistakably displayed. She would not employ them to less, but to greater, advantage by appealing more to the sympathies of her readers. The entire moral conception of the story is abnormal, defiant, and execrable. The hatred of Leam and her mother to Dundas; the entire sentiment of Leam, and, as it would appear, of Mrs. Linton, respecting the murder of the step-mother; the scorn poured upon the lover who hesitates to marry the murderess; the mawkish feeling of Alick, the immoral feeling of Gryce, all are simply hateful—no one redeeming sentiment of genuine moral repentance or reprobation appears throughout the whole. We can only pray to be delivered from the new morality which apparently Mrs. Linton seeks to embody.

Lola. A Tale of the Rock. By ARTHUR GRIFFITHS. Author of 'The Queen's Shilling,' &c. Three Vols. Smith, Elder, and Co.

The rock is Gibraltar, and Lola is a most lively and attractive heroine, half English, half Spanish. A young officer, Frank Wriottesley, has fallen in love with her. By his dash and frankness as a boy he had conciliated his uncle, an old baronet, Sir Hector Harrowby, and been made his heir, after not a few had been tried and discarded. It seemed

however to go very hard with Frank in his love affair. Lola's grandfather, old Bellotta, is a Jew, who has suffered from English red-coats, and will never more trust them—that is one obstacle; the Fairfaxes, her father's friends, to whom Lola is sent for a time in England, will not encourage her love-affair, for it was to detach her from Frank that she had been sent away; whilst Sir Hector, who has been informed by some busybody that she is of low birth, will not listen to any proposal that Frank, his heir, should marry such a woman. Here are complications enough. Captain Griffiths manages to reconcile them all happily at last, keeping up his surprise till the end, or only giving such partial glimpses of it as whet curiosity. The story is well constructed: it abounds in incident and humorous touches, and has many bits of admirable description; as that of life on the Rock near the opening, or of the three ladies Fairfax at Fairfax Manor. Now and then, too, we have bits of racy society talk and glimpses of Spanish manners. Of the leading characters we must say, too, that they are most consistently sustained. Lola, the light-hearted, lively, passionate, independent, but faithful, is admirably portrayed; and Frank, who gained his old uncle's approbation by his open manly ways, remains the same to the end. Lady Marion Fairfax is a fine study; so is old Bellotta, and Pepe, the Spanish servant. For picturesque grace, true humour, delightful brilliancy of execution, we have not read a better novel for a long time. Captain Griffiths does not affect a very profound analysis of character, but very true and reliable.

Minsterborough. A Tale of English Life. By HUMPHREY SANDWICH, C.B., D.C.L. Chatto and Windus.

We cannot honestly say that we think fiction to be Dr. Sandwich's strong point, and we are sorry to see him wasting time upon stories which scores of young ladies are writing equally well. 'Minsterborough' is pleasant enough to read, but it is a mere mechanical story, it has no underlying meanings, no interwoven thought to justify it as the work of a strong man. Its incidents are commonplace fiction,—not very probable in fact and somewhat sensational in character. We need say only that on the strength of Dr. Sandwich's name the book was selected for fireside reading in our own home circle. The close of the first volume produced such an explosion of laughter at its absurdity that the auditors could not be got together again. A defective dramatic feeling is apparent throughout, in the *gaucheries* and exaggerations of both character and sentiment. A good deal of political and religious, as well as medical, opinion is introduced into the dialogue; probably it is meant for caricature; certainly we cannot receive it as representative opinion. Somewhat given to Radicalism ourselves and of Nonconformist proclivities, we feel somewhat repelled by Dr. Sandwich's delineations. Will he not be contented with this essay in

fiction, and do what he can do so much better in the field of history?

Sights and Insights. By Mrs. A. D. T. WHITNEY. Three Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

In one part of her book Mrs. Whitney says, concerning her part in a dialogue: 'I think I spoke from the absurd feeling which I cannot keep clear from,—that something had got to be said; . . . so I blundered.' It would have been well if the consciousness had been strong enough to rule the entire writing of the book. She seems never to lose the absurd feeling that something has got to be said,—as the result of which she has blundered throughout. Few novels have come to us from the other side the Atlantic better than 'The Gayworthys,' artistically speaking, few worse than this. Of plot there is none; the characters are fellow-travellers, on a tour through Europe, and the book is a record of what they did and said, and especially of what they thought day by day. There is some love-making and unmaking, but it is of a mild type. We need not speak critically about the characters introduced, which are clever in conception, especially Mrs. Regis and Emery Ann, although neither is we think quite congruous in delineation; a criticism which applies especially to General Rashleigh, who is at once too much a man of the world and too much a man of sentimental religiousness. These blemishes, however, might pass. The book offends us by its strained religious sentimentality, constantly passing into mysticism or bosh. Everybody seems trying to say something clever and preachy—sometimes they succeed, but as often they fail. We feel as if always in church, religiously; or in an orchid house, vitally. The book is full of 'high falutin,' and tires us terribly. We long for a good breeze and some sensible commonplace talk. Some 'cute things, however, are said by Emery Ann, only the real thought of the book, which is somewhat suggestive, and even fine, too often passes into extravagance and mysticism.

Mrs. Whitney is a clever woman, who can do much better things. Many of the things she says are just, and good, and clever, and would do admirably to bedizen sermons with; but this is not dramatic presentation. Her book is neither fiction, essay, nor travel, but a bad concoction of all three. We are Philistines enough to prefer 'Sight' to 'Insight,' and to recoil somewhat when the purpose of the latter is avowed.

Lillian's Child. By M. H. L. Three Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

'Lillian's Child' is far from commonplace. It is well written, vigorous, dramatic, and full of passion. Its defects are, first, that it chronicles somewhat too much of small beer; the dialogue dwindles down sometimes to the trivial—of course the trivial will occur in actual life—but a fiction should idealise life, and, by a process of selection, represent what is characteristic in it. Exact description of either the doings or sayings that make up the

staple of life would be intolerable. Next, the chief incidents are a little too violent and unnatural; the utter forgetfulness by a child of six years old even of her name is almost impossible, and chronological exigencies should not have demanded it. The vindictiveness of Helen's grandmother, and the way in which she embodied it, are also a little too melodramatic. There is, too, a little too much of premonition here and there—as in the making of the will. Nor do we see any adequate reason in the sentiment of the story for the death of Cecil and Helen. We may also add that middle-age marriages are a little in excess. In short the feeling of inventiveness in startling incidents is a little too prominent, and deprives of naturalness an otherwise well-written and well-sustained story.

The Grange Garden. A Romance. By Henry Kingsley. Three Vols. Chatto and Windus.

Mr. Kingsley's death almost coincidently with the publication of this, his last novel, almost disarms criticism. He has written some good novels, although, as with many writers of fiction, we think his earlier works the best as to their substance, although his style acquired greater ease and precision. To the last, however, Mr. Kingsley wrote in a jerky way, propelling rather than leading you from one paragraph to another, and often giving a rapid series of somewhat fast sentences without very much of natural sequence. 'The Grange Garden,' too, is another of those stories of purposeless plot and mystery that will scarcely bear examining when read, and that are somewhat trying in the process of reading. The mystery is in excess of the incident, and the villain of the piece, Dr. Cross, is somewhat melodramatic. We find it a little difficult to understand how or why he becomes a villain; indeed it requires a good deal of attention to make out the relations of the different characters. The mystery of 'The Grange Garden,' with which the tale opens, proves a very mild one, and the incidents and devices by which it is carried on are somewhat abrupt and exaggerated. We should indeed, just after its perusal, scarcely like to be subjected to an examination in its intricacies, and this not because they are very complex, but because they are so laconically and imperfectly indicated. The novel is pleasant to read and will interest the reader; and, under many circumstances, that is a sufficient *raison d'être* for a novel.

Up to the Mark. By Mrs. DAY. Author of 'From Birth to Bridal,' &c. Three Vols. Hurst and Blackett.

There is a considerable fund of incident, and a lofty moral and social ideal in this novel. There is matter enough for two stories, and the workmanship bestowed upon some of the character-painting deserves hearty recognition. The author ambitiously uses the incidents of the Indian campaigns and the wars in the Low Countries, the political complications and the agrarian riots of the close

of George IV.'s reign, as the colours upon a pallet rather than a history, which she sets herself to write. The fortunes of Helen Latimer are the interest of her story; but the sins and follies of Helen's grandfather weave dark threads of romance into the pattern of a young and beautiful life. She becomes by slow degrees alive to the whole history of a strange weird woman hunted down as a witch and cruelly used by her brutal husband and her thankless son—the latter the child of her shame. Helen is the daughter of a nobleman, who is the possessor of vast estates and hereditary splendours—a kind of Colonel Newcome and Mr. Darcy rolled into one, with a dash of Cheeryble Brothers; and she has caught some of his enthusiasm of humanity, and his intense practical sympathy with the suffering and wretchedness of the poor; and she sets herself in a thousand fascinating ways, some of them daring enough, to fathom the bottomless abyss, and by kindly deeds and sweet temper and fearless spirit endeavours to bear their burdens and soothe their sorrows. The author is a long time getting into her story, so that the first two volumes are undoubtedly prosy and wearisome; but the last volume redeems the former ones in this respect, while the pure and Christian spirit of the whole deserves cordial commendation. Many of the characters, though well drawn, are really useless to the purpose of the story. There are many dummies however in real life.

The Gwilians of Bryn Gwillian. Two Vols. Smith, Elder, and Co.

There is indubitable power in this book, which appears to be the first attempt of some young novelist. She manifests a considerable understanding of the miseries of child-life, and of the hard and heartless things done by those who are reputed to be respectable members of society. The style is very imperfect; nearly all the characters rush off into blank verse or rhythmical paragraphs that might be printed in metre. Much of the prosaic 'poetry' of the present day would not approach it in this respect. If the supposed autobiographer, who begins her story when she is seven years old, and carries it in these volumes through some thirty years of strange vicissitudes for herself, her sisters, brothers, lovers, nurses, doctors, governesses, and waiting-maids, had digested her own superabundant material, and been surer of her own characters, and riveted attention with more care upon some portion of the canvas, she would certainly have been more readable. There is no light in the story; it is a commonplace tragedy. Every chapter is depressing, with a certain tendency to dramatic incident, and a strong liking for stilted prose. The fine point about the story is the brave fight fought by the self-willed, dauntless autobiographer. The easy scorn showered on the Evangelical school, by representing its professors as odious and insincere, is explained by the studied absence of truly Christian ideas and principles. It is the philosophy of fate,

suffering, and death, with a merging of the soul in 'the All,' which seems intended to be conveyed, and a very great muddle comes out of it. A fortune-telling old queen tells the fortune of Grace Gwillian at a startling point in the story, how she is to be 'a bride, but never a wife; a wife, but never a mother; and a mother with never a child,' with riches and troubles innumerable. How the fortune is realised it is not fair to say. The four or five marriages in the story are not nice, rather the 'reverse of so.'

The Fool of the Family; and other Tales. By JOHN DANGERFIELD. Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

Six or seven stories, of different lengths and degrees of elaborateness, originally contributed to a magazine. The first is the most important, and interests us by its descriptions of literary adventure and character in London. It is, we suppose, possible to break out at once and achieve fame, as Edward Wynter did, by a brilliant leader in a newspaper; but it is, we suspect, a very rare experience. The tale, however, is admirably told.

'Splendide Mendax' has its title from the noble abnegation of a sister, who sacrifices her love, happily only for a time, because she fancies her sister's affections are fixed on the same object. The workings of various emotions in the blind clergyman's household are cleverly exhibited. The scene in the Shetlands also interests us by its descriptions. 'On the Stage' is a misnomer, and is a very slight sketch; as is 'Beechwood Revel.' All the tales are well conceived and vigorously written. Mr. Dangerfield ought to do good literary service on a larger canvas.

The Attic Orators, from Antiphon to Isaeos.

By R. C. JEBB, M.A., Public Orator in the University of Cambridge and Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow. Two Vols. Macmillan and Co.

This book is written with a twofold object: to trace the growth of oratory as a branch of Attic prose, and to supply a detailed and critical account of the five great orators—Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, and Isaeos, who have not received in this country the attention due to the forerunners and artistic masters of Demosthenes. Professor Jebb's special qualifications for the task which he has undertaken are so well known to scholars, that we need say only that his treatise altogether justifies the high expectations which its announcement raised. The minute industry and the exact erudition which are manifest in all the scientific and literary work of Germany are here combined with an artistic sense of the relative importance of things, and a power of giving appropriate expression to refined and subtle ideas, which we are sometimes tempted to consider peculiar to English scholarship. We are not sure that Mr. Jebb's facility in this direction does not occasionally lead him a little astray, and give a somewhat wayward and finikin appearance to criticism which is always acute

and generally judicious. To say, for instance, that 'the three marks of mediæval art are individualism, desire, and 'ecstasy' (Introd. xcv.); or that at the end of a Greek tragedy, 'that blitheness out of which the passions rose into a storm returns subdued to the graver and deeper calm that follows a transcendental contemplation' (Introd. p. xcix.), is to present a true but familiar idea in an unbecoming costume, which for the moment prevents recognition. We have become resigned to this kind of literary artifice in the æsthetic lucubrations of the popular art-critics of the day, but we deprecate its intrusion into the domain of serious research. Mr. Jebb's good taste, however, is rarely at fault, and, as a general rule, his style is luminous, his matter relevant, and his arrangement simple and systematic. The Introduction is devoted to an investigation of the peculiarities of Greek as contrasted with Roman and modern oratory, and a rapid account of the early Ionian and Sicilian teachers. The author points out that it is indispensable to a real appreciation of the works of the great Greek speakers to grasp their conception of the Rhetor as an artist, and of oratory as one of the fine arts. In our own times the highest admiration is reserved for an extemporary speaker; and Mr. Bright or Mr. Gladstone would produce a much feeble impression if their audience were to imagine that the one had a manuscript of his speech ready prepared, or that the other had committed his periods to memory. Mr. Jebb suggests several explanations for this peculiarly modern sentiment, of which the most plausible appear to be the vastly increased importance of debate, and the feeling—perhaps of Hebrew origin—that no amount of premeditation, nothing but a kind of unsought and spontaneous inspiration, will suggest to a man who has to advise or persuade a great assembly the 'thoughts which breathe and words which burn.' But the Greek Rhetor was a creative artist, working upon a given material, in obedience to recognised rules, and with a preconceived object. He spoke to an audience of critics, familiar with all the tricks of his craft, who watched him as veteran playgoers watch an actor on the stage, whom he could not cajole with a well-turned commonplace, and whom he was certain to alienate by an awkward gesture or a discordant tone (Thuc. iii. 38). We must further remember, if we would enter thoroughly into the spirit of the Athenian orators, that what Mr. Jebb happily terms the 'parochial character' of many of their favourite arguments and innuendoes, is not due to a deficient sense of perspective, but is one of the inevitable incidents of public debate in a small community. We are all familiar with the truism that the ancients conceived of the State as a municipality rather than as a nation, and with Aristotle's definition of the citizen as one who is turn by turn ruler and ruled. But we are apt to lose sight of the practical bearing of these principles as an explanation of some of the most familiar characteristics of ancient society. Athens had

never more than 30,000 citizens, and the whole population of Attica did not exceed that of Liverpool. The Boule was only a committee of select vestrymen, and the famous Ecclesia was a casual gathering of such burgesses as from time to time had leisure and inclination to attend. Let our readers compare the style of speaking in vogue with bodies similarly constituted in the enlightened England of to-day, we will not say with the masterpieces of Demosthenes and Æschines, but with the worst of what we know or hear of Cleon and Hyperbolus, and they will cease to feel surprise at the occasional paltrinesses and provincialisms of Attic oratory. Mr. Jebb notices a curious exhibition of what a modern would deem bad taste, which was quite habitual with the best ancient speakers—the practice, namely, of indulging in freely vituperative criticism of an opponent's style and gestures. This was a natural outcome of the conditions which we have described: the Greek view of oratory as not merely an instrument of persuasion, but a fine art in itself, and the atmosphere of personality in which local government then, as now, was carried on. For a parallel to Demosthenes's strictures on the voice and manners of Æschines we must go back to the records of our own House of Commons in the good old times, when it was rather a select club than a representative assembly; or picture to ourselves the unreported proceedings of a quarrelsome town council at the present day. When these incidental disadvantages have been allowed for, the main fact remains that the excellence of Attic oratory was due in a large degree to the unique combination of penetration and sympathy in the audience which the orator harangued. There has been nothing like it before or since. It forbade the speaker to be either bald or bombastic, and compelled him to remember that when he addressed the 'men of Athens' he was addressing men of business who had built the Parthenon, and lovers of the beautiful who had invented the science and art of politics. The unrivalled perfection of oratory in Greece, its union of simplicity with grace of form, its impressive self-restraint, its occasional undertones of pathos, its rare flashes of impetuous enthusiasm, represent something more than the triumph of individual genius. The speeches of Demosthenes are an imperishable memorial of the sagacity and taste of the Athenian Ecclesia.

The literary antecedents of the Attic school of oratory are to be sought outside Greece itself at the two opposite extremities of the Hellenic world. The Ionian colonies of Asia Minor, and the Dorian colonies of Sicily supplied the first professors of the kindred arts of Dialectic and Rhetoric. Protagoras of Abdera, Prodicus of Ceos, Corax and Tisias of Syracuse, and Gorgias of Leontini, are the great names in the early history of the new branch of culture. Mr. Jebb gives a brief, but luminous, account of the social and political conditions which determined the direction of their literary activity; and we may,

perhaps, here acknowledge a slight feeling of disappointment that so competent an authority should not have yielded to the temptation to state his views on the great Sophist controversy with more fulness than the limits of a foot-note will allow. We feel sure that Mr. Jebb's readers would have pardoned the digression, and the questions at issue are not wholly irrelevant in an estimate of the influence of the earlier Rhetors. It is unfortunately impossible to form an opinion as to the rapidity with which the new rules of rhetoric invaded the Ecclesia, and gained a practical recognition in the altered style of popular oratory. The materials for such a judgment, if they ever existed, are not preserved. The death of Pericles took place (430 B.C.) three years before Gorgias, as the spokesman of the Leontine Embassy, fascinated the Ecclesia by the novel artifices of his antithetic diction. It appears that even in Quintilian's time the authenticity of the speeches attributed to Pericles was impeached, and those which Thucydides puts into his mouth have been too plainly recast in the mould of the new rhetoric to present any trustworthy indication of their original form. If we want to know in a general way the nature of the revolution, for such it doubtless was, and the degree of opposition which it had to encounter from the partisans of the old school, we should turn to the criticisms of Aristophanes on Euripides and Agathon. Euripides was the representative in tragedy of the same influences which formed the historical style of Thucydides and the oratory of Antiphon and Isocrates. It is impossible to doubt that in the celebrated passage in the *Frogs* (vv. 1083, sq.) the *ἰσογράμματεῖς* and the *βαρυόχοι δημοπλήκτοι*, who spend their lives in cajoling the Demos, are the pupils of Prodicus and Gorgias, the favourite speakers of a generation which could not remember Marathon, and had grown up in an atmosphere penetrated with the new culture. It is certainly significant, and goes some way towards justifying the suspicious hostility with which the Conservative party in Athens regarded the work of Socrates and the Sophists, that the most illustrious pupils of the innovating teachers were still more distinguished for self-seeking and disloyalty. Alcibiades was the prince of traitors, Critias the most vulgar of tyrants, and Antiphon the most subtle and effective of conspirators. Mr. Jebb gives an interesting summary of Antiphon's history, so far as it is known to us. He was the first of the new school of orators, and it is noteworthy that he rarely appeared in the Ecclesia or the law courts, but contented himself for the most part with writing speeches for other men. The art of speaking had already become specialised and divorced from active public life, and henceforward logography (if we may borrow a convenient term) was a profession by itself. The period of Antiphon's main activity was 421–411 B.C., and it was in the last named year that he succeeded in carrying out the design to which a life of patient intrigue had been devoted. The

Democracy was overthrown, and the Oligarchy of four hundred, of which Antiphon was the master mind, obtained its short-lived ascendancy. In May the old Constitution was restored, and Antiphon, after delivering the ablest defence within the memory of the contemporaries of Thucydides (Thuc. viii. 68), was condemned to death. The most striking features of his style are thus enumerated by Mr. Jebb: 'Antiphon is pre-eminently dignified and noble. He is to his successors generally as Æschylós to Euripides. . . . [He] relies much on the full, intense significance of single words. The new intensity of the age is reflected in the speeches of Antiphon. But it is striking to observe how far the periodic style still is from the ease of Lysias or the smooth completeness of Isocrates. It is everywhere plain that the desire to be compact is greater than the power.'

Narration was the forte of Andocides and Lysias; it appears to have been the weak side of Antiphon, who was strongest in general argument (vol. i. pp. 24-37). Andocides comes next, in the 'Decade' of Cæcilius. His name will always be associated with the strange outrage on the Hermæ, and the subsequent profanation of the Mysteries, which created a panic in Athens on the eve of the Sicilian expedition in 415 B.C. What was the real connection of Andocides with these impieties is still one of the unsolved problems of history. The question is discussed by Mr. Jebb with much care and acuteness; but we confess that the evidence seems to us to point to a less lenient estimate of the conduct of the orator. He seems never to have quite cleared himself from suspicion in the eyes of the Athenians, and though his public services were respectable, if not eminent, they were tardily accepted and grudgingly acknowledged. Only three genuine speeches of Andocides remain: that 'on his return,' assigned by Mr. Jebb, for sufficient reasons, to 410 B.C.; his celebrated defence 'On the Mysteries,' spoken in 399 B.C.; and his argument in favour of peace with the Lacedæmonians on the terms offered in 390 B.C., which is judged spurious by Dionysius and other critics, but is successfully vindicated by Mr. Jebb, who is no less decided in his denial of the authenticity of the speech, 'Against Alcibiades.' Andocides was much depreciated by the ancient critics, and he is singularly deficient in all the tricks and artifices of professional rhetoric; but his power of description, and the interest of the subjects which he treats, entitle him to a place among the Attic orators.

Following a chronological order, we now come to a greater name. Lysias was the son of that Cephalus whose hospitable old age is beautifully depicted in the preface to the most immortal of the Platonic Dialogues. At the age of fifteen Lysias emigrated from Athens to Thurii, where it seems probable that he was instructed in rhetoric by the great Tisias himself, and whence he was obliged to flee to Athens after the Syracusan disaster in 412 B.C. In the years which followed he

accumulated a considerable fortune as a shield manufacturer, and belonged to the privileged class of aliens, called *Isoteleis*. He was one of the many victims of the Thirty in 404 B.C., and after the Restoration, having lost the greater part of his wealth, he devoted himself to oratory. He is said to have composed two hundred forensic speeches, but, like Antiphon, he wrote for others, and his impeachment of Eratosthenes, which gives a vivid picture of the tyranny of the Thirty, is perhaps the only one of his orations which he spoke himself. His destiny, as Mr. Jebb says, was not that of a man of action, and his busy but unostentatious life closed about 380 B.C., when he was eighty years of age. The pseudo-Plutarch tells us that of the 425 compositions ascribed in his time to Lysias, 283 were allowed by Dionysius to be genuine. Only 34 have survived to our own times, and some of these are in a mutilated and fragmentary form. They are all carefully analysed by Mr. Jebb, but we can only refer our readers to his full and suggestive comments, and must content ourselves with a brief summary of the editor's general conclusions. Lysias is 'the best representative of the plain style,' a term used by the ancient critics in contradistinction to the 'grand' or 'elaborate' style of Demosthenes and others, to indicate 'the avoidance of decidedly poetical ornament and the employment of sober prose' (vol. i. p. 163). He was the first to make oratory dramatic in the true sense of the word—to abandon, that is, the conventional dialect and the pompous monotony of previous Rhetors, and to adapt the tone and manner of the speech to the character and special circumstances of the speaker. He is praised by Dionysius for the perfect purity of his diction; he is always clear, concise, and vivid; his arrangement is simple and his descriptions lucid and impressive; and the ancient critics agree in ascribing to him a charm and grace which are peculiarly his own. As a set-off to these great merits it must be acknowledged that Lysias is deficient in pathos, that he is rarely enthusiastic or passionate, and that his style is better fitted to persuade a jury than to stir the sympathies of a great audience.

Isocrates is the subject of the larger part of Mr. Jebb's second volume, and no portion of his work is more thorough and interesting. The life of Isocrates extends over ninety-five years, from 436 B.C. to the battle of Cheronea. The 'Phædrus' of Plato sufficiently proves his intimacy with Socrates, but it is probable that he owed most in the way of teaching and influence to the Sophist Gorgias. For some ten years after the Restoration of the Athenian Democracy in 403, he occupied himself, like Lysias, in the composition of forensic speeches; but about 392 he abandoned this mode of life, to which he afterwards alludes with great contempt, and devoted the next fifty years to the work of an educator and a pamphleteer. He became the most celebrated teacher of eloquence that Greece ever had, and for two generations there were few illustrious statesmen or philosophers who had not

received their training in the school of Isocrates. His political and educational theories are alike interesting; the former are set forth in his *Panegyrikos*, (380 B.C.) and in the speeches *De Pace* and *Areopagitikos* (355 B.C.), and the latter in his treatise against the Sophists (391 B.C.) and his oration on the *Antidosis* (353 B.C.). Isocrates lived in a period of political disintegration, and the old Greek theory of State autonomy was becoming more and more of an anachronism in the new moral and material conditions of his time. The complete absorption of the individual citizen in the interests of his native city was no longer possible, and Greece had fallen upon an age of self-seeking statesmen and mercenary wars. Isocrates proposed to resuscitate the patriotism and public spirit, which were no longer alive to the claims of the separate States, by a combined Pan-Hellenic advance upon Persia and the East. His first idea was that Athens and Sparta should undertake the joint leadership of the movement, but he soon saw the impracticability of this, and transferred his hopes to Philip. Our readers will find in Mr. Jebb's pages a just and comprehensive estimate of the merits of the scheme. Isocrates was, further, the inventor of a new system of culture. He called himself a teacher of philosophy, and by philosophy he meant 'the art of speaking and of writing on large political subjects considered as a preparation for advising or acting in political affairs' (vol. ii. p. 41). An examination of his peculiar tenets leads to the conclusion that 'there are four chief things by which Isocrates is distinguished from contemporary teachers of political rhetoric: breadth of view; nobleness of moral tone; practical thoroughness of method; encouragement of solid work' (Ibid. p. 49). Looking at Isocrates from a purely literary point of view, we must bear in mind that almost all his works were meant, not to be spoken, but to be read. He is a writer of rhetorical prose, and his chief productions may be compared with Burke's pamphlets on the Present Discontents and the French Revolution. His great achievement as a stylist was, if not the discovery, the development of the rhythm proper to prose, and the systematic use of the period. His writing is luxuriant and diffuse, and often overlaid with a vulgar superfluity of ornament. On the other hand, the ancient critics extol the purity of his diction, his resource in invention, and the subtlety with which he arranged the gradual unfolding of his theme. 'But the merits of Isocrates, whether on the verbal or the real side, are not those which are best fitted to succeed in a law court or in an assembly.

His practical rhetoric is not oratory. It is for the palaestra, not for the battle-field.

The best representative of Isocrates in his development of oratory is Cicero.

A French scholar has observed that, in regard to expression, the good oratory of the preacher alone preserves for the modern world an image of that in which Isocrates excelled; and has at the same time rendered

to Isocrates a tribute as high, perhaps, as the modern world could offer, in bringing proof that Isocrates had some share in forming whatever owed its virtue to form in the eloquence of Bossuet' (vol. ii. pp. 70-75).

We must here take leave of Mr. Jebb. Space will not allow us to follow him in his sketch of Isaeos, who is mainly interesting to us as the teacher of Demosthenes; or to discuss the many questions raised in his two chapters on the 'Matured Civil Eloquence' and the 'Decline and the Revival.' We shall have attained our object if we succeed in leading our readers to consult for themselves a work which is full of interest from the first page to the last, and which exhibits throughout a width and refinement of erudition worthy of the best traditions of English scholarship.

Saron Studies. By JULIAN HAWTHORNE. Strahan and Co.

There can be no doubt of Mr. Julian Hawthorne's quick observation and of his somewhat cynical propensities. It was one of the peculiar traits of his gifted father that he would meet people on the most apparently friendly footing, and then jot down in his journals the most cynically disparaging remarks—one or two instances having most maladroitly been allowed to escape into the published portions of them, which any one can easily trace out, and he will very probably have little or no difficulty in identifying the individuals referred to. But it was a very noticeable thing that, in the case of Hawthorne *père*, he soon softened towards both individuals and nations if he could but leisurely live among them and observe them. Mr. Julian Hawthorne either does not resemble his gifted father in this respect, or else, after all, his stay of six years among the Saxons was too short. They exist for him simply to be eyed, back-windowed, and generally sneered at. Considering that things are, for most part, so ill-assorted in this world, Mr. Julian Hawthorne might well have prefaced his book by an argument in favour of special Providence, inasmuch as there are such people as Saxons, and that he, being smart and cynical, went to live among them. Never was there a happier arrival—for Mr. Hawthorne perhaps, certainly not for the Saxons! Here, probably, *they* would say the argument for special Providence entirely failed. At all events, Mr. Hawthorne forcibly impresses us with three qualifications—perfect faith in himself, a sort of hard, youthful, unsympathetic, metallic clearness of mind, and a determination (rare in a man so young) of finding only what he wants to find. Pity the man who can wander from Dan to Beersheba and find it all barren; pity also the man who cannot find anything in a living nation that cannot be sneered at. Let us hope that he has not found the best side of the people, which may be, after all, much more than our author conceives, like Mr. Browning's ideal lover in 'One Word More.' Here, at all events, is a man who rather awk-

wardly confesses his inability to find a single point of interest about a people out of whom he can make a whole volume; who evidently lived amongst them the life of a morbid recluse, and yet writes as though he had faithfully tried every approach to their confidence, and found that it conducts only to disappointment.

'Saxon Studies' contain a good deal of psychological suggestion, though Mr. Hawthorne did not tackle the mental puzzle of Saxon character as he ought to have done. We mean that *his* attitude deserves attention and analysis. He bluntly tells us that his 'interest in Saxony and Saxons is of the most moderate kind'—certainly not enough to provoke a treatise on them. 'They are,' he goes on, 'as dull and featureless a race as exists in this century, and the *less one has to do with them the better.*' But the plan of his work requiring some concrete nucleus round which to group such thoughts and fancies as he wished to ventilate [something new the ventilation of thoughts and fancies, too!], and the Saxon capital chancing to have been his residence of late years, he has used it, rather than any other place, to serve his turn in this respect. The truth is, Mr. Hawthorne's account is, as he too plainly says here, purely personal and fanciful, and has, therefore, no value apart from the genius that would recommend it. Has it, then, the touch of genius that could suffice to make it memorable, not for the facts, but for the color given to them? Sincerely, we do not think so. He is simply acrimonious and spiteful—clever sometimes, but cleverest, unfortunately for himself, when he is most general. We remember a very acute journalist with whom, in our young days, we chanced to be thrown into association, whose maxim was, 'Let your praise always be individual and your censure always general: the public likes severity, but it is safe to be general, and no man can found an action on it.' It would almost seem as though Mr. Hawthorne had taken similar counsel. We do not remember more than three instances of exact and particular statement in the book—that the Saxon women work very hard, that the Saxons do not appreciate pure air in their homes (which is a common thing enough with those who are a great deal out of doors), and that the Saxon soldiers drink a great deal. Generally, the Saxons, in Mr. Hawthorne's view, are selfish, mean, dirty, grovelling creatures—which may be quite true, but since we have a book about them we should have liked more piquant illustrations. The paragraphs surge and heave with generals, but present no convincing picture. Now and then there are clever passages, as we have said, but deformed by an ill-natured and morbid egotism. On the whole the book is unsatisfactory, and the reading of it is likely—especially in young minds—to induce the very last mood which should be encouraged with reference to any people, more especially with reference to a people from whom we may learn something. Dresden, at any rate, has a good deal which

excellent judges have agreed is interesting and worth writing about, and only a very young man, or an over-clever man, or a very foolish man, would be guilty of the solecism of writing a book about a place which he tells you at the outset isn't worth a moment's thought, and has nothing even to 'moderately interest' him, and that its people are 'dull and featureless,' in addition to being 'coldly and profoundly selfish'—a phenomenon, by the way, which should be interesting. Ugliness may be made interesting, and may even be made artistic, as in the passage we shall end by quoting, and so may meanness and many 'abominable' qualities:—'Until I had examined for myself the 'mixture of paste and blotches which here passes for faces, I had not conceived what were the capacities for evil of the human skin. I have heard it said—inconsiderately—that the best side of the Saxon is his outside; that the more deeply one penetrates into him the more offensive he became. But I think the worst damnation that the owner of one of those complexions could be afflicted with would be the correspondence [? by letter] of his interior with his exterior man.' The touch of genius is either there or it is not.

Hours in a Library. Second Series. By LESLIE STEPHEN. Smith, Elder, and Co.

We all remember Charles Lamb's delicious essay on 'Imperfect Sympathies.' Mr. Leslie Stephen has aimed at avoiding the charge of imperfect sympathies, and has generally shown himself remarkably successful. He sets himself to exhibit the *rationale* of criticism so well illustrated by Sainte-Beuve, seeking to find the keynote in the dominant mood, the temper, the tendency of the person treated. He does not dogmatise, but inclines rather to make allowances, if the allowances will help to bring him more thoroughly *en rapport* with his subject. But as in the former volume he was more successful with such men as Defoe than with subtle, remote, secluded, speculative minds like Hawthorne, so here he shows to more advantage when treating the clever, witty Walpole, than when dealing with such mystics as William Law, of 'The Serious Call,' or erratic, discursive thinkers, like Sir Thomas Browne, of Norwich. Originally of a somewhat hard, logical, nay, even dogmatic temper himself, we can still see, through the upper current of sympathy, the cold and somewhat stubborn reserve characteristic of a man of the world in reference to certain phases of mind and interior experiences. Contrast with Mr. Leslie Stephen's apology for the 'touch of profanity in reading in cold blood' (mark the words, *in cold blood*) 'a book which throughout palpitates with the deepest emotions of its author' (William Law), with the seriously sympathetic mode in which Sainte-Beuve deals with the morbid religious depression of William Cowper, and our idea will at once be seen. Yet who can doubt that this is a manly, candid confession of Mr. Leslie Stephen? Such a mood may reveal much, but it will not sufficiently reveal or make in-

telligible the secret of the influence of a man like Law. But we do certainly owe a debt to Mr. Stephen for his serious, and so far successful, attempt to bring some soul into English criticism. He is always deeply interesting. He picks out of a wide waste of fact the one important item, and gives it significant setting. These studies show a rare capacity for getting at the essential characteristic. He finds himself in the truest attitude towards Hazlitt, that versatile but egotistic and wrong-headed genius, and his essay is at once most interesting and instructive. The essay on Jonathan Edwards shows Mr. Stephen in the very position where his sympathy would be likely to fail him, but it does not entirely fail him; and not a few readers will, we fancy, be a little surprised at some of those whom he finds to be indebted to Edwards in intellectual development. This we regard as the most masterly part of the book. Altogether we can commend this as a thoroughly conscientious, instructive volume, and warmly commend it, especially to such as cannot find time to make exhaustive studies of such men as are dealt with here, and are now, to a large extent, buried in great libraries.

Fireside Studies. By HENRY KINGSLEY. Two Vols. Chatto and Windus.

The death of Henry Kingsley will probably excite more interest in these his last essays than could otherwise have been the case. There is in them a lack of self-control, now and then too clearly perceptible—an unbalanced kind of energy, which is in nothing more disastrous than in the essay. He is prone to exaggerate, to use extreme epithets, and to ride an idea, if not to death, yet to dulness. But his instincts are mostly true, and he has what usually distinguishes those who are blessed with good spirits in association with literary tact, a certain freshness and enthusiasm, which seemed literally inexhaustible. 'The Fathers of the "Spectator"' is an old theme enough; we had fancied all had been said that could well be said about Addison, and Steele, and the rest: but Mr. Kingsley, amid a good deal of old, does contrive to say, not a little that is new, and really imparts a general freshness to the whole. Only his judgments of the men are often too unqualified and censorious. We cannot for a moment agree with him either in his opinion about Lady Steele as being a 'nagging woman.' We are not aware that there is any authority to support him in this. He is very appreciative, as indeed he could not well help being, of the artistic skill and power of Milton's little-known contemporary, Andrew Marvell; and in another essay he has a good deal that is ingenious and suggestive to say of Beaumont and Fletcher and Ben Jonson, whose characteristics are analysed with more than Mr. Kingsley's usual care. But the most delicious paper in the book is that headed, 'Two Old Sussex Worthies,' in which we have a delightful gossip about the beautiful neighbourhood of Cuckfield and two noted men of that region in past time,—

Timothy Burrell and Giles Moore. To those who wish a really readable book, from which a fair amount of information can be got, and who cannot afford the time to dig into libraries for themselves, we can commend these volumes—in which Mr. Henry Kingsley has tried most conscientiously to do the hard part of the work for them, though, for reasons now easily guessed, he has fallen into several trifling errors.

Studies of the Greek Poets. Second Series.

By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS, Author of 'Sketches in Italy,' &c. Smith, Elder, and Co.

This is one of those works which consist principally of reprints from magazines; it is also one of those the aim of which appears to be to give English readers a general idea of the spirit and genius of Greek authors, without requiring from them much knowledge of the language. It is a popular history of Greek poetry, addressed no doubt to the higher class of readers, but compressed into so small a space that only general conceptions can be conveyed of the style and merits of each poet, from Homer to Menander inclusive. Some scholars, we suspect, will demur to a proposition occurring at the very outset of the work (p. 2): 'Two great poets gave to Greek mythology the form which it maintained in the historic period;' and he quotes a well-known statement of Herodotus (ii. 53) that 'Homer and Hesiod composed a poetic theogony for the Greeks, and gave the gods their names,' a statement which has been rightly contested by Mr. Grote. 'What this means is' (as interpreted by Mr. Symonds). 'that at a certain prehistoric epoch, the epoch of Epic poetry, mythology had passed from the primitive and fluid state, and had become the subject-matter of the arts.' It would have been better to say that Herodotus asserted what was untrue in fact, and gave an opinion on a subject far beyond his powers either to investigate or to understand. Mr. Symonds seems to dwell too much on mythology being a *Greek* development, and to pass too lightly over its prevalence in some form or other in the Indo-Germanic mind. Thus he speaks of 'the childhood of the world, when the *Greek* myths came into existence' (p. 5), as if he accepted the view of Herodotus rather than had realised the universality of that nature-worship and the personification of nature-powers that first arose in the sun-lands of the far East.

He says, however, more explicitly and correctly in another place (p. 23), that 'comparative philology has proved beyond all contest that the Aryan races had not only their grammar but a certain number of their myths in common before the separation of the Hindhu, Hellenistic, and Teutonic stocks.' No well-informed person in the present age of inquiry can be ignorant of this. To any one who opens a translation of the Indian Vedas, the incessant appeal to the elemental powers will sufficiently indicate the almost inevitable development of myth under the

combined influences of awe, religious instinct, and fear of the unseen and unknowable.

The chapters on 'Achilles' and the 'Women of Homer' are pleasantly written, and show thought, without, perhaps, much originality. It is obviously true that Achilles is the central object which gives unity to the *Iliad* (p. 41), but not so certain, in the present state of Greek criticism, that 'the Greeks used the *Iliad* as their Bible' (p. 60). On the contrary, till the age of Plato we hear very little indeed of the *Iliad*, though the Tale of Troy, in some form or other, was the constant theme of Pindar and the Tragic Poets. In discussing the character of Helen also, Mr. Symonds should have known that the different treatment of the character by Æschylus, who regards her with loathing as a kind of she-devil, and by Homer, who speaks so gently of her frailties, was probably due to the superstitious notions embodied in the story about the cause of the blindness of Stesichorus, which made the 'euphemistic' treatment a matter of religious scruple. For it is certain that Helen is the embodiment of the goddess of womanhood, that has such paramount influence over man.

The greater part of the work is taken up with criticisms on the Tragic Poets, including the fragments from lost plays. Mr. Symonds considers 'the most remarkable point about the Æschylean theology is that, in spite of its originality, it seems to have but little affected the substance of serious Greek thought' (p. 165). Of Sophocles, 'the great achievement was to introduce regularity of proportion, moderation of tone, and proper balance into tragedy' (p. 223). Of Euripides we are glad to find that Mr. Symonds speaks in higher praise than has been the custom of critics. His 'lasting title to fame,' he justly says (p. 300), 'consists in his having dealt with the deeper problems of life in a spirit which became permanent among the Greeks, so that his poems, like those of Menander, never lost their value as expressions of current philosophy.'

Half-Length Portraits. By GIBSON CRAIG. Sampson Low and Co.

Mr. Gibson Craig writes fairly well, and has clearly been industrious in gathering his information—occasionally presenting an out-of-the-way fact and giving it a good setting. But the miscellaneous nature of the book is too apparent—it lacks a dominating purpose; and yet obviously the author cannot relieve himself from a persecuting sense of the necessity of such. So, by means of a succession of fancy-headings, and a process of cutting an essay into two or three parts and naming them chapters, he gains an appearance of completeness, which is gainsaid in the reading. Marcus Aurelius, Goethe, Mahomet, Mandeville, Cromwell, Admiral Blake, John Bunyan, Wesley, Napoleon, Wellington, Charles Knight, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John, assuredly form a somewhat ill-assorted assemblage of heroes. Mr. Gibson Craig now and then says a good thing; but his writing is marked

by a certain amateurishness, which is seen particularly in the effort to make each of his subjects exactly answer to the fancy headings he has chosen, such as 'Fighting for the Faith,' 'A Faithful Servant,' 'Forceful; but Faithless,' 'A Speaker of Truth,' 'Working for the World,' &c. All this gives an air of cramped artificiality, which, linked with a certain teachiness, such as is generally found in books specially intended for young men, imparts a rather pedantic and pragmatic air. But we think Mr. Gibson Craig has it in him to do work which may take a high place, and when he sets himself earnestly to do justice to those fellow-countrymen, who in this case have been, as he confesses, somewhat erratically overlooked, we have no doubt we shall find much to enjoy. How fitly would 'A Faithful Servant' and 'Working for the World' have suited George Wishart or John Knox? We fear Mr. Gibson Craig has shown some lack of economy in titles.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY, 1874.

56. *The Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy.* An Alliterative Romance, translated from GUIDO DE COLONNA's 'Hystoria Troiana.' Edited by the late Rev. GEO. A. PANTON and DAVID DONALDSON, Esq. Part II.

57, 59, and 62. *Cursor Mundi.* (The Cursor o' the World.) A Northumbrian Poem of the Fourteenth Century. Edited by the Rev. RICHARD MORRIS, LL.D. Parts I. II. and III.

58 and 63. *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century.* Edited by the Rev. RICHARD MORRIS, LL.D. Parts I and II.

60. *Meditations on the Supper of our Lord and the Hours of the Passion.* By Cardinal JOHN BONAVENTURA. Done into English Verse by ROBERT MANNING, of Brunne (about 1315-1330). Edited by J. MEADOWS COWPER, F.R.H.S.

61. *The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceeldouene.* Printed from Five Manuscripts; with Illustrations from Prophetic Literature of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. Edited, with Introductions and Notes, by JAMES A. H. MURRAY, LL.D.

Extra Series, XX.—*The History of the Holy Grail.* Englisht, ab. A.D. 1450, by HENRY LONELICH, Skynner, from the French Prose (ab. 1180-1200 A.D.) of Sires ROBERTS DE BORRON. Re-edited by FREDK. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., M.A. Parts I. and II.

XXI.—*The Bruce; or, The Book of the most Excellent and noble Prince Robert de Broys, King of Scots.* Compiled by Master JOHN BARBOUR, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, A.D. 1375. Edited by the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT, M.A. Part II.

XXII.—*Henry Brinklow's Complaynt of Roderick Mors* (about A.D. 1542); and *The Lamentacyon of a Christen agaynst the Cytye of London.* Made by RODERIGO MORS (A.D. 1545). Edited by J. MEADOWS COWPER, F.R.H.S.

XXIII.—*On Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakespeare and Chaucer.* By ALEXANDER J. ELLIS, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.C.P.S., F.C.P. Part VI.

XXIV.—*The Romance of Guy of Warwick.* Version I. Edited from the Parker Manuscript. Ff. 2.38 in the University Library of Cambridge. By Dr. JULIUS ZUPITZA. Part I.

To the second of the above-mentioned volumes, the tenth yearly report of the committee of the Society is prefixed. In it Mr. Furnivall—if we may infer from its style and orthography that he is its author—laments, as on former occasions, the insufficiency of the funds at the Society's disposal for the work it has to do, and repeats his call for additional subscribers, and his hints to those who do subscribe that they should also pay. The tone of the report, however, is on the whole rather that of a year of jubilee; it reviews, with an air of well-earned satisfaction, the several useful lists contained in it of the Society's publications during its ten years' existence. One of these lists sets forth the titles of the works published in the chronological order of the dates—ranging from the tenth to the seventeenth century—at which the books and tracts printed and edited by the Society were originally written. Another list shows which of those works respectively illustrate the several principal dialects of the older English speech, and a third arranges the Society's books by subjects. These catalogues will be of real service to any one who needs to resort to the library which the Society has created for aid in either of the studies it aims at promoting. The committee may justly be proud of their work hitherto, as well as of the stimulus to similar work which they appear to have afforded; but they are in no mood to rest under their laurels, and their account of the result of the labours of their first, and now past ten years is followed by as ample a programme of what they hope to accomplish in the ten years which are, or rather were, to follow when the report was issued, now more than a year ago. We can only express the hope that the committee will be able to do all that they propose, and be more adequately supported in the time to come than they have been in the past.

The second part of the '*Gest Hystoriale*' is accompanied by two interesting prefaces—one by each of the joint editors. The poem is edited from an unique MS. in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow, and bears a title attributing it to Joseph of Exceter, who lived in the reign of King Henry II., from 1154 to 1189, but Mr. Panton arrived at the conclusion that it is a translation, though not a close and continuous one, of Guido de Colonna's '*Historia Troiana*.' Whence the work of Guido was derived, remained, Mr. Panton observes, until quite recently, in the 'uncertainty in which it was left by Warton and his annotators;' but the admirable edition by Monsieur A. Joly, Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres of Caen, of Benoit de Sainte-Maure's

'*Roman de Troie*,' had, before Mr. Panton wrote, made a complete text of that work accessible, and an examination of it showed that Benoit de Sainte-Maure was 'the originator of the great mass of romantic literature respecting the siege and destruction of Troy, so widely diffused, and so popular during the Middle Ages.' '*The Roman de Troie*' appeared between 1175 and 1185; Guido de Colonna's version was finished in 1287; and that now edited being, Mr. Panton thought, the earliest version in our language, was, he concluded, produced in the middle of the fourteenth century, by a Scottish nobleman—the Gude Schir Hew of Eglintoun (p. 16).

We do not quite understand whether Mr. Donaldson concurs in the belief that Sir Hew was the author, but he, as well as Mr. Panton, appears (pp. 16, 62) to be satisfied that the author is identical with the poet who, under the name of Huchowne, wrote '*The Awntyrr of Gawane*,' and '*The Pystyll of Swete Susane*;' and if so, the writer of the Society's report for 1873 says that we must add to the roll of English poets the name of a worthy contemporary of Chaucer. The language is that of Southern Scotland, including words and phrases current there still, but mingled with midland forms, supposed to have been imported into the work by a transcriber.

The issue of the first three parts of the '*Cursor Mundi*' is the beginning of the second, as the print in 1873 of the three-version edition of the '*Vision of Piers Plowman*' was the completion of the first of the Society's greater undertakings (Report, p. 2). The '*Cursor Mundi*' is a poetical world history.

'Cursor of ye werlde I wil hit cal,
for almost hit overrnyns al.'

It is printed by the Society in four parallel texts, from four distinct and various MSS., for the loan of one of which, belonging to the University of Göttingen, the Society are indebted to the famous Prussian Minister of Public Worship, Dr. Falck. The work, which preceded the publication of Wycliffe's Bible, is one of those precursors of the new learning and the Reformation which may be studied with much interest.

The version of Bonaventura's *Meditations* is a specimen of Midland verse of the early part of the fourteenth century. The learned editor thinks it probable that of the many translations of the work of the Seraphic Doctor which have been made, this is the earliest, but it seems that it does not very closely follow the original. The grammatical peculiarities of the version are commented on and tabulated by Mr. Cowper in his preface.

In the '*Blickling Homilies*' we read the discourses of an earnest English preacher just 1000 years ago, as appears from a passage (pp. 117, 118) in which the Homilist expresses his belief that doomsday will soon come, 'because this earth must of necessity come to an end in this age which is now present, for five of the [foretokens] have come to pass in this age, wherefore this world must come to an end,

and of this the greatest portion [already] has elapsed, even nine hundred and seventy-one years, in this [very] year.' The tone of the woe-begone age in which the preacher lived pervades the sermons, and, in the translation accompanying the text, they are very interesting. But the originals are of chief value to the Society, the language being of a time about seventy or eighty years later than the version of Gregory's Pastoral, edited in 1871-72. When the glossary is published, the work will be of great value to the student of the earliest English.

Dr. Murray's edition of Thomas the Rhymer is both exhaustive and careful. His introduction is a valuable contribution to the history of the fourteenth century. The literature of the subject and the printed editions of the prophecies will be useful.

Of Lonelich's translation of De Borron's 'History of the Holy Grail' we can only quote the words of the report, that, 'though poor, Lonelich's poem is the only full English history of the coming of the Grail to White Britain, which is England. It is part of that series of English Arthur-Romances which the committee from the first promised to print entire; and its curious mixture of monkish superstitions, legends, and fights, will interest the student of Middle-Age romance and belief.'

Any further remarks it may be necessary to make in reference to 'The Bruce,' of which we have a second instalment, may conveniently await the completion of the work.

Henry Brinklow, the writer of the two tracts published under the pseudonym of 'Roderick Mors,' was a Grey Friar of Henry VIII.'s reign, who left the fraternity, married, became a mercer and citizen of London, and died in 1546. His spirit was vexed at the evil doings of his time, and as, from the tracts before us, it appears that he denounced them in no very measured terms, it is not wonderful that he should have suffered the fate common in such cases, and been banished by the influence of those in high places whom his words affronted. The bishops were his enemies 'because he spoke God's truth.' But it was not with the bishops only that he quarrelled. The landlord and tenant question is one of those he moots, and the 'inhansing of rentes by land lordes' was a 'wickednes commonly used thorow the realm unponysshed;' and, hot Protestant as he was, he contrasts the state of the tenants under the new landlords with that they enjoyed under the abbey, favourably to the latter. 'The law's delays,' enclosing of parks, abuses of procedure, pluralities, auricular confession, are a few of the topics on which he delivered his testimony in fluent and eloquent language.

The 'Romance of Guy' contains simply the text so far as the line 8938.

Bibliographical Clue to Latin Literature. Edited, after Dr. E. HÜBNER's, by JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A. Macmillan and Co.

The abridged title, 'Latin Literature,' is, we fear, likely to mislead the public with re-

gard to the nature of this work. It is, therefore, of importance to remember that, as the full title indicates, it is only a bibliographical clue to the subject. In fact, it is scarcely more than a chronological list, extending from the earliest period down to the sixth century, of the great poets, historians, philosophers, orators, and theologians who used the Latin tongue; together with the best editions of them carefully specified, and the best books on the literature of the different subjects mentioned. The work furnishes the most exact information upon the subject, and will be of immense service to teachers, editors, librarians, and booksellers; and last, but not least, to the young student who, through lack of information, frequently wastes both time and money in procuring worthless editions. This is Hübner's book edited, corrected, and enlarged. The name of the author is a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of the work. The reader whom it concerns must not forget that many of the recent English editions are passed over, because he is supposed to consult 'The Guide to the Choice of Classical Books,' by Joseph Bickersteth Mayor, published in 1874.

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND PHILOLOGY.

The Gospels in the Second Century. An Examination of the Critical Part of a Work entitled 'Supernatural Religion.' By W. SANDAY, M.A. Macmillan and Co.

Mr. Sanday's careful treatise on the 'Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel,' and his discussion in the 'Fortnightly Review' of the originality of Marcion's Gospel, excited great expectation that a formal review by the same author of the critical part of the argument of 'Supernatural Religion' would prove to be a highly valuable contribution to the chief theological question of the day; nor are we disappointed. The volume before us is a model of dignified and honest criticism. The author imputes no motives, indulges in no rhetoric, admits every weak point in the chain of evidence by which the authenticity of the Gospels can be sustained, gives abundant credit to the author of 'Supernatural Religion' for an honest attempt to get at the facts of the case, is almost painfully cautious lest he should draw an inference beyond the strict limits of the evidence before him; and, as we think, actually disposes for ever of many of the Teutonic speculations which have been made current amongst us by the kind of popularity accorded to a certain notorious assault upon the Christian faith. The volume before us contains an impartial and a strictly scientific inquiry into certain matters of fact. We have frequently said that the present state of Biblical science rendered a larger and critical discussion of the philosophy and extent of 'quotation,' as well as of the *rationale* of 'external evidence,'

imperatively necessary. The work of Mr. Sanday supplies the desideratum, so far as a portion of the New Testament is concerned. We will venture to suggest to him the discussion of the wider question, viz., the *external* evidence upon which we accept as genuine the principal writings of Plato, Herodotus, Philo, or Cicero, to say nothing of Anacreon or Catullus, for this would, when marshalled, be instructive comment on modern rationalism. Quotations made by the Apostolic Fathers, by Justin Martyr and others, if we are certain of the date of these writings, prove the prior existence of the documents which are thus introduced. If, however, passages which have been claimed as quotations differ from the supposed originals, or blend several passages together, it is open to the objector to make another hypothesis as to their source. The author of 'Supernatural Religion' has taken the early Christian writers one by one, and reviewed these supposed quotations, and he comes to the conclusion that they are, for the most part, so inaccurate, or unlike the canonical Scriptures, that the safer hypothesis is to imagine unknown documents, from which both the Gospels and the patristic quotations have proceeded. 'If he comes across a quotation apparently taken from our Gospels, he is at once ready with his reply, "But it may be taken from a lost Gospel." Granted; it may. But the extant Gospel is there, and the quotation is referrible to it: the lost Gospel is an unknown entity, which may contain anything or nothing.'

The possibility of its being the source of the quotation is not enough; the author is bound to show that it is the more probable hypothesis. Now Mr. Sanday has rendered this profoundly difficult by showing in what way, and with what degrees of variance, even the LXX. and other ancient and acknowledged writings are quoted by those who also quote the Gospels. It is admitted that there is more conformity in the former than in the latter. This is what might have been expected. But the extent of the variance in New Testament and patristic quotation from the Old Testament is very remarkable and instructive. Notwithstanding the confidence with which the author of 'Supernatural Religion' had urged the originality of Marcion's Gospel, and had refuted the hypothesis of its being a mutilation of St. Luke's Gospel, Mr. Sanday appears to us to have established the older position by irrefragable argument. Taking the reconstructed Gospel of Marcion, he shows that it reveals a multitude of linguistic and grammatical peculiarities, which also are found in the portions of Luke's Gospel which are not preserved, and which are indeed known to have been omitted by Marcion. Moreover, the difference of text between Marcion's fragments and the canonical Luke force back the original composition and publication of the Gospel of Luke to a much earlier date.

It is impossible to touch here on the numerous arguments and methods of our author, but we call especial attention to the following.

He urges that we are not dependent upon these early patristic quotations for our proof. There are numerous coincident considerations which would have precisely the same force if the entire literature from 90-170 A.D. were swept away. The translations, the undoubted quotations of Irenæus and Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus and Tertullian, the certain diffusion of these documents, at the end of the second century, from Alexandria to Ephesus, from Carthage to Lyons, the Muratorian fragment, the organisation of the Church and its known use of the Gospels, compel a greater antiquity than the rationalistic hypothesis warrants. We heartily thank Mr. Sanday for the spirit, ability, and learning with which he has executed his difficult task.

The Lost Gospel and its Contents; or, the Author of 'Supernatural Religion' Refuted by Himself. By the Rev. M. F. SADLER, M.A., Rector of Honiton. George Bell and Sons.

Mr. Sadler has made a few points which the author of 'Supernatural Religion' will not find it easy to controvert. He quietly ignores the literary lumber which is imported into the discussion of a very simple problem, and proceeds, by copious extracts from Justin Martyr, 'the principal witness' for the existence and character of Christian tradition and literature in the second century, to prove that this writer made no addition worth speaking of to the records and ideas concerning Christ contained in the Four Gospels; that, spite of verbal differences, he effected substantial quotations from them, weaving them together, reporting their combined testimony, and obviously treating them as authoritative. If Justin had quoted earlier narratives, and not the Four Gospels, those narratives are substantially and in detail the same Gospel which we now possess, and in a form more suggestive of the supernatural. Justin's doctrine concerning our Lord's Godhead and the Logos, his teaching concerning our Lord as 'King, Priest, and Angel,' the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Subordination of the Son, are shown to be simple expansions and comments upon the representations of the Fourth Gospel. This argument is conducted in charming indifference to the counter-speculations of ingenious critics, solely by producing abundant quotations from Justin himself. A little common sense employed in bringing the writings of Justin and St. John side by side lets a great deal of daylight into the discussion. Other portions of the great argument are also briefly touched upon, and some shrewd and useful conclusions drawn from obvious facts. The volume, as far as it goes, is timely and valuable, though here and there the author has gone beyond his depth. He puts very effectively the improbability of the hypothesis that, between the time of Justin and Irenæus, the Gospel of John could have been foisted upon the credulity of the early Church.

Eight Months at Rome during the Vatican Council. Impressions of a Contemporary.

By POMPONIO LETO. Translated from the Original. John Murray.

This is a remarkable book, and will have a great historical value to future ages. Every great assemblage, however carefully guarded, will have a Pomponio Leto, who, as some of our readers may know, was a liberal philosopher and teacher of the Renaissance, regarded therefore with much suspicion, and persecuted by Paul II. His pseudonym, it is understood, is here assumed by Marchese Francesco Nobili-Vitelleschi, brother of the late Cardinal of that name, who kept a diary of the transactions of the Vatican Council, singularly free from passion and informed by intelligence. He seems to occupy a position half-way between the Ultramontanes and the Old Catholics. He is faithfully attached to his Church, but sees its defects, and earnestly and intelligently seeks to remedy them. His record is that of a thoroughly friendly observer, and his criticisms those of a pious liberal Catholic well acquainted with history, and evincing a good deal of statesmanlike and philosophical insight. There is not a violent word in his diary, and yet the story of the Council which he tells is consciously or unconsciously made to suggest both the enormous evils which have been developed in the Papacy and the direction of imperative reform. His criticism of men is keen and sagacious. Cardinal Manning, for instance, is presented in a truthful and not very flattering *silhouette*. Strossmayer is also well portrayed, with many others. One gets a very vivid conception of the discussions and dissensions of what may prove one of the most famous councils of history. The Pope has given the book the distinction of a place in the Index.

The Antiquities of Israel. By HEINRICH EWALD. Translated from the German by HENRY SHAEN SOLLY, M.A. Longmans, Green, and Co.

This very important and valuable volume is founded upon the history to which it was originally designed to be an appendix. It therefore assumes more than an independent work would have done. But, for practical uses it is but little affected by this. The actual antiquities of which it treats are altogether independent of theories concerning 'The Book of Origins,' the various 'Narrators,' or the age of the Pentateuch. It is an exposition of the institutions of the Jewish people as set forth in the Pentateuch, and these in a very masterly way it classifies and describes. The arrangement is—after an introduction on the Laws and Customs of the Theocracy in its Transition to the Monarchy, —1. The one side:—Human efforts and actions towards God, *e.g.*, utterances of worship, first in words, next in sacrifices, next in offerings, next in consecrated men and things. —2. The other side:—The divine demands for holiness and righteousness, including the sanctity inherent in nature; the sanctity inherent in human beings, life, home, &c.; and the sanctity inherent in Javeh and his kingdom. —3. The third section exhibits these

two sides in connection, through the Theocracy, and deals with the institutions of the national organisation and life.—4. The fourth section exhibits the supplements which in course of time both sides received, such as the great Sabbath cycle, &c.

The grasp is very masterly, and the elucidation keen, minute, and clear. Ewald's rare constructive genius has full play here with very little of drawback. A clearer conception of the grand organisation of the unique Theocracy of the Jews will be obtained from this work than from any that we know. Scarcely any item of the Jewish constitution is omitted, and each one has its place in Ewald's masterly grouping.

Leaving us an Example. Is it Living, and Why? An Inquiry suggested by certain Passages in John Stuart Mill's 'Essays on Religion.' Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

Here is a somewhat remarkable book, belonging to the class of which 'Ecce Homo' is still *facile princeps*. The writer adduces the admissions of Rénan and John Stuart Mill concerning the personal character and influence of Jesus of Nazareth, and lays the foundation of his argument in a series of chapters setting forth the perfect human character of Christ. These are written calmly and freshly; they lack the rhetorical fire of the great chapter in Bushnell's 'Supernaturalism,' but by a series of particulars they demonstrate how transcendent, how morally perfect, He was even on Mill's theory that He was a man charged with a great mission from God.

Thus He is the supreme example of human goodness, and the writer maintains that His distinctive power consists in His being not as others, a mere historic example remembered after death, but an example continuing to live in virtue of His resurrection; so that He now, as a living person, has all the qualities that He had when on earth. Faith is defined as the acceptance of Him as an example; and a man who does thus accept Him as a living example, to whom his life is to be conformed, is justified. • Such acceptance is, in Scripture language, 'justification, by faith.' The forgiveness of sins is one effect of accepting Christ as an example; but it is only introductory to conformity to His life. This, of course, is true in the practical sequence of things, but is it true that the acceptance of the example by faith is the scriptural idea of justification,—that the believer's share in the merits of Christ's religious goodness as accepted by faith is the ground and theory of justification? 'Faith, then, considered subjectively, is a continuous act of the will in the direction of the great Example; a resolute persevering endeavour to tread in His footsteps. This being so, we can understand why faith should obtain for man a share in the merits of Christ.' His share in the merits of Christ is thus interpreted as the attainment of a moral goodness like that of Christ. Christ's sacrifice was simply the perfect moral submission of His will and heart to God. The difference between thus speaking of

Christ's life as a sacrifice and the scriptural language speaking of His death as the sacrifice, is, the writer thinks, a 'mere question of words,' inasmuch as 'the word "life" includes the whole term of existence.' 'His sacrifice culminated upon the cross.' The atonement is the result of the moral process of receiving by faith Christ as our living example. 'If the scriptural doctrine of justification by faith were fully understood and universally received, we should never hear of the doctrine of substitution again, for the two are wholly irreconcilable.'

We can obviously attempt no reply to this theory here, nor is it needful. It has been again and again propounded, and again and again rejected, as insufficient to satisfy the conscience of men and the strong representations of Scripture. It is simply a restatement of what has been termed the moral theory of the atonement as distinguished from the expiatory theory. In Mr. Dale's Lecture on the Atonement a full and, as we think, unanswerable refutation of it may be found, and an argument for the objective expiatory character of Christ's death as an atonement, founded upon the course of thought of the sacred writers. To that we must be contented to refer.

We have only to add that the book is reverent and religious, and is reasoned out with great ability. Of course, we do not question the truth of its separate assertions concerning the imitation of Christ. We hold them as strongly as the writer. We only demur to his use of them in his theory of atonement.

We should add that, in a concluding section, the author argues from the perfect goodness of Christ to the being of a God. He contends for the reality of miracles, although he thinks that they are only the operations of higher and unknown laws. He argues for the divinity and incarnation of Christ from the fact that Christ was the highest expression of the moral power that governs the world. 'Christ is the perfect organ and instrument of the moral power.' 'The difference between Christ and other men is this: the contact with the Divine nature, which is imperfect in them, was perfect and complete in Him.' 'A perfect man can be nothing less than the incarnation of the moral power which is above and within us.' Christ thus becomes the object of adoration. He therefore holds strongly by the proper divinity and incarnation of Christ, and on grounds which we should fully accept, although not we think on all the grounds which are the valid basis of orthodox belief.

The Humiliation of Christ, in its Physical, Ethical, and Official Aspects. The Sixth Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By ALEXANDER B. BRUCE, D.D. Edinburgh. T. and T. Clark.

The critical capacity and the theological knowledge which these lectures display are a guarantee that the appointment of their author to the Professorship of Divinity in the Free Church College, Glasgow, will prove advan-

tageous to the students attending that institution. Professor Bruce has written here, not as a student in philosophy, but as a theologian. He avoids theorising where no basis for the formation of theories can be found in Scripture. His purpose has been to examine and ascertain the precise teaching of Revelation regarding our Lord's humiliation, in order to apply it as a guide in the formation of sound views regarding the person and work of our Lord. He has naturally also been led to criticise various Christological and Soteriological theories; but the author's investigations are strictly within the limits of dogmatic theology founded upon the Holy Scriptures. Those who desire to see the faith of the Christian Church clearly exhibited, disencumbered from philosophical subtleties, and to trace the genetic development of the Church's ideas regarding the Son of God, will find much material of value in the volume before us. The expositions are the result of careful inquiry, and are illuminated by a theological insight, the issue of profound but reverential thought, which at every turn, when tempted to indulge in merely speculative exercises, has checked itself by reference to the actual contents of the Divine revelation. Those whose interest in the cardinal doctrines of our Lord's divinity and the relations of His suffering to His glorified humanity is mainly of a philosophical or speculative character, will not perhaps find much of what they are in search of in these lectures; but they will commend themselves to all theological inquirers to whom the religious and ethical aspects of Christological truth are matters of direct practical significance. We regard this volume as a substantial contribution to the best school of constructive scriptural theology amongst us.

The Childhood of Religions: embracing a simple Account of the Birth and Growth of Myths and Legends. By EDWARD CLODD, F.R.A.S., Author of 'The Childhood of the World.' H. S. King and Co.

This little book is intended for the 'youthful reader,' whose interest it will excite and whose attention it will retain by the simplicity of its style and the legendary character of a great portion of its contents. Mr. Clodd seeks to popularise the conclusions which science is supposed to have reached regarding the origin of the various religions of the world, and of the narratives that are common to many of them with reference to the infancy and history of man. The character of the works laid under contribution may be estimated when we mention among the authors relied upon Professors Max Müller, Whitney, and De Gubernatis; and Doctors Muir, Tylor, Legge, and Deutsch. 'The Childhood of Religions' is a compilation from these and other writers, and might have been called 'Simple Lessons in Comparative Theology.' So far as it merely seeks to put in an easy and intelligible form the results obtained by science, there is no reason to object to what the author has here accomplished. There is

a great work yet waiting to be done by science in tracing out the fundamental identities of thought and belief that are to be found among all races and peoples, and which will yet bring the most conclusive evidence in favour of the unity of the human family, and its superiority, in what may be deemed its rudest phases, to the animal condition to which a rash empiricism would sometimes lead it back. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Clodd is not satisfied with his legitimate pursuit. The resemblances between the legends of other religions and the narratives in Holy Scripture surely testify quite as certainly to the reality of the truths of Revelation as to the similarity of the tendencies of human thought and feeling in different branches of the family of mankind. The legendary explanation of these beliefs attributes them to the identity of the operations of the human fancy or imagination, without admitting that the fact of the human mind exhibiting these tendencies testifies to the objective reality of the truths. At all events, science must confess itself incapable of deciding that it does not. In Mr. Clodd's hands it leads us to accept the belief in the existence of 'one God and Father of all,' but this faith is not really given by science, but is derived from the sphere of religious experience. What right has any one to accept this one doctrine, and to discard all the others that are equally valid to faith, and equally necessary to account for religious experience? Mr. Clodd regards Christianity as but one among the many forms in which the religious spirit has manifested itself, and assigns to the Bible no more authority in any real sense of the term than to the Koran. It is at best *primus inter pares*, all religions having their measure of truth and all 'earnest' spirits being equally under the guidance of the One Spirit of Truth. The theory is a very old one in a new form. Driven from other departments, it now takes up its abode with science; but it only requires a more scrupulous fidelity to the facts with which science deals to show that it is as untenable there as it has been found elsewhere. Christianity must be all or nothing; if it be not Divine, it is a system of deception—an alternative which sceptics bolder than Mr. Clodd have not scrupled to face.

Foundations of Religion in the Mind and Heart of Man. By the Right Hon. Sir JOHN BARNARD BYLES, late one of the Judges of Her Majesty's Court of Common Pleas at Westminster. John Murray.

Mr. Justice Byles puts forth this little book as the contribution to the speculative controversies of the day of a calmly judicial mind, which rests in its devout and intelligent reception of the religion of Jesus Christ. It is a digest of what are called the Historical Evidences of Christianity, conceived in the school of Butler and Paley, and presented with such new lights as modern scientific and philosophical thought have furnished. In twenty comparatively brief chapters the

author discusses such themes as 'Natural Sources of Religious Knowledge,' 'The First Cause,' 'Death and a Future Life,' 'Providence,' 'Worship,' 'Evil,' &c. Extensive reading, lucid conciseness, careful restraint and limitation of argument, and dignified benevolence are the characteristics of the writer. He seems to catch the calm elevated spirit of his lofty themes, and to be delivering judgment rather than urging an advocacy. It is refreshing to find a thinker of the departing rather than of the coming generation recalling us to the unanswerable cogency of the argument from final causes, which we may have permitted a somewhat shallow scepticism unduly to depreciate. It is like an able historical lawyer falling back upon constitutional law.

We cannot notice the details of Mr. Justice Byles's chapters, in which, although generally in most hearty agreement with him, we should probably find points on which he does not carry our convictions. Occasionally, for instance, he puts upon his argument more than the evidence seems to warrant, *e.g.*, the influence of Paul upon Seneca; or, still more important, the claim for Christianity as the source of *all* ethical principle and life. His great argument for Christianity from the constitution and necessities of human life is irrefragable. This is indeed the condition of all evidential value, even of the New Testament itself.

We cordially commend this thoughtful, learned, wise, and catholic-hearted little book.

Principles of New Testament Quotation Established and Applied to Biblical Science. By the Rev. JAMES SCOTT, M.A., B.D. T. and T. Clark.

This admirable treatise does not—after the manner of Mr. Turpie's excellent works, entitled, 'The Old Testament in the New,' and 'The New Testament view of the Old'—traverse in detail the forms and formulæ of New Testament quotation from the Old, nor does it enter with minuteness into the philological and theological discussions arising around many groups of these quotations. Mr. Scott confines his attention to the principles involved in them. He classifies these quotations into literal, substantial, synthetic, paraphrastic, and eclectic groups, and makes many interesting remarks on the allusive and accommodating principles of reference to the Old Testament Scripture. He shows, by well chosen instances, that the patristic quotations from both the Old and the New Testament are conducted on principles fundamentally identical, and resemble the New Testament quotations from the Old. Though in later times greater exactness became the rule, it appears that Calvin, Bacon, Owen, Grotius, and others treated Scripture in a very similar fashion, and that classical writers have been submitted to precisely the same free handling on the part of those who have allusively or eclectically quoted from them. An interesting discussion vindicating the methods thus analysed is followed by a very valuable sum-

mation of the argument in its bearing upon the New Testament canon, the originality of the Gospels, the internal unity of Scripture, the permanence of the truth revealed in the Old Testament, though the dispensation in which it was enshrined waxed old and vanished away. These generalities are very interesting, and if they were accompanied by detailed evidence and careful induction, would do good service at the present time.

The St. James's Lectures. Companions for the Devout Life. Six Lectures Delivered in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, A.D. 1875. With a Preface by the Rev. J. E. KEMPE, M.A., Rector. John Murray.

Mr. Kempe tells us that he is indebted for the conception of these lectures to the Bishop of Derry. It is in every way an excellent one. It is to discuss the sacred classics which are chosen as topics for these lectures, not in their literary, but in their spiritual aspect and power. While the Holy Scripture is the supreme source of our spiritual nurture, books, sermons, hymns, and many other subordinate sources have a very great secondary value. The purpose here is to appraise the religious value to spiritual life of each work selected for discussion. These are the 'De Imitatione Christi,' Pascal's 'Pensées,' St. Francis of Sales's 'Introduction to a Devout Life,' Baxter's 'Saints' Rest,' Augustine's 'Confessions,' and Jeremy Taylor's 'Holy Living and Dying.'

The treatment, of course, varies with the ability and wisdom of the lecturer. Dr. Farrar is rhetorical and imaginative in his exhibition of the 'De Imitatione;' Dean Church quiet and scholarly in that of the 'Pensées;' Archbishop Trench thoughtful and graceful in setting forth the 'Saints' Rest.' All, however, are able and interesting; all are characterised by devout feeling, liberal apprehension, and vigorous expression.

The main question with us is the one raised by Dean Goulburn. Is the devout life an 'art' needing rules? Without denying this absolutely, we should give far more emphasis to the idea that it is a life needing culture, to which both art and rules are very subordinate indeed. The defect of most of these spiritual treatises is that they make the idea of disciplinary regulation far too prominent. Sump-
tuary laws are good neither for body nor soul; the holy freedom of a heart that loves and never thinks of rules at all is better. And we may say these writers attain to excellency in proportion as they realise this.

A Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ. By CH. ED. CASPARI. From the original German Work, revised by the Author. Translated, with Additional Notes, by MAURICE J. EVANS, B.A. With Map of the Scene of our Lord's Labours and Plan of Jerusalem. T. and T. Clark.

There was and still remains abundant room for a work of this kind, devoted to the task of expounding the chronological and geogra-

phical framework of the life of our Lord. It is astonishing to find how many moot points present themselves as soon as the student attempts to arrange in minute detail the exact position in historic time and place of the leading events of the life of Jesus. Dr. Caspari, in this work, originally published in 1868, and especially revised for the purposes of the translation before us, does not attempt a biographical outline or spiritual exposition of the great life. He does not deal with the authenticity of the Gospels or the absolute credibility of the narrative as a whole; but he discusses, with great care and learning, with abundant knowledge and singular independence, the very numerous questions which arise from any attempt to bring the statements of the Four Gospels about 'place' or 'time' into harmony with each other and with well ascertained chronology of secular events. He makes some shrewd conjectures, which provoke inquiry, if they do not insure conviction. As an illustration, Dr. Caspari of course observes that the Fourth Gospel is in the main occupied with events taking place in Jerusalem, while the Synoptic narratives record the Galilean ministry. He makes the remark that John, in all probability, ordinarily resided in Jerusalem, as he had a home there and his mother lived there; he supposes that John was accustomed to visit the Sea of Galilee only before a Passover, with a view of securing a stock of fish for the Jerusalem market; that the Twelve need not be supposed to have always accompanied Jesus on all His journeys to the metropolis, and that John alone was acquainted with the details of the Saviour's life in Jerusalem; and that his record combines with the Synoptic narrative, either in Jerusalem or at the lake side, shortly before one of the Passovers. This hypothesis suggests many fresh difficulties which are not discussed. The key of the chronology is, in Dr. Caspari's hands, the date of the death of Herod the Great. This he postpones to 753 A.U.C., and, by a vast multitude of facts and statements, he is ultimately induced to return to the Dionysian era of the birth of Christ. He rightly considers that the accession of Tiberius to the Principate, rather than the death of Augustus, in 767, is the limit from which 'the fifteenth year' of Tiberius is to be reckoned. The census of Quirinus is not explained by Zumpt's hypothesis of a double hegemony of Quirinus, but by a very dubious translation of Luke ii. 1-4: 'This census, or enrolment, was before that made (i.e., immediately preceding that made) by Quirinus as Governor of Syria.' The last Passover puzzle disappears in his hands by the plausible hypothesis that our Lord celebrated an anticipatory festival, without the lamb—not the Paschal supper proper—on the commencement of the 14th of Nisan, that He was crucified on that day, and was buried upon it (the day of preparation), 'not on the feast-day.' He judges that the Passover was eaten on that evening, and thus, repudiating the hypotheses of Hengstenberg and many others, which bring

John's Gospel into harmony with the Synoptic narrative, he performs the reverse operation, and shows that the four Evangelists assert the same fact.

We see no mention of the recent labours and identifications of the Palestine Exploration Society either in Jerusalem or Galilee, but a large amount of novel speculation is offered. Thus, *Bethania*, in 'Judæa beyond Jordan,' and 'the wilderness of Judæa,' are placed north of the Sea of Galilee. Our readers will see at a glance how numerous the rectifications of 'chronicle' and 'harmony' involved in this hypothesis. The points are exceedingly numerous on which great difference of opinion prevails, and which we cannot here discuss. The work would be more valuable if a chronological synopsis of the results had been appended. Still, the care, reverence, thoughtfulness, and ingenuity of the arrangement will render the volume an indispensable companion to the student of the life of Christ. The author is often dogmatic in his tone, even when fundamentally differing, not only from Hales and Ussher, but from Wieseler, Seyffarth, Zumpt, Keim, and others. The translator has done his work admirably, and his own introduction and notes add greatly to the value of the work.

The Son of Man: His Life and Ministry. By G. S. Drew, M.A. Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. Drew here seeks to complete the development of the idea embodied in 'Nazareth: its Life and Lessons,' and to show the influence upon our Lord's public life of His home life for thirty years at Nazareth; or, rather, to exhibit both in their inter-relations and organic unity. The Nazareth life was not hidden, it was lived among men; therefore Mr. Drew justly argues we are not forbidden to reproduce and study it so far as may be practicable. Much that Mr. Drew says is necessarily inferential and the work of the constructive imagination; but his discernment is clear, his heart reverent, his thought penetrating, and his judgment sagacious, so that his studies are really a help to a more adequate conception of the Divine Man. On some points we should demur to his conclusions; for instance, that our Lord first became conscious of his Divine Incarnation at His baptism: the greater probabilities, we think, point to His first visit to the Temple.

We cannot, however, criticise details, but only express our high admiration of a very thoughtful, eloquent, and reverent book.

The Deep Things of God. By WILLIAM BATHGATE. Glasgow: James Maclehose.

It is seldom we have met with a book containing so much of what is beautiful and attractive in devout thought in such small space as is offered to us in this little volume. The writer is favourably known by a previous work, entitled, 'Christ and Man; or, God's Answer to our Chief Questions,' which attracted some attention at the time of its publication. If we could characterise his new volume in a sentence it would be by saying

that it is an illustration of the truth conveyed in the text, 'In Thy light we shall see light.' The 'deep things of God' are a source not of mystery and darkness, but of light; because they are a revelation of fundamental principles that lie at the root of the constitution of God's universe. Or, as the same thing is better put by Mr. Bathgate, 'the deep things of God, searched by the "Spirit of Truth," and revealed to the Apostles of Christ, are depths of light and not of darkness, immense fields of light and life, and not abysses of contradictions and inscrutabilities.' In dealing with them the author has not so much sought to untie theological knots as to show that 'the deep things of God send floods of light through and round the great provinces of spiritual thought and action.' That he has succeeded in his object will, we believe, be gladly testified by all who read this little volume in a meditative spirit. To such it will at once appeal as the outcome of a spiritual experience which bears the unmistakable stamp of reality. Speaking out of a full heart, other hearts will respond, as face answereth to face in a glass. The first chapter speaks of 'the meditative spirit,' without which no apprehension of 'the deep things of God' is possible. Without waiting for the light it will never search through the human spirit; and though life is not always the result of light, there can be no life without light. Hence a knowledge of the relations of the Living God to persons and things is vital towards the origin and growth of genuine spiritual life. Mr. Bathgate's treatment of these subjects is marked by a quiet penetrative insight which, if it never startles by any marked originality of thought, satisfies the mind by bringing it, as it were, into contact with truths that are full of comfort and consolation. The special topics handled, after an introductory chapter on 'The Revelation of Spiritual Realities,' are 'The Personality of God,' Christ as 'The Light of the World,' 'The Fatherhood of God,' 'The Providence of God,' 'The Kingdom of God on Earth,' and 'The Christian Immortality.' The writer's desire has been that what he has here written 'may be helpful in strengthening the faith of some men in a Personal God and the Heavenly Father, in the Light and Life of men, and in the Kingdom of God on earth and above the stars.' We hope that the book may prove of use to troubled spirits who may have been tortured by doubts, by leading them to look away from mere external evidences and individual efforts of their own up to the central height where Revelation alone can ever bring peace—a peace which the world can neither give nor take away—to the consciences and hearts of men. We heartily commend Mr. Bathgate's little treatise to all thoughtful minds.

Before the Table. An Inquiry, Historical and Theological, into the True Meaning of the Consecration Rubric in the Communion Service of the Church of England; with Appendix and Supplement, containing Papers

by the BISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS and the Rev. R. W. KENNION. By J. S. HOWSON, D.D., Dean of Chester. Macmillan and Co.

The Dean of Chester is well known for his liberality and learning. He has exhibited both in the work before us. We believe he is right in repudiating the thesis that ritual can honestly be taken to have no bearing upon doctrine, and therefore can safely be left to the æsthetic proclivities of 'bishops and curates.' The posture and position of the celebrant of the Holy Communion are expressive of a party bias, and are widely deemed to proclaim or to deny faith in the sacrificial character of the Eucharistic service and the dogma of the Real Presence of the Lord in the sacrament. Dean Howson has shown, by very clear argument, that the fixed position of the Lord's table at the east wall of the chancel is an unauthorised modification of the rubrical directions as to the position of the table during the Communion, that if the Ritualist claims freedom to deviate from the ordinary rubric as to the position of the celebrant, and if he persists in passing from the north side of the table to the eastward position, it will be *a fortiori* open to the loyal sons of the Church of England to shift the table itself to the nave, turn it at right angles to its customary position, and thus create further disunion and diversity within the enclosure of the Church, give further objections to the Puritans, and irresistible arguments to the Liberation Society. He shows, as it seems to us, conclusively, that the 'north side' is not the north end of the western side, and that the phrase 'standing before the table,' to offer the prayer of consecration, does not mean to stand with the back to the communicants, and thus to conceal with his priestly person the view of his own operations, or to smother the voice amidst the ornaments of the reredos. He lays legitimate emphasis on the word *standing* as opposed to that of *kneeling*,—the posture which is adopted during the 'prayer of humble access.' He urges that it is possible to 'stand before the table' at either side—east, west, north, or south—and that the fourth rubric directs the *posture*, not the *position*. He shows historically when and why this rubric was introduced. He proves that, before 1662, Jewel, Wren, and Laud, and that, after the 'Settlement,' Wheatley and Mant, alike recognised it as a fixed principle that the 'eastward position' is a novelty, not necessary even for those who do hold the Eucharistic sacrifice and the Real Presence. He briefly shows the entire absence from the New Testament of any mention of the sacrificial functions of the minister or any sacrificial terms as applied to the Eucharist. He glories righteously in the circumstance that the term 'altar' was studiously expelled from the Book of Common Prayer, and from all services except the Coronation service; that the word *priest* stands therein for *πρεσβύτερος*, not *επὶ*, and that a comparison of the Roman and Anglican ordination office establishes the reformation that was intended in this matter.

The whole tone of the discussion is liberal and Christian, but in ritual the Dean would allow no permissive orientation.

The History of Christianity. By E. W. BOUZIQUE. Translated from the French Original, with the concurrence of the Author, by JOHN R. BEARD, D.D. Vols. I. and II. Williams and Norgate.

M. Bouzique, whose name is unknown to us, is a retired member of the French legislature and bar, who translated the satires of Juvenal into French verse, and did some good work as mayor of a provincial town in France. In his old days, retired from the bar and public life, he has turned his attention to the archives of Christianity, and has prepared a work on the early history of Christianity which has some merit, but which we fail to see any advantage in translating into English. Its stand-point is that of the Rationalistic and Unitarian school, which is now unhappily dominant among French Protestants. He denies the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel, and with it those truths which are characteristic of the teaching of John the Divine. The corner-stone thus gone, what remains of the edifice is only an attenuated Deism. His sketches of the early corruptions of Christianity are nothing new, and we do not see that his preliminary survey of the surrounding religions, Magianism, Brahmanism, and Buddhism, throw much light on the rise of Christianity. There are some good points, it must be admitted, in his volumes. His explanation of the growth of the myth of Peter the Apostle preaching in Rome, and helping with Paul to plant the Church there, is particularly good. He points out how a single phrase of Clement's epistle misled Eusebius and other Oriental Christians not familiar with the geography of the West. A fiction which was at first not denied by those at Rome who knew better, afterwards grew into an admitted fact. It was the interest of the Roman hierarchy to uphold it at all cost, and so the Patriarchal Church of Rome was built on the joint foundation of the two great apostles of the circumcision and of the uncircumcision.

In many of these hits at modern Romanism we can heartily agree, and we also admire the candid truth-loving spirit which pervades the work. Still, as we remarked before, even Unitarian Christians in this country will find nothing which they will not meet with in translations of Church history written either in English or German.

The English Bible. An External and Critical History of the various English Translations of Scripture. With Remarks on the need of Revising the English New Testament. By JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D. Two Vols. Macmillan and Co.

In these two bulky volumes the late Dr. Eadie has given us a minute and scholarly history of the English Bible. Its story as a book is full of literary interest, anecdote, and sometimes romance. It is but natural that a

book which so identifies itself with religious life and with religious changes, should in its history be full of vicissitude. No mere notice could possibly touch any one of the different topics of Dr. Eadie's book, much less give any synopsis or attempt any criticism of them. It must suffice to say that, beginning with old versions of the Scriptures in Keltic dialects of Britain, he traces the history of versions through Anglo-Saxon times and the contributions of Cædmon, Bede, and King Alfred; the Norman period and its influence upon English literature and the vernacular; early English translations; the labours and versions of Wycliffe, Tyndale, Coverdale, Thomas Mathews's Bible—a compilation by John Rogers; the Great Bible, a revision of Mathews's Bible by Coverdale, under the patronage of Cranmer, the Bible ordered by Royal proclamation to be provided by all churches; the Geneva version; the Bishop's Bible; the Rheims and Douai versions, and the Authorised Version—every literary fact connected with each is recorded and estimated; the literary characteristics of each are criticised, and so much of the biography of each translator and compiler, and of the circumstances of production, historical and religious, as is necessary for intelligent apprehension. Dr. Eadie brings up his historical summary to the present time by a section devoted to the history of attempts to secure the revision which is now in course of completion.

As compared with the histories of Lewis, Christopher Anderson, and Westcott, and of course with the various introductions, monographs, and dictionary articles of a host of others from Newcombe to Dr. Moulton, Dr. Eadie's work is by far the fullest and most complete. It blends the critical with the historical, and seems to have had for its object simply the bringing together of everything that could possibly be interesting. We think that the weakest part of the work is the critical details into which the author permits himself to be led. These are necessarily imperfect and arbitrary, although sometimes they fill pages with mere lists of words, which, after all, are only specimens. Dr. Eadie goes so far as to give long lists of vulgar errors in quotations from the Authorised Version. More severe restraint in critical particulars, and a little more strength and mastery in generalisation, such as Canon Westcott evinces, would have improved both the critical element and the history, which it somewhat cumbrous.

The work, however, is a very valuable one. It is the result of vast labour, sound scholarship, and large erudition, and must be regarded as the sufficient, and one would think the standard, authority for all matters connected with the history of the English Bible.

Notes on the Earlier Hebrew Scriptures. By Sir G. B. AIRY, K.C.B. Longmans and Co.

This work contains the reflection of a man of science upon a subject in which he feels the deepest interest, but with which he has

only a slender acquaintance. It contains conclusions rather than the processes by which they have been reached. These agree in the main with those of Donaldson and Colenso. It is not necessary, therefore, for us to criticise what has been criticised *ad nauseam*. We shall simply give such specimens as will enable our readers to form a correct notion of the character of the work. Sir G. B. Airy holds that the so-called Mosaic books are worthy of their designation (Deuteronomy excepted), as being in great part compiled by or under the direction of Moses. Some portions have been afterwards interpolated. In the composition of these documents two elements were at work, the mythical and traditional; the former extends down to the legend of Lamech, when the traditional begins.

Respecting the two different (and according to the author discordant) accounts of creation, the first is Egyptian, and introduced for the purpose of giving sanction to the institution of hebdomadal rest; the second is Arabian or Oriental, and is used for confirming the solemnity of marriage. The account of the Fall is interpreted to mean that mankind was degraded by some gross sin against sexual purity, probably premature unions. Cain and Abel typify the general hostility between 'the feeders of sheep' and 'the tillers of the ground,' and especially the relation of the Israelites and Egyptians. The myth of Cain's punishment was devised to enforce the limitation of punishment in cases of homicide perpetrated in anger without previous contemplation of murder; and the legend of Lamech laid down the principle that in the case of unintentional death the innocent cause of it was not to be punished. The account of the Deluge is regarded as veritable contemporaneous history, but the flood of Noah was the overflow of the Nile, and the Mountains of Ararat the mountains that skirted the Nile valley. Moses defied Pharaoh at the cutting of the Nile in the presence of his state-officers and nobles, having observed by the condition of the river that the calamity of a flood was impending over Egypt; from which followed the ten plagues in the shape of natural results and accompaniments. The destruction of the first-born is only a traditional form of the terrible mortality which visited the Egyptians, but did not reach the Israelites, who dwelt on drier soil. The number of the Israelites at the Exodus was six thousand instead of six hundred thousand. The division of the sea is only the ebb of the tidal wave, and the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night was occasioned by the volcanic appearance of Horeb, at this time in eruption, observed at a distance, &c. Of such materials is the volume composed, and such is the fundamental principle of the author's interpretation. All that we would say here is, that even admitting this principle to be correct, there is a far greater significance and deeper meaning in these hoary records than these interpretations have yet brought to light. They seem to us to be scratching the

surface, and to lack the power to turn up the subsoil. But we must also express our belief that such a method of interpretation is unjustifiable in reference to any documents, whether sacred or profane, and cannot be accepted by any honest inquirer after truth. Its nearest analogue is Bacon's 'Treatment of the Wisdom of the Ancients,' which is universally condemned in principle, however much admired in its teaching. We need not tell our readers that there is a far more able and satisfactory way of dealing with these ancient records.

CLARK'S FOREIGN THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY.

A Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke. By F. GODET, Doctor and Professor of Theology, Neuchatel. Translated from the Second French Edition by M. D. CUSIN. Two Vols.

Biblical Commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon. By FRANZ DELITZSCH, D.D. Translated from the German by M. G. EASTON, D.D. Two Vols.

Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Ezekiel. By CARL FRIEDRICH KIEL. Translated from the German by the Rev. JAMES MARTIN, M.A. Two Vols. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

We do not hesitate to say that these volumes will prove to be among the most valuable and popular of the Biblical commentaries, translations of which have been so freely introduced to us. Messrs. Clark have very wisely forestalled the desire of many readers for a good specimen of the Biblical Literature of Switzerland. M. Godet's commentary on the Fourth Gospel has secured a first-class position, and we hope the publishers will include it in their list. For this they have admirably prepared the way by this well-executed translation of a more recent work of the accomplished author. The introduction to the Gospel of Luke takes note of the most advanced and varying speculations as to its authorship and sources, and shows that amid the universities, and the coteries of German criticism, there is no approach even to the solution of the problem; that the different schools are in such diametrical antagonism that the confident tone adopted by some of their disciples is purely absurd. There is a quiet, modest tone, a calm brave firmness with which Godet steers amid these breakers, that excite great confidence in his sagacity and in his conclusions. We have read large portions of this translation with unusual pleasure, and commend the volume to the students of the Gospels with much satisfaction. The speculations of writers on the Life of Christ and the origin, literature, and chronology of the Gospels are quietly and patiently handled, and though we differ from many conclusions, we cordially admire the spirit of our author's criticism and the solidity of his learning. There are, moreover, brief, condensed sentences occurring in the course of the exposition which remind the reader of the breviloquentia of Bengel. M. Godet has, at the conclusion of

his exegetic labours, again reverted to the whole question of the Third Gospel, vindicating the historical accuracy of the account of the 'Incarnation,' and of the great 'Journey,' and of the 'Ascension.' The discussion of 'its character from a religious point of view' is masterly in the extreme, and the exposure of the supposed 'motive' and 'tendency' of the supposititious writer most complete. He has been compelled to investigate the true historic aim of the author of the Acts, as well as that of the Third Gospel, admitting honestly the difficulty of his task. In dealing with the time of the composition he works a vein that is singularly rich. But we forbear; the remaining dissertations, added to the prolegomena and the commentary, make these volumes an unusually valuable addition to the exegetical appliances of the Biblical student.

When the third of Dr. Delitzsch's volumes, containing the Ecclesiastes and Song of Solomon, appears we shall have his view of the entire group of the canonical Solomonic literature. A very interesting introduction of fifty pages is devoted, not only to the form of this Book and the style of the several parts of the collection of Proverbs, 'the words of the wise,' and the 'appendices,' but also to the Alexandrian translation of the Book. Our author inclines to the view that chapters i.-ix. are the hortatory introduction by another author of the 'Proverbs of Solomon' proper; that in chapters x.-xxii. these Proverbs are collected, and that then the appendices have been added by different hands and editors. Delitzsch thinks that the 'popular saying' may be discriminated from the personal production of a carefully elaborated parallelism of thought by its smart brevity and by its being generally confined to a sentence of a single line. The fewness of these inclines him to the Solomonic authorship of the majority. Still he shows how the Hebrew *distich* is an essentially popular form, and he exhibits its various qualities, e.g., 'synonymous,' 'antithetic,' 'synthetic,' 'emblematic,' &c. The linguistic peculiarities of the several groups enable him to strengthen the view of authorship mentioned above, and so also the doctrinal contents serve to establish the fundamental unity of the genuine proverbs and the appendices, and as certainly discriminate these from chapters i.-ix. Dr. Delitzsch retains here his character for close and patient industry, for large and comprehensive thinking, and for occasional surprises. The two volumes of Kiel on Ezekiel have the well-known characteristics of this able and learned champion of liberal orthodoxy. We have now received two volumes of commentary on the Old Testament from his prolific pen. The marvel is, that so large a mass of exegetical matter should sustain a degree of excellence so high. The scholarship rarely fails; the judgment is fresh, independent, and wise; and the knowledge of exegetical literature is very large. The book of Ezekiel is dealt with with much sagacity, and firmness of religious interpretation. His interpretation of the vision of 'the new kingdom of God' may be

adduced in proof. Sometimes we could wish that he might be extricated from Hebrew roots, and take a broader view of principles and processes. His work, however, is very valuable to Biblical students.

The Holy Bible, according to the authorised Version (1611), with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary, and a Revision of the Translation. By BISHOPS and other CLERGY of the Anglican Church. Edited By F. C. COOK, M.A., Canon of Exeter. Vol. V.—‘Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations.’ Vol. VI.—‘Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Minor Prophets.’ John Murray.

The introduction, commentary, and critical notes illustrating the Book of the Prophet Isaiah have been written by W. Kay, D.D., Rector of Great Leghs; and those illustrating the Books of Jeremiah and Lamentations by R. Payne Smith, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. Both portions of this volume provide for the English reader much Biblical information and exposition in advance of what is easily accessible in popular commentaries on the greater Prophets. Dean Payne Smith has brought to his task more abundant resources, greater critical acumen, and keener perception of the magnitude and difficulty of his task than Dr. Kay has done. Dr. Kay appreciates the elements of the great problem as to the unity of the prophecies of Isaiah, and represents the views of Knobel in some detail, but he does not strengthen his position by any close analysis of the divergent views of the fragmentists, and he leaves untouched many of the difficulties that are created by the hypothesis of double authorship. In this respect Professor Birks, whose Introduction to and Commentary on Isaiah was originally intended for the ‘Speaker’s Commentary,’ is far more satisfactory. There is a rhetorical vein in many of the brief notes, which, though pleasant to encounter, hardly meets the wants of the careful investigator. Take, *e.g.*, the comment on Isaiah xli. 18: ‘I will open rivers in high places . . .’ ‘eminently fulfilled,’ says Dr. Kay, ‘in one bare rocky knoll’ (John xix. 17), whereon was planted ‘the Tree of Life,’ from the foot of which rivers better than those of Paradise ‘have flowed forth into the world.’ The principle of interpretation is rather remarkable when the author admits that chapter xxii. 25, may refer to Shebna or to Eliakim, but that in reality it refers to Christ. He was ‘the nail fastened in a sure place’ that was ‘removed.’ The ground on which the reference is made is, that the verbal clauses of the strange prophecy will bear such application. We do not mean, however, by quoting a few verses of a laborious commentary, to ask our readers to judge of the author or the work as a whole. There is very much to admire and value in the commentary, though it is hardly to be compared with the work of Dr. Payne Smith. The various questions which the literature of Jeremiah has awakened have been steadily investigated by the latter; the difficulties of this subject have been frankly admitted, and

often greatly reduced by wise suggestion and considerable learning. Making use of the most recent investigation into the chronology of Assyrian kings, and bringing the varied sources of information together, Dean Smith has presented a very effective and suggestive sketch of the times and political complications amid which the life of Jeremiah was cast. With the aid of many scattered hints he has sketched the career of Jeremiah from his excitable youth to his weary and disappointed age. He has analysed the state of Jeremiah’s mind when apparently conflicting prophecies were burning and contending within him, and while condemning the rebellious temper which bade him at times to break out into reproachful and apparently irreverent language, he has given a psychological study of the heart of the man and the trust of the prophet worthy of close attention. Dr. Smith gives up all attempts to rearrange the chronological order of the later chapters, and draws from the very difficulties of the arrangement proof of the extraordinary reverence paid in the prophet’s lifetime, and shortly afterwards, to the *ipsissima verba* of the Prophet. He offers interesting speculations to explain the difference of arrangements followed by the Masoretic Text and by the LXX. translators of the latter portion of the Book. The commentary is singularly interesting and thoughtful, while the whole volume is worthy of its place in the noble series of which it forms a part.

The sixth volume of ‘The Speaker’s Commentary’ completes the revision and exposition of the translation of the Old Testament, and is of unusual magnitude. No fewer than eight distinct writers have taken part in its compilation. Dr. Currie has commented on Ezekiel and Mr. Fuller on Daniel, the latter embodying the materials left for this purpose by the late Ven. Archdeacon H. J. Rose. Prebendary Meyrick has undertaken the work on the prophecies of Joel and Obadiah; Mr. Huxtable, the prophecies of Hosea and Jonah; Professor Gandell, those of Amos, Nahum, and Zephaniah; the editor, Canon Cook, has dealt with the prophecies of Habbakuk, and Canon Drake, with those of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. The work generally is performed with skill and compression, and with scholarly and devout feeling. The learned authors have brought to their task, not only a fair knowledge of Hebrew and cognate languages, but have made valuable use of the recent discoveries in Mesopotamia, and of the results derivable from the cuneiform inscriptions and Accadian literature, so far as they have been brought within the range of European study by the researches of Rawlinson, Lenormant, Schrader, Oppert, and G. Smith. This is especially the case in the valuable and candid work of Mr. Fuller. He was placed at some advantage by the MSS. of Archdeacon Rose, as also by the vast literature already in existence on the canonicity, genuineness, philology, history, and prophecies of the Book of Daniel. Many of the special notes are singularly rich, and some very diffi-

cult problems are discussed with modesty and great learning. The extraordinary vindication of the accuracy of Daniel's reference to Belshazzar, effectuated by a cuneiform inscription, is very well put, and the honesty with which the position, name, and reality of Darius the Mede are left still in the region of hypothesis deserves all credit. The numerous proofs of the author's acquaintance with Babylonian customs have been marshalled with great care. Since Babylon is now rising up out of her mystic mounds to speak of her own civilisation and religious ideas, it is becoming, as Lenormant honestly confesses, more and more impossible to relegate the Book of Daniel to the age of the Maccabees. The authors of this commentary accept fully the supernatural character of the events recorded and the prophetic character of the latter chapters. The lengthened commentary on Ezekiel is written with more prolixity and less light. We may have missed the references, but we are surprised to see no allusion to the able commentaries either of Principal Fairbairn or the late Dr. Eben. Henderson; in fact, even the German commentators scarcely appear to have aided Dr. Currie. He has made some acute suggestions here and there, and many interesting discussions occur. We will not attempt to adjudicate here between Mr. Ferguson and this author as to the plan of the Temple. Ferguson seems justly aggrieved that, in professing to represent his views, most important considerations have been omitted. Professor Gandell's note on the difficult quotation by St. Stephen, from the LXX. version of Amos v. 26, 27, is very valuable. Mr. Huxtable's interesting introduction to Jonah touches with great skill on many questions, investigates the typical character of the principal event in Jonah's life, analyses the Psalm of Jonah, and its points of contact with the older Scriptures, and urges that the moral purpose of the book is to bring out the compatibility of Jonah's knowledge and disobedience, and the contrast between the baseness of a well-instructed Hebrew and the willingness to receive a Divine message, and act upon it, on the part of a Gentile and idolatrous king. We are surprised that he takes no notice of Dean Payne Smith's most interesting speculation that the whole burden of the book makes it a kind of proem to the prophetic literature of the Canon. We are a little disappointed with the 'introduction' to several of the prophets, and particularly with that to Malachi. The bearing of this mighty trumpet-peal on the life-work of the last and greatest of the prophets is hardly touched, and positively not a word is said on 'the Sun of Righteousness.'

It would be well if a volume could be prepared, however, by some of these learned students of Hebrew literature (1) on the effect produced by this entire prophetic ministry, (2) on the whole history that it covers, and (3) on the period that intervenes and the events that occur before the first fragment of the New Testament sees the light. The ordinary English reader has now in his hand an

extensive commentary upon, and introduction to, the Old Testament, which takes account of the latest discoveries and speculations in the realms of history, archæology, chronology, and Biblical exegesis, which is candid and critical, while it is conservative of the supernatural elements, the moral sanctity and the typical significance of the most wonderful literature in the world. We heartily thank the authors for their labour of love, and congratulate the editor that, though the work of so many of his colleagues has been arrested by death, he has proceeded thus far with such remarkable regularity, and, upon the whole, with such brilliant success.

The Psalms, with Introductions and Critical Notes. By A. C. JENNINGS, B.A., Jesus College, Cambridge, and W. H. LOWE, M.A., Hebrew Lecturer, and Late Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Vol. I. Books III. and IV. (Psalms lxxiii.-cvi.) Vol. II. Book V. (Psalms cvii.-cl.) Macmillan and Co.

This interesting portion of the Psalter is presented as in the Authorised Version, with very scholarly introductions and critical notes, which take account of the best grammatical comments of recent times, refer the Psalms to their probable authorship and date, and grapple with the principal lexical and syntactical difficulties. The authors give good reasons for ascribing many of these Psalms to David himself, notably Psalms lxxiv. and lxxvi., and refer Psalm lxxxix. to the reign of David. They regard Psalm xc. as a genuine production of Moses, and therefore one of the earliest fragments of the Bible. In virtue of certain pronominal suffixes occurring in Psalm ciii. 3, 4, 5, though the authors of the comments before us do not place the greatest confidence in this principle of interpretation, they attribute this noble psalm to the latest period of the exile. Psalm cx. is regarded as strictly and exclusively Messianic. The commentary upon it is chiefly remarkable for a severe animadversion on the Talmudical erudition of authors whom less learned readers have been disposed to trust implicitly, viz. Schöttgen and the 'Pugio Fidei' of Raymond Martini. The terrible curses of Psalm cix. are regarded, as is customary with commentators, as the language of the Psalmist, and not of his enemy. The authors have followed no plan in the pointing of the Hebrew, introduced copiously in the notes. Sometimes it is given, more frequently it is omitted altogether, the words being appended in Roman character. The amended translations are often very happy and suggestive, and the volume will be a useful addition to the literature of the Psalms.

Isaiah XL.-LXVI., with the 'Shorter Prophecies allied to it. By MATTHEW ARNOLD. Macmillan and Co.

This work was originally published in a smaller and less expensive form as a Bible-reading for schools. It is now revised, but not materially altered, for general readers.

It is at present, therefore, intended for a different and more matured class. But we venture to think that this change of front, so to speak, is a decided mistake, unless Mr. Arnold had furnished a new and scientific translation. To offer to advanced readers what is merely a correction of the old version is to follow a course which is unsatisfactory in principle and has never been attended with success. A translation, however clear and elegant the English, unless executed on a different principle and with far greater knowledge of the original than the present exhibits, will never enable the most assiduous reader to grasp the thoughts of the inspired writers. The professed modesty of the author is at variance with the tone and daring of the attempt. No one need doubt that Mr. Arnold's knowledge of Hebrew is meagre and superficial,—indeed, as humble as he acknowledges it to be; but one is surprised that the consciousness of this fact does not prevent him from essaying arrangements, renderings, and criticisms which require the most matured scholarship. It is highly amusing to find Mr. Arnold shocked at the innovations introduced by McCheyne into his translation of Isaiah, and characterising the displacement of the noble and consecrated expressions, 'judgment' and 'righteousness,' as absolutely wanton. But a little observation convinces one that this is on account of their rhythmical character rather than of their actual meaning. In fact, the poetical character of these old prophecies is their chief attraction to the author of the present work; which he designates as that of 'boundless exhilaration.' And the moral of the whole seems to be that others could enter into this new life of hope and courage, this millennial state, by transferring their 'centre,' or starting-point for forming their conception of the development and destiny of man, from the history of Greece and Rome to the conquest of Babylon and the restoration of the Jewish exiles. Like everything which comes from the hands of this great master of style, it is a model of clear and beautiful English. This feature of excellence well serves to hide a multitude of faults.

The New Testament, with Notes and Comments. Accompanied with Maps and Illustrations. By the Rev. LYMAN ABBOTT. Vol. I. Matthew and Mark.' Hodder and Stoughton.

This is a new claimant for popular uses, after the school of Alfred Barnes, Jacobi, Whedon, &c. It is intended to give the results rather than the processes of scholarship, the conclusions rather than the controversies of scholars. It is intended for 'clergymen, Christian parents, Sunday-school teachers, Bible women, lay preachers.' All quotations in Greek, Latin, French, German, &c., are translated. It is founded on the best text of the original Greek, and where necessary a new translation is given. Some thirty excursions on special topics are given. Bible archæology has been laid under contri-

bution. Illustrations are freely given; the notes are extensive, and carefully and sensibly made; and illustrative quotations are largely introduced. Parallel passages and scriptural references are given; and a New Testament gazetteer is appended; while an Introduction supplies all needful bibliographical information. The aim of the writer has been to supply a complete apparatus of all that is requisite for the interpretation of the New Testament. It is by far the most complete of the popular commentaries that have come under our notice, and, so far as we have tested it, the author seems to have done his work with scholarly skill and with reverent care. We must add that, being an American, Mr. Abbott naturally quotes more frequently from American writers than a writer in England would do.

THEOLOGICAL TRANSLATION FUND.

The Contents and Origin of the Acts of the Apostles critically Investigated. By Dr. EDWARD ZELLER. To which is prefixed Dr. F. OVERBECK'S 'Introduction to the Acts,' from DE WETTE'S 'Handbook.' Translated by JOSEPH DARE, B.A. Two Vols.

Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament. By the late Dr. GEORG HEINRICH AUGUST VON EWALD. Translated by J. FRED. SMITH. Vol. I.—Joel, Amos, Hosea, and Zakharya, Chaps. IX.—XI. Williams and Norgate.

We need say concerning Dr. Zeller's work only that it has been twenty-two years before the public, and has not greatly affected critical thought. Its theory is that the Acts were written for an apologetic purpose, viz., to extenuate and glorify Paul; that it was so manipulated for this end; and such liberty taken with facts as that it is historically unreliable, and that its statements are in utter and hopeless contradiction to Paul's Letters; Paley's 'Horæ' being consequently a pure hallucination. The editor, however, still thinks that the substantial correctness of Zeller's views can hardly be doubted, although he admits that 'some details are *perhaps* pushed to an extreme;' but then only those theologians accept Zeller who are 'free to follow truth.' 'The author's notions of the duty of historical truth were different from ours, the perversion of tradition for party purposes did not appear to him reprehensible. His work, therefore, is a tendency work.'

We are glad to receive this instalment of a competent translation of Ewald's great work on the Hebrew Prophets, which, Mr. Smith's modest deprecation notwithstanding, is both accurate and smooth, although nothing that Ewald wrote can be described as easy reading. Ewald is as dogmatic and arbitrary in this, which is perhaps the greater work, as he is in his 'Geschichte des Volkes Israel,' of which Mr. Russell Martineau and his collaborateurs have given us such an excellent English version. He is often paradoxical, and always rationalistic; but compared with Kuenen and Zeller he is orthodoxly itself. For example, he

is at utter variance with the latter about the historical value of the 'Acts of the Apostles.'

His book on the Prophets contains some grand conceptions on the Prophets' character and work, and his admiring eulogies are very fervent. Still he knows what the Prophets were, and thought, and did better than they knew themselves—a great deal better than the 'man in the next street.' Ewald is a writer from whom, however you may differ in particular views, you must learn something and always get great inspirations. We are very thankful that English students should have access to his works, and trust only that this great work on the Prophets may be completed as well as it is here begun.

It is suggestive of the morality of critical quotations that the six pages and thirty notices of the publications of the Theological Translation Fund here reprinted, should be taken from only twelve journals, and these, with two exceptions, all of one class.

Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. Expounded in a Series of Discourses. By the late ROBERT S. CANDLISH, D.D. Adam and C. Black.

Dr. Candlish's manner of exegetical pulpit discourse, as well as his general theological position, is so well known to all readers of theological books that it is unnecessary to do more than announce this posthumous volume. The depth and richness of the Epistle to the Ephesians, especially its lofty doctrinal reaches, were peculiarly suited to the cast of Dr. Candlish's mind, which delighted in keen analysis. Here are twenty-five discourses, full of intensity both of thought and feeling, and which will be very helpful to homiletical students of the Epistle.

Philosophy Without Assumptions. By T. P. KIRKMAN, M.A., F.R.S. Longmans and Co.

In a certain sense the prediction of the divine Seer is being fulfilled, when not only the earth, but also the heavens are shaken. The most sacred convictions of many minds are ruthlessly assailed by destructive criticisms, whose professed aim is to strike a balance between the world within and the world without—to establish an equilibrium between current belief and actual facts. We are informed by great authorities that 'matter is only the permanent possibility of sensation,' the ego only the permanent possibility of feeling,' 'mind only a series of feelings,' and that body is only one of the groups in the series. Thought is but the product of molecular action on the brain, and man is neither more or less than a fasciculus of sensations and impulses, which are fortuitous and evanescent. According to this school, the whole of human action is reduced to a mechanical process and limited to the present sphere of being. The ethical and theological counterpart of such a creed necessitates the rejection of the universally recognised ideas of responsibility and duty, and involves the suspension, if not the denial, of the existence of God. In fact, it converts the whole phenomena of

human existence, however sublime, into a series of mechanical mundane operations. It is no wonder if statements which blight our best hopes and noblest aspirations should call forth vigorous protests and severe critiques. The volume before us is but one of several, which have lately appeared, for the defence of old truths against modern assailants. One object Mr. Kirkman has in view, is to show that the cosmical philosophy is based, as to its fundamental principles, on mere assumptions. Another and more important object is to present a philosophy which starts from no assumptions, but rests on a fact which we cannot deny without the absurdity of self-contradiction, and to show that the necessary inference from the fact completely demolishes the assumptions lying at the foundation of the most popular modern systems. We entirely concur with Mr. Kirkman that many of the above statements are most crude and untenable; such definitions of matter and mind are no definitions of either. The author's chief objection to this school is, that, while professing to propound the question *what is*, they are endeavouring to answer the question *what must be*. Mr. Kirkman has a profound contempt for what he calls the *must be's* and *can't be's* of philosophers, and maintains that, if the '*must follow*' of mathematical science were substituted for the '*must be*' of the cosmical philosophy, the truth that remained might be put into a very narrow compass. It is because the author believes that the question *what is* can neither be directly answered nor scientifically demonstrated that he prefers the starting-point of Descartes to that of either Spinoza, who attempted to define substance, or of Ferrier, who seems to assume that he is in the presence of others. He states it thus: 'I am, and I know that I am, a conscious thinker.' But in 'I am,' 'I will' is given, and 'I will' involves 'I can,' and by means of this 'will-force' he makes his way from the inner and limited world 'I am' to the outer and real world. But what is this world? So far as it can be known, it consists of forces found and localised by the will-force of each 'I can.' Hence will is designated the *force-finder* and *force-measurer*. For the 'I can' involves 'I ought,' by means of which he reaches the existence of other conscious and kindred beings. This is, in brief, the substance of 'Philosophy without Assumptions.' By means of these principles and methods he proceeds to combat Spencer's views, which, according to our author, deprives man both of his will and subsisting personality by making the personal ego to consist in the aggregate of the feelings and ideas of the moment, and the will in an impulse composed of a group of psychical states, and this impulse as alone determining the ensuing action. Matthew Arnold's philosophy of religion is handled with a severe but well-deserved criticism. It is in many respects the best that has yet appeared. Mill's 'Definition of Cause' is shown to involve the vulgar error on the question. Professor Tyndall and his comrades are severely castigated for their laxity of thought

and language, and especially for their grandiloquent terms, which darken knowledge and dazzle the half-learned. Having said so much in sympathy with the character and object of the work, we must briefly point out its defects. We gravely doubt whether there is such a thing as Philosophy without Assumption; but of one thing we are fully sure, that in adopting the Cartesian standpoint the author is guilty of assuming much more than he is aware of. Besides, is the existence of the non ego to be proved, while that of the ego is to pass unquestioned? Further, Mr. Kirkman's views of matter are not likely, nor do they deserve, to meet with acceptance. Matter he regards as non-existent, or non-proven, a mere conjecture; we are acquainted only with force. All that can be affirmed of matter is that there are certain force points, or *loci* of force. In our opinion, matter is quite as discoverable as force, and no more liable to be abused. The author's chief aim throughout is to do battle with *abstraction*, but is not his favourite 'force' as much an abstraction as most of the terms he assails? While deeply sympathising with the lofty tone and earnestness of the work, we sincerely regret that the criticism is so personal and the condemnation of opponents so sweeping. The philosophy he criticises under that title is in no sense materialistic. The work is highly interesting and instructive, full of genuine wit and lofty sentiment.

A Manual of Comparative Philology, as applied to the Illustration of Greek and Latin Inflections. By T. L. PAPILLON, Fellow and Lecturer of New College, Oxford. Clarendon Press Series, Oxford.

This very useful manual is an epitome of the vast body of information on the difficult subject of word-building collected by Curtius, Schleicher, Corssen, and others. Mr. Peile's well-known volume, 'An Introduction to Greek and Latin Etymology,' following and improving upon Dr. Donaldson's 'New Cratylus,' had prepared the way for English students to look somewhat deeper into the formative principles of language and the laws of organic changes and substitutions than ordinary school-teaching had attempted. Difficult as the subject is, and to most minds perhaps uninviting, it cannot be denied that, both as a subject for thought and reasoning, and as a corrective to the mere æsthetic or sentimental element in classical study, the science of philology is one of great importance, especially to more advanced scholars. For it naturally follows after a knowledge of grammar, and explains phenomena which had merely been acquired as facts. The main object of the work, the author tells us, is 'the philological explanation of the inflection in Greek and Latin.' To do this, he adds, some knowledge of the classification of languages is necessary, of the laws of vocalisation, of roots, changes of sound, &c. The question, What is the origin of language? he does not attempt to discuss. He regards it, not as a faculty or capacity, but a 'developed

result'—the result of unconscious imitation; and this, we think, is the best account that can be given of the *fact* of human speech and its varieties, the law of change, or 'flux,' affecting speech much in the same way as it does all organic creations. Neither the origin nor the ultimate form of 'roots' being discoverable, we must take them as a stock on which language is engrafted, a stock as incapable of change or addition as the materials out of which various rocks are formed or the chemical elements which combine to form an organic whole. The author seems, however, somewhat to incline to Mr. Darwin's views when he says 'it is at least probable that language owes its origin to a combination of imitational and interjectional sounds.'

After defining 'agglutinative' and 'inflectional' stages in the growth of language—the one being a joining of mere roots, the others a modification of them, especially as suffixes—the author takes a typical word, *εἶμι*, from a root *i*, 'to go,' and shows that the termination is a corruption or weakening of the first personal pronoun *ma*, so that *i ma* means 'go I,' or 'I go' (will go). Chapter ii., 'Classification of Languages,' contains an immense amount of information, so condensed that much industry and attention will be required to master it. The 'tables of correspondences' are valuable as illustrations, but unsuited for learning by heart.

The author takes the same view as Mr. Peile of the cause of change in the forms of words. It is the 'endeavour, conscious or unconscious, to secure ease of articulation.' Of course, to organs of voice differently constituted from long hereditary use or other conditions, a sound easy to one may be difficult to, or even wholly unpronounceable by, another. But the amount of breath, or effort, in expending it is generally the determining cause of weakening sounds. Thus, a news-boy, who has to bawl all the morning along railway trains at his station, 'Day's paper!' almost invariably pronounces the word *piper*, because *pi* requires rather less force of lung than *pa*, and thus a real muscular economy is unconsciously effected when a repetition of the monosyllable some hundreds of times is a daily necessity.

The most important part of this complete, though by no means large, manual is in chapters vi., vii. and viii., explaining the theory and principles of inflexion, severally of nouns, pronouns, and verbs. A comparison in all these with Sanscrit forms makes the reading difficult to those who have not some preliminary acquaintance with the laws of language. In Appendix I. some of the best and most authentic specimens of early Latin inscriptions are given and explained. On the whole, this is certainly the best manual of philology that has yet appeared. The difficulty is inherent to the nature of the subject, not, we are disposed to think, to the author's treatment of it, which is well arranged and philosophical.

The Sensualistic Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century Considered. By ROBERT L. DABNEY

D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in the Union Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church of the South, Prince Edward, Virginia. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

We suppose this is intended to be a popular work, and philosophical calmness and scientific precision may not have been aimed at by the writer. But Dr. Dabney writes in so heated a spirit and uses such vehement language, that what ought to be a philosophical treatise reads like a theological malediction. The very name of the book illustrates this. Hard words break no bones, but neither do they do any good; and why apply the word 'sensualistic' to a philosophy which for many years has been accurately and much less offensively designated as 'sensationalism'? When we read Dr. Dabney's opening sentences, we despaired of his work, so far as philosophy is concerned. His second sentence runs thus: 'We shall see that it is a just charge against the sensualistic philosophy that it not seldom inclines its advocates to this dominion of beastly lusts.' Is there any possible excuse for this sort of writing? It injures the cause of those who have most at heart the scientific refutation of sensationalism in a philosophical spirit. We regret this all the more,—for this fault of temper and treatment pervades the book,—because Dr. Dabney displays considerable acuteness in many of his analyses, in his expositions of the defects of the various systems of, to use a long term, Evolutionary Materialism; and especially in his criticisms of the principles and positions of those thinkers whose doctrine of the relativity of knowledge leads them logically, if not always really, to sceptical nescience. There is nothing new in the exposure of the fallacies of the late Sir William Hamilton and the late Dr. Mansel's views regarding the Infinite and the Absolute; but the criticism is keen and incisive, and the points are clearly taken. We have every sympathy also with the exposure of the illogical conclusions of Mr. Herbert Spencer, whose 'philosophy,' in our opinion, is vastly overrated; but no treatment of the English 'sensualistic' philosophy will be complete without also dealing with Mr. Lewes's 'Reasoned Realism.' Perhaps Dr. Dabney wrote his book before Mr. Lewes's work was known to him. Owing, it may be, to the lack of supervision in passing through the press, there are numerous misprints and blunders in the volume, some of them serious, as when 'Huxley and Flint' are classed together as English Materialists. Who is the 'Flint' here referred to? Surely not Professor Flint, who is one of the ablest philosophical advocates of Theism and of a rational spiritualism that we have. Writers who think themselves justified in using such strong language as the following outburst contains, — 'What foul juggling fiend has possessed any cultivated man of this Christian age, that he should grovel through so many gross sophistries in order to dig his way down to this loathsome degradation? — viz., Materialism, which is denounced as 'this modern Paganism' that

'chooses the beast for his (*sic*) parent, and casts his (*sic*) God utterly away,'—ought to be careful of their own accuracy, and this Dr. Dabney certainly has not been.

The Expositor. Vol. III. Hodder and Stoughton.

We are glad to learn from the preface to this volume that the success of 'The Expositor' outstrips the expectations of those who started it, and that it has passed beyond the domain of good wishes and claims congratulations. It has had a remunerative circulation from the very first, and that circulation is still gradually, and hence it may be hoped the more surely, increasing. We will content ourselves, therefore, with saying that it most eminently deserves its success, and we are glad that a discerning public have not been blind to its solid merits. It is a gratifying indication that that which is really good does not appeal in vain.

The same general characteristics as of the former volumes are maintained in this, and the same contributors. Dr. Reynolds continues his expositions on the Pastoral Epistles, the Dean of Canterbury contributes papers on Samuel and the Schools of the Prophets, Professor Plumptre continues his papers on the Seven Churches of Asia. Some Notes on the Epistle to the Romans, by the late Bishop Thirlwall, are of some value, although they are somewhat elementary. The rest of the volume consists of miscellaneous papers on various Biblical and homiletical topics.

The Study: Helps for Preachers, from English, American, and Continental Sources. Third Series. R. D. Dickinson.

The 'Study' devotes itself almost exclusively to material that may be used in the pulpit. Of theological essays as such it has but few. Sermons, sermon outlines, sermon exegesis, sermon hints, and illustrations fill its pages; and a very legitimate use of all this may be made by men of imperfect training or power, or of few books.

A series of sermons on our Lord's conversations, by Dr. Adams, of New York, are good, although we somewhat recoil from the designation, 'an obtuse sensualist,' which he applies to the Woman of Samaria. A series of papers on prayer, by Dr. Manning, of Boston, are also to be commended. Dr. Perry contributes some suggestive sermons from the Book of Proverbs.

The exegetical matter consists of the first chapters of the Apocalypse, by the Rev. Joseph S. Exell; of Colossians, by the Rev. G. Barlow; and of Galatians, by the Rev. R. Nicholls. These, we think, are of less value, considering the affluence of able and cheap commentaries. The volume is a rich repertory of preaching matter.

SERMONS.

Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford, and on Various Occasions. By J. B. Mozley, D.D. (Rivingtons.) This is one of the most able volumes of sermons of late

years. It is rich in philosophic thought and full of massive strength. It is worthy of the best days of the English pulpit, when it aimed to instruct the people in theological truth as well as to excite them to religious feeling, when it grappled with sceptical principles as well as urged homiletical ethics and sentiments. The volume is an appreciable, and we would venture to say a permanent, contribution to our best pulpit literature. The sermons are perfectly unconventional, and are full of keen insight into both the courses of modern thought and the tendencies of modern life. Each sermon is a well-arranged unity. It grasps some one great principle or phase of thought and thoroughly reasons it out. For instance, the sermon on 'Eternal Life' expounds and vindicates that evidence waiting verification, which lies between ignorance and absolute demonstration, but which, nevertheless, justly claims practical acceptance—the evidence upon which the hope of immortality rests. The sermon on the Atonement, again, exposes the unwarrantableness of a hasty rejection of the doctrine of Christ's sacrifice, founded upon a partial conception of it. Of the more ethical sermons, the two best, and they are both very masterly, are on 'Our Duty to our Equals' and 'On War.' In each the line of thought is patiently and thoroughly wrought out to its issue. One feels the satisfaction of having read a prelection in which the vigour and thoroughness of philosophic thought blend with the lucidity and practicalness of the preacher's urgency. One feels, too, what religious power there is in the momentum of clear and strong religious truth, and how infinitely superior, for all practical religious purposes, it is to the mere excitement of passion. Strength, subtlety, sympathy, and thoroughness are combined in a degree that make the volume notable among the products of the English pulpit. As befits academical discourses, they are philosophical in structure and somewhat stately in style. Less vivid and oratorical than many, they are as solid and powerful as any since Butler's. —*The Intercessory Prayer of our Lord.* An Exposition of the Seventeenth Chapter of St. John's Gospel. By the late JAMES SPENCE, M.A., D.D. (Hodder and Stoughton.) Dr. Spence had but just completed the preparation for the press of this volume when he was called to his rest. It will be valued by many who have precious memories of his ministry. The expositions are both scholarly, evangelical, and practical, and are prepared in the light of the best critical and theological authorities. —*Elijah the Prophet.* By the Rev. WILLIAM TAYLOR, D.D. Dr. Taylor, the successor of Dr. J. P. Thompson, of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, is winning golden opinions as a faithful and effective preacher. The present volume is a very favourable specimen of pulpit exposition. It avoids rhetorical declamation and is instinct with practical urgency. At the same time, there is in the characters of Jezebel and Ahab occasion and demand for much subtle analysis of character, and Dr. Taylor is fully equal to

it. He has imbued himself with the knowledge and feeling of the period, and with a firm grasp he sets forth the great teachings of the history. —*Sermons Preached in the College Chapel, Cheltenham, during the First Year of his Office, 1874-75.* By the Rev. HERBERT KYNASTON, M.A., Principal of Cheltenham College. (Macmillan and Co.) There is somewhat too much of circumstance about Dr. Kynaston's sermons, and he sometimes fails to grasp the deeper principles of his theme; otherwise the sermons are direct and practical, and, notwithstanding a certain monotony of style, would no doubt be interesting to their youthful auditors. —*Our Social Relationships and Life in London.* Lectures delivered at the King's Weigh-house Chapel. By the Rev. WILLIAM BRADEN. (James Clarke and Co.) Two series of lectures, preached by Mr. Braden in the ordinary course of his ministry, —the first treating of the relations of husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, employers and employed, the rich and the poor, &c.; the second of London work, companionships, amusements, and business. The pertinence of such lectures to a congregation in the heart of the metropolis is obvious, but their practical good sense and penetrating wisdom and fidelity give them a fitness and a value everywhere. Few preachers deal thus formally with the practical ethics of life. Mr. Braden has dealt with them so ably and searchingly, and yet with such broad human sympathies, that we can most heartily commend this book for the use both of families and of young men. —*Tremadoc Sermons.* By H. W. GRIMLEY, M.A. (Henry S. King and Co.) Mr. Grimley's sermons are somewhat disappointing. They are not common-place, — gleams of thoughtfulness are upon every page, they are often suggestive in a high degree, but they fail to reach the last issue, to press the thought home; they leave us with the feeling of something unsaid, and that often the chief thing; they speak more about things than the things themselves. This is true of the first four sermons, —the 'Hidden Life,' the 'Transfiguration,' 'The Testimony of the Grave-clothes,' and 'Dives and Lazarus.' We are delayed by circumstance, by sentiments, —the great depths of the spiritual life, the great meanings of the Transfiguration, the great proofs of the Resurrection, the great mysteries of the future life are not touched. They are sermons, again, not without thought and strength, but they want grip; they do not produce the feeling that the last word which can be said has been said. —*The Preaching of the Cross and other Sermons.* By THOMAS J. CRAWFORD, D.D. (William Blackwood and Sons.) Dr. Crawford's sermons are very different in character. He was one of that class of thinkers who cannot leave a theme until he has thoroughly mastered it, who cannot cover up great spiritual mysteries with mere descriptions of circumstance or vague sentiments. He is able and thorough, and whether you may agree with his positions or not, you feel that he has care-

fully taken and strongly entrenched them. These sermons were preached during his pastoral life, and were not revised by him for the press. They are a worthy memorial of the preacher, while they also indicate the trained theologian. They are solid rather than brilliant, but they are also spiritual and practical. Dr. Crawford was a moderate Calvinist, and his sermons are good specimens of strong, thorough Evangelical teaching.—*The Last Three Sermons Preached at Oxford in 1839 and 1840 by PHILIP W. SHUTTLEWORTH, D.D.* afterwards Bishop of Chichester. (Rivingtons.) A republication of three very good sermons, originally preached and published as a protest from the standpoint of Evangelical theology against the Romanising teachings of the Oxford school; they are on 'Justification by Faith,' the 'Merciful Character of the Gospel Covenant,' and the 'Sufficiency of Scripture as a Rule of Faith.'—*Gleanings from the Pastures of Tekoa: being Lectures on Texts taken from the Book of Amos.* By ROBERT WILLIAM FORREST, M.A., Vicar of St. Jude's, South Kensington (Sampson Low and Co.) These lectures were apparently unwritten by the preacher, and reported from his lips. As such, therefore, they are to be judged. They are intelligent, earnest, simple sermons, characterised by considerable freshness, and adapted to be useful.—*Philosophy of the Atonement and other Sermons preached at Union-street Chapel, Brighton.* By WADE ROBINSON. (Hodder and Stoughton.) The title which Mr. Robinson has given to his volume is hardly justified by the three sermons from which it is derived. They make no pretension to a philosophy of the Atonement, but touch it only at certain points. The sermons are somewhat fragmentary; they appear to have been spoken before they were written out, and to have been largely reproduced from reports of members of the congregation. They are of a high order, their thinking is strong and independent, and often touches truths not always perceived, but of great beauty and power. Sometimes they pass beyond the range of ordinary hearers; they are also very spiritual in conception, and very devout and earnest in feeling. The volume is by no means to be confounded with the wishy-washy productions so often published as sermons. It is the work of a strong, imaginative, devout mind, and well worth perusal.—*Jesus in the Midst.* By GEORGE CRON. (Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison.) A short series of sermons on our Lord's anointing, in the Pharisee's house, by the woman who was a sinner.—*Echoes from a Continental City and a London Suburb.* By JOHN F. SERJEANT, Vicar of St. Mary's, Fulham, formerly of Paris. Second Edition, Enlarged. (James Nisbet and Co.) Mr. Serjeant's preparatory notes to each sermon are amusing, from the naïveté with which he tells us how often and where each sermon has been preached, and from what sources he took it, with now and then a characterisation of it added. Simplicity, earnestness, Evangelical feeling, sympathies with many forms of good,

and a certain talkiness are the characteristics of the sermons.—*Memorials of a Ministry on the Clyde.* Being Sermons Preached in Gourrock Free Church. By the late Rev. ROBERT MACCELLOR. With a Biographical Notice by Rev. A. B. BRUCE, Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Glasgow. (Glasgow: James Maclehose.) Mr. Macellor was a young Free Church minister, who was licensed in 1858, became pastor at Gourrock in 1864, and died in 1875. Concerning him Professor Bruce adduces, and apparently endorses, the testimony of Mr. Thomson, an old college friend of his own: 'He was a man of rare gifts and attainments, and so gentle, genial, tender, and loving, there was nothing we could not confide to him. . . . His lectures were entirely original,—like everything else, the product of his own mind; and frequently were of extraordinary eloquence, equal to the finest passages of the greatest of pulpit orators.' The volume hardly bears out this superlative eulogy, but it indicates a man of fine intellectual power, vigorous, independent, acute, well informed, and with a high degree of oratorical faculty. A feeble constitution, presaging early death, alone hindered him apparently from attaining an eminent place among the preachers of his Church. His sermons were well conceived and wrought out in forms of great freshness and beauty.—*Waiting for the Light, and other Sermons.* By DAVID WRIGHT, M.A., Vicar of Stoke Bishop, Bristol. (Henry S. King and Co.) These are no common-place sermons. They are strong and independent, and often suggestive. Their lack is depth. They lean too much to the side of intellectual exposition; they come short in that close grapple with the spiritual soul, that penetrating power which possesses and satisfies. They often excite expectations they do not fulfil, and turn a little too frequently upon theological curiosities. But they are full of intelligence, suggestiveness, and vigour.—*Foundation Truths.* Lectures on Romans viii. 33, 34. Preached in Portman Chapel, London, during Lent 1875. By the Rev. J. W. REEVE, M.A. (James Nisbet and Co.) Mr. Reeve is an Evangelical Calvinist, of moderate views and very earnest and urgent feeling. His preaching, although homely and 'old fashioned,' is very practical, and has the force of the great foundation truths of our Lord's mediatorial mission. It has, we believe, been very useful religiously. The theme here selected for Lent lectures would be too high for even the greatest theologian or preacher. Mr. Reeve, therefore, somewhat signally fails to treat it satisfactorily. He can tell us nothing more about the elect of God than that the Scriptures say there is an elect, and exhort us implicitly to receive the teaching. No one can harmonise 'foreknowledge and free will;' but something may be said to indicate the problems and to relieve their pressure. The sermons may be commended for their simple and earnest religious goodness.—*Angelic Beings, their Nature and Ministry.* By the Rev. CHARLES D. BELL, Rector of Cheltenham.

(Religious Tract Society.) Mr. Bell gathers up the intimations of Scripture concerning angelic beings, and expounds them in chapters half-exposition half-comment, in a simple Evangelical way.—*The Religion of Life; or Christ and Nicodemus*. By JOHN G. MANLY, Toronto. The title-page indicates the scope of Mr. Manly's discourses. They are of the orthodox Evangelical type, and are vigorous and earnest. But Mr. Manly delights in hard words, in rugged forms of thought, and in somewhat abstruse speculations. Most great theological questions come up for more or less of notice, and Mr. Manly's remarks are always thoughtful and penetrating.—*Lights and Landmarks for the Christian and Christ-seeker*. By ARTHUR MURSELL. (James Clarke and Co.) Mr. Mursell is never common-place; his conceptions may not be always just, nor his taste perfect, but he says striking things, and we can well imagine great effectiveness in his preaching to an audience not very stringent in its demands for exegesis and logic. But we must claim for sermons that profess to be evolved out of Scripture passages that they be faithful, at any rate, to the principle of the text. We cannot think it a legitimate use of Scripture, for instance, to pervert Peter's proposal to build three tabernacles on the Mount of Transfiguration into an educational theory that the pupil passes successively through the three tabernacles of Moses, Elias, and Christ. This is surely to use the Bible as a book of ingenious puzzles. If a preacher feels moved to propound such a theory, by all means let him do it, but without a text, if he can find none more pertinent than this. There are times and topics when texts may legitimately be dispensed with. Mr. Mursell is always ingenious, earnest, piquant, and effective. We wish that we could inoculate scores with his popular power.—*The Story of Our Father's Love told to Children*. By MARK EVANS. (Henry S. King and Co.) A new and enlarged edition of a little work which has won great favour with young readers.—*The Lord's Prayer*. By C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D. (Strahan and Co.) It is surely sufficient to announce a new volume of Dr. Vaughan's sermons. When a preacher has for some thirty years been putting forth volumes of sermons, sometimes two or three in a year, criticism is superfluous. We only say that, in these discourses on the Lord's Prayer, Dr. Vaughan is quite equal to himself—simple, Evangelical, thoughtful, earnest, and fresh.—*Life in Faith*. Sermons preached at Cheltenham and Rugby. By T. W. JEX-BLAKE, M.A. (John Murray.) We naturally expect in sermons from the Head Master of Rugby intellectual strength, freshness, and beauty. These we get in a high degree. It is a literary pleasure to read these sermons. But we get in addition to these qualities great religious earnestness and wise religious counsels, eminently adapted to touch the best impulses in boys. Dr. Jex-Blake does not deal much in a formal way with

doctrines, and in this he is wise; but great fundamentals are held in solution in all his sermons, and are thus full of quickening power and urgency.—*The American Pulpit of the Day*. Forty-two Sermons by the Most Distinguished Living American Preachers. First Series. (R. D. Dickinson.) To omit Henry Ward Beecher, to say nothing of Dr. Richard Storrs, from a list of the most distinguished American preachers, is surely to leave Hamlet out of the play. And the omission is hardly compensated by nine sermons of Dr. Swing's, able though they are, four of Dr. Deems's, &c. This is no reason why this selection should not have been given to the public; but it is a reason why the word 'some' should have been prefixed to the characterisation of the preachers on the title-page. The sermons are respectable pulpit productions; none of them, however, except Dr. Swing's, are of distinctive ability. There are forty-two sermons by about half that number of preachers.—*Prayer: Five Sermons preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin*. By JAMES THOMAS O'BRIEN, D.D., late Bishop of Ossory, Ferns, and Loughlin. (Macmillan and Co.) These sermons are a posthumous publication. The first of them was preached as far back as December 1836. Bishop O'Brien was unable to submit them to the revision which, before his death, he contemplated, in view of recent speculations. They are, therefore, necessarily somewhat obsolete in form and fitness; but the general principles discussed are permanent as the difficulties which call them in question; and these are here treated in an intelligent, reverent, and sympathetic way, and with considerable intellectual vigour.—*Words from the Cross. Lent Lectures, 1875, and Thoughts for these Times. University Sermons, 1874*. By C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D. (Macmillan and Co.) Dr. Vaughan has brought into one volume seven sermons on our Lord's words from the cross, and four sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, on the Resurrection of Christ, the Forgiveness of Sins, the World as the field of Christian work, and Religious Exaggeration and Excitement. The first series is wise, tender, and devout, as it could not fail to be in Dr. Vaughan's hands. The keen spiritual insight and sympathetic religious feeling which so characterise him are here beautifully brought out. The second is more varied in its aspects towards present thought and speculation. Dr. Vaughan's method is not controversial, it is affirmative and religious, and wins approval by its appeals to the conscience and heart. The sermon on the Resurrection of Christ is a fine religious vindication of the great crucial fact of Christianity; while the sermon on 'Exaggeration and Excitement' is a most timely warning in the present state of religious feeling, which, from Dr. Vaughan's lips, will perhaps have some weight. Like all his sermons they belong to all and appeal to all.

THE
BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

FOR OCTOBER, 1876.

ART. I.—*Secular Change of Climate.*

- (1.) *The Great Ice Age, and its Relation to the Antiquity of Man.* By JAMES GEIKIE, F.R.S.E., F.G.S., of Her Majesty's Geological Survey of Scotland. 8vo. London. 1874.
- (2.) *Climate and Time in their Geological Relations: a Theory of Secular Changes of the Earth's Climate.* By JAMES CROLL, of Her Majesty's Geological Survey of Scotland. 8vo. London. 1875.

OF the many facts in physical geography which modern study has brought to light, none, perhaps, is more startling than the certainty that, in former ages, the climate of the earth has been very different from what it now is. Our forefathers had so accustomed themselves to the idea that the present is the natural order of things, that heat and cold are the essential and necessary characteristics of the tropical and arctic zones, that they received with incredulity the announcements of geological discoveries which seemed to speak of widely different conditions; and maintained that the remains of tropical beasts or plants found, as in our country, must have been carried there in some convulsion or cataclysm, probably by the great deluge itself.

This state of doubt, incredulity, and unbelief has long since passed away, and it is now well known, not only by professed students of geology and geography, but by the general reader, that from the earliest ages the climate, as well as the surface of the earth, has been subject to continual change. The knowledge, however, is a living reality to but few. The fossils of the coal-fields have indeed long accustomed the public to the idea of a period of great warmth, an idea accepted the more readily as in ap-

parent unison with the received belief in the once molten state of the globe, which was thus supposed to have been still cooling down to its present temperature within comparatively recent times; but the idea of frequent alternations, of periods of great cold succeeding or preceding periods of great warmth, is one of which indeed many may have read or heard, but without, by any means, fully grasping the meaning of it.

In fact, the old notion, as formulated by Sir David Brewster, that temperature, and climate as depending on temperature, is a simple function of the latitude, has stood very much in the way, and has rendered it difficult for any more exact statement to win belief; so that even now the great difference between the climates of places on the same parallel, such as Labrador and England, is an every-day source of wonder and vague guessing. But the experience of modern geographers has shown that such irregularities are the rule, and the labours of geologists have proved that, in past ages, climate has varied and alternated in almost every possible way, from the poles to the equator. The geological record is in many places obscure, in many places altogether obliterated; but enough remains to establish the general truth of the proposition, and to propound it as a physical problem of no less interest than difficulty.

It is the interpretation of this record, the investigation of this problem, that the authors of the two works which we have named above have attempted. They have done so in a patient and earnest manner, searching after truth with a zeal that recognizes no hindrance, with a practised skill that luxuriates in difficulties; and they have given us books of an interest more thrilling than the most sensational tale of broken

vows or violated commandments which has gone the round of the circulating libraries. Mr. Geikie's book, indeed, is principally historical or descriptive, and is eminently readable and intensely exciting; but Mr. Croll's will scarcely meet with such popular acceptance, for though its interest is, if possible, even greater than that of the other, it bristles with facts, and arguments, and stern arithmetic, which will delight the earnest student, but will be as a quickset hedge from which the mere casual reader will turn in dismay. For such, the book does not profess to be written; and whilst we would call special attention to it, as well as to its fellow, as both requiring and deserving a careful examination, we think we shall be doing the world of letters good service in presenting to it some account of the subject-matter of these very remarkable works, whose publication may be said to mark a scientific epoch.

We would not, of course, be understood to imply that the phenomena treated of in these works are now for the first time described and discussed. So far from this being the case, the outline of the facts has been before the public for more than thirty years, and their interpretation has been investigated by most of the leading geologists of Europe and America, and more particularly in our own country by Lyell, Ramsay, and Archibald Geikie, the elder brother of one of our present authors. But in the writings of all these, the subject of climate has been more or less subsidiary to some other principal design, an incidental episode or illustration in the body of some more general essay, and its details have not been worked out in a comprehensive and collected manner. In this sense 'The Great Ice Age' and 'Climate and Time' form the first complete exposition of these phenomena and their correlative theories, and have thus a distinct value, irrespective of the skilled labour and scientific acumen which have been brought to bear on the complex problems under consideration.

When the early dispute between the rival claims of fire and water began to die out, and the less sensational theory of Sir Charles Lyell made its way, geologists perceived that there were many facts which neither fire nor water, nor any other familiar agency, could explain; such, for instance, as huge angular boulders found many hundreds of miles from the place of their origin; heaps of rough stones or of dirt piled up or scattered about in situations where water could not have carried them; fixed rocks, smoothed, rounded, polished, and regularly scratched; or vast quantities of finely-ground and well-kneaded but unstratified clay intimately

mixed up with stones scratched and polished as the rocks. And yet these appearances, common over the whole of Northern Europe and America, are peculiarly so in our own country: the clay, especially, is a distinct geological feature of a great part of the Scottish lowlands, where it is known as 'till,' and of England, where it has been more commonly called 'boulder clay;' but its characteristics are everywhere the same; it is a firm, tough, tenacious, stony clay, more objectionable to engineers than the hardest rocks. These phenomena were the subject of much debate: it was only by slow degrees that the prejudices of habit and of former modes of thought could be overcome, and it became recognized that ice was the one and only agent in nature which could give rise to them.

Long observation in Switzerland, where glaciers still exist, showed that the grinding and kneading of the clay is even now going on; that rocks are even now being smoothed, rounded, polished, and scratched; that irregular heaps of stones are being piled up as lateral or terminal moraines; and that enormous boulders are being carried far from their parent cliff. More exact observation showed that the glaciers of modern Switzerland are mere pigmies in comparison with those which must have existed long ago, and pointed out the moraines of the past, identical in fashion with those of the present, the rounded and scratched rocks, the transported boulders, and all the other marks which the modern glaciers could be seen duly registering. Here then was the key: the marks in England, in Scotland, in Denmark, in Norway or Sweden, were identical with those found in Switzerland, and there clearly recognized as made by an extended system of glaciers. But it was difficult to believe that glaciers of a size at all adequate to produce the observed effects could ever have existed in this temperate and low-lying part of Europe; and even to those who were prepared to admit the effect of glacier action, there were many apparent contradictions which seemed to render the proposed theory untenable. Still, the enormous power of ice, both to carry and to grind, was generally admitted; and it was eagerly and positively maintained that the particular form of ice which had, in past ages, been at work in this part of the globe, was that of bergs borne on an arctic current.

This did not seem to involve any extreme change of climate. It was well known that on the other side of the Atlantic, bergs of an enormous size annually come down to a much lower latitude than ours, and that in the south they approach very near to the

Cape of Good Hope. There was, therefore, little difficulty in the way of admitting the possibility of icebergs coming out of the Arctic, and drifting on their way over such parts of this country as happened at the time to be under water. An able and popular writer enlarged on this idea a few years ago, in that most interesting work, 'Frost and Fire,' and argued that the precise track of these icebergs was over what is now Russian Lapland, then the bottom of the sea, down the Gulf of Bothnia, and so out over the submerged south of Sweden, Denmark, and England.

Plausible as Mr. Campbell's theory undoubtedly is, and though in many respects ingenious and suggestive, it is none the less founded on fancy rather than on observation, and has not stood the test of severe scientific scrutiny. Indeed, when such scrutiny is uncompromisingly carried out, it is found that there is no evidence at all showing that icebergs do or can smooth, round, polish, or even regularly scratch rocks over which they pass; there is no evidence at all showing, or tending to show, that they ever grind over rocks in such a way as to produce any of these effects in the very slightest degree. The evidence is indeed rather to the contrary, that they do not and cannot grind along the bottom; that they either float freely or bring up with a violent shock, that may smash, or contort, or plough up the bottom, but most certainly does not mark it with long series of fine scratches, or *striae*.

These *striae* are amongst the most common of ice markings; they exactly resemble those now made by glaciers; they therefore may have been made by glaciers; and no other natural agent is known by which they can have been made. The necessary inference then is that they were made by glaciers; that the ice which has crushed and ground the surface of our country, not only on the mountains, but on the low lands, was land ice; and that therefore the climate of this part of the world was, at that time, such as to admit of land ice in very large masses. When the various glacial phenomena are examined step by step, in full detail, it is found that the action of land ice will explain them all, if only it can be supposed to have been in sufficient quantity; but the great difficulty has been in the conception of the enormous extent of ice which must have been at work. Glaciers, as ordinarily understood, are quite insufficient; and the idea, stupendous as it seems, which has been gaining ground, and which is now very generally held by all competent geologists, is that at the period of this world's history to which these glacial phenomena are to be referred, the whole

adjacent surface of the earth was covered, to the depth of several thousand feet, with one solid mass of ice.

So far as Europe is concerned, the ice-cap extended over the greater part of Germany, Sweden and Norway, the Baltic, Denmark, the North Sea, Great Britain and Ireland, and seaward for some distance into the Atlantic, where it terminated, probably near the present hundred-fathom line, in an ice-wall or cliff, not unlike that now existing in the Antarctic Ocean. This is, in bare outline, the description of North-western Europe in what is known as 'the glacial period;' whilst further south and east the glaciers of the Alps, Apennines, and other mountain ranges, even as far as the Lebanon, had an exaggerated development. The condition of North America was similar: the ice covering extended in one unbroken sheet as far as the parallel of 40° , and reached in exceptional though enormous glaciers to a much lower latitude.

The evidence however stands out very clearly that these masses of continental ice were not connected; that they were not parts of a huge ice-cap covering the pole, and stretching down to the parallel of 40° or 50° . The *striae* left in the far north of Lapland lead down towards the Arctic Sea; those in the north of Scotland also lead north; those in the east lead east, towards the North Sea. It would appear that the bed of this sea was the low-lying part of the enormous glacier, slowly creeping north, and terminating beyond the Shetland Islands, in a continuation of the Irish ice-cliff. In the southern hemisphere the action of ice in a manner equally beyond present possibility is also well attested; though the comparatively limited area of land, and the relative scantiness of observation even over that limited area, prevent our attempting to trace its extent.

It is difficult to accept the idea of such a climatic condition, whether in the northern or southern hemisphere, an idea so utterly subversive of all preconceived notions. What! one might be tempted to exclaim, —England with a climate like that of Greenland! As well speak of Greenland with a climate like that of England. A climax of absurdity; and yet it is exactly this change which has taken place. We cannot get rid of evidence by, ostrich-like, ignoring it. The evidence of this remarkable change of climate is overwhelming, and though its extreme copiousness prevents our even attempting to recapitulate it, we may illustrate the general statement of fact by calling attention to some of its more salient features.

Glaciers, such as we now know them in

Switzerland, may be properly called rivers of ice: they descend from the sides of mountains into valleys, and continue their course down the valleys until they reach their bounding limit. Whatever may be eventually proved to be the cause of the motion of glaciers, it is quite certain that the downward force of gravity plays an important part in it; hence, when blocks of stone fall on to, or become imbedded in, a glacier, they descend with it, and when left by the melting ice, are almost necessarily at a lower level than their origin. But the travelled blocks now found in many parts of Europe do not correspond to this condition: they are frequently found at a higher level, and in positions such that they must have passed over hill ranges of considerable altitude. Amongst these, special mention is made of a large mass of mica-slate, at a height of 1,020 feet on the Pentland Hills, which must have come from fifty miles to the north or eighty to the west. Boulders of highland rocks have been found on the northern slopes of the Lammermuir Hills, and on the crests of the hills between the valleys of the Clyde and the Irvine. These blocks passed not only over wide valleys, such as the Forth or Clyde, but over the Campsie or Ochil Hills; and if we admit that ice was the carrying agent, it is clear that the valleys must have been filled up, and the intervening hills buried in the one sea of ice which swept down from the highlands over the low country. And whilst the scratching, polishing, and rounding of rocks, everywhere noted, as well as the mingled and confused mass of ground clay and stones, may be considered as certain proofs of glacier action, the portage of these and many other boulders over vast distances, across wide valleys or even seas, and up steep slopes, is conclusive as to the stupendous size of the glaciers which performed the work.

The evidence of a once genial climate in the now ice-bound Arctic is equally conclusive. The readers of arctic voyages—and during the last twelve months they have been numerous—will be familiar with McClure's discovery of the remains of a forest of pine trees on the northern shores of Banks Land, in latitude $74^{\circ} 48'$, 300 feet above sea level. 'From the perfect state of the bark,' he wrote, 'and the position of the trees so far from the sea, there can be but little doubt that they grew originally in the country.' Many other instances have been noted; and though some eminent geologists, including the late Sir Roderick Murchison, have suggested the possibility of these trees having been drifted there, as perhaps from the mouth of the Mackenzie,

such a supposition demands a sea nearly clear of ice, which would itself speak of a widely different climate.

But the tree found by Sir Edward Belcher, near the northern end of Wellington Sound, in latitude $75^{\circ} 32'$, and longitude $92^{\circ} W.$, about a mile and a half inland, is conclusive against this supposition. It was unmistakably *in situ*, and was dug out of the ground, with the soil immediately in contact with its roots. When brought home, it was examined by Sir William Hooker, whose report is curious. 'The structure of the wood,' he says, 'differs remarkably in its anatomical character from that of any other conifer with which I am acquainted.' The peculiarity, described at great length, consists in the division of each concentric ring, or annual growth, into two zones, of which the inner, or first formed, 'must be regarded as imperfectly developed, being deposited at a season when the functions of the plant are very intermittently exercised, and when a few short hours of sunshine are daily succeeded by many of extreme cold.' In the outer zone, on the other hand, formed whilst the sun's heat and light are continuous throughout the twenty-four hours, the wood fibres are more perfectly developed than is usual in the natural order to which this tree belongs.

Of a much earlier age, but bearing evidence to a still milder climate, are the coal measures, which, as is well known, have been found in many parts of the arctic regions, and notably in Melville Island, latitude $74^{\circ}-76^{\circ}$; and corals, found, amongst other places, in Beechey Island. Almost still more startling are the ammonites, which have been found in great numbers, in widely different parts; by Lieutenant Anjou of the Russian navy, on the southern shores of New Siberia, in latitude 74° , and by Captain McClintock, at Point Wilkie in Prince Patrick's Land, latitude $76^{\circ} 20'$. These last were examined by Professor Haughton. 'It appears to me,' he says, 'difficult to imagine the possibility of such fossils living in a frozen, or even a temperate sea. All idea of accounting for the occurrence of such remains by drift must be abandoned, as the fossils found by McClintock were unquestionably *in situ*, and it is impossible to evade the consequences that follow to geological theory from their discovery.'

Equally strong is the evidence of a tropical or semi-tropical climate in England and the neighbouring parts of Europe. The fossil remains of animals peculiar to tropical climates, huge carnivora—lions, tigers, spotted hyænas—which require not only warmth, but abundance of animal food; elephants,

rhinoceroses, hippopotami, requiring warmth, water, and luxuriant vegetation; are sufficient proofs that our climate was not only warm, but was, for the time, permanently so. The suggestion that warm summers and cold winters permitted the alternation of animals and plants of tropical and arctic types, will not meet the consideration that beasts, such as the hippopotamus, could neither endure the winter cold, nor migrate, with the seasons, across the whole breadth of Europe; and that the amount of vegetable food requisite for these gigantic pachydermata, and for the herds which formed the sustenance of the carnivora, could not grow each year as the winter glaciers disappeared.

These extreme changes of climate have naturally been much discussed amongst geologists, and many widely different theories have been proposed as attempts to explain them. Many of these can be regarded only as guesses, which will not stand the test of exact reasoning; others again, although imperfect and not altogether satisfactory, must be accepted as having some foundation in fact. We propose to consider these theories in some detail, and more especially that which for the last eleven years has been associated with Mr. Croll's name.

The first of these theories to which we have to refer was, that different parts of space might have very different temperatures, and that in the onward march of the solar system the earth might successively arrive at spaces of excessive cold and especial heat. Now, beyond the mere fact that the passing through a cold part of space might lower the temperature of the earth, or passing through a hot part might raise it, it is quite clear that there can be no evidence in support of such a supposition. But, on purely physical grounds, the theory is untenable. The distinctive feature of the glacial period, as producing geological results, was not the cold, but the enormous quantity of snow, that is, of condensed vapour. When then there was snow, there must have been also vapour to condense; when there was much snow, there must have been much vapour, and much heat to make that vapour; and therefore, as Professor Tyndall has well shown, the glacial period, though a period of intense cold towards one or both of the poles, cannot have been a period of intense cold all over the earth. On the other hand, the warm arctic climate cannot have been caused by the general addition of some fifty or sixty degrees to the mean temperature; for such addition, affecting the intertropical as well as the polar re-

gions, would have been fatal to animal and vegetable life. And again, as Mr. Croll has argued, since space, of itself, cannot be hot, any such hypothetical hot space must be in the neighbourhood of some source of heat, some other sun, the attraction of which must necessarily have interfered with the orbital motion of the several members of the solar system.

A theory of a somewhat similar nature is that the sun has been of very variable magnitude, or that its heating power has been subject to excessive fluctuations. But the diminution of the sun's heating power, though of course it could produce a period of great cold, could not, as we have seen, give rise to a glacial period; and any great increase must, as before, have caused an alteration in the conditions of life, and have left behind it unmistakable proofs of its having occurred. We may therefore put these crude, unsupported, and unscientific fancies entirely out of the question, and pass on to the theory proposed by Sir Charles Lyell, and examined by him at considerable length in the later editions of his well-known works.

This would refer the changes of climate principally, if not altogether, to changes in the relative distribution of land and sea. Basing his argument on a remark of Humboldt's, that the climatic difference between North America and Europe was to be attributed to the American land reaching so much farther towards the pole, Sir Charles Lyell has maintained, with his usual clearness and copiousness of illustration, that an excess of land near the poles would give rise to a glacial condition; and that, contrariwise, an excess of land near the equator would occasion a sub-tropical climate all over the world. It is quite certain that changes in the distribution of land and sea must cause, and have caused, very different climatic conditions; it is also certain that, as a rule of the present time, land under the equator is hotter, land near the poles is colder, than the sea adjacent. But it is difficult to say how much of this difference is to be attributed to specially existing circumstances; and Humboldt's original idea of the cause of the rigour of the American climate, as compared with the European, cannot be accepted in this age of more exact geographical knowledge. It is beyond a doubt that the ocean currents and the winds which sweep over them are the cause of this present extreme difference, and it is logical to conclude that in any past age ocean currents must have contributed largely to the climatic conditions. But if at any time the intertropical area of the earth's surface was occupied almost entirely by land, no large

current of intertropical water could have carried tropical warmth to temperate and arctic regions; and referring merely to our own present experience, the absence of such a current would be at once severely felt. We would therefore agree with Mr. Croll in the argument he has put forward, that marked as might be the effect of a redistribution of land and sea, it is extremely doubtful whether the particular form of redistribution suggested by Sir Charles Lyell could have led to the results which he has described; and that though the probability of great changes in the relative shape and position of the land must be taken into account, we can scarcely admit that such changes were principally and primarily the causes of the very great changes of climate testified to by the geological record.

A difficulty almost still more conclusive against our accepting this theory in its entirety, is that there is no reason to believe that there has been any such complete redistribution of the areas of land and sea during recent geological periods. There is, on the contrary, strong reason to believe that the present form of the oceans and continents, in its principal features, stretches very far into the past; and it is quite certain that the last glacial period was, geologically speaking, very recent—so recent, in fact, that it touched on the arrival of man in Western Europe. Of the possible date of this we shall have to speak further on, but the evidence of man as absolutely contemporary with the reindeer in the south of France is very generally known.

The theory which would attribute the great changes of climate to great changes in the direction, or even in the being of ocean currents, has, during the last twenty years, been brought very prominently forward by many writers on physical geography; and very great weight is attached to it by Mr. Croll, whose investigations in connection with this branch of his subject have excited a good deal of scientific interest, and are now reproduced in a more connected form.

The simple fact of the existence of ocean currents, or what Captain Maury has aptly called 'rivers in the ocean,' is, of course, familiarly known; and of all the currents which traverse the ocean, none has been more frequently talked of and discussed than the Gulf Stream: if mere discussion could have arrived at any settlement of the questions respecting it, they must have been settled long ago. The facts about which there is no dispute may be briefly stated thus:—

A rapid current of warm water issues

through the narrow passage geographically known as the Straits of Bimini, between Florida and the westernmost of the Bahamas, and follows very closely the coast of North America as far as the banks of Newfoundland. This current, coming out of the Gulf of Mexico, is called the Gulf Stream.

The surface water of the North Atlantic, about the latitude of 40° , is, on the average, much warmer than that of other oceans in the same latitude; and this unusual warmth stretches away towards the north and east, conveyed by a slow motion of the water, and reaches as far as the North Cape of Norway and into the Spitzbergen or Barentz Sea.

To the north-west of this area of warm water with a north-easterly set, is an area where the water is cold and sets to the southward, whether on the east coast of Greenland, or out of Baffin's Bay, or down the coast of Labrador; and this cold southerly current, with a very contracted breadth, passes inside the Gulf Stream, and so washes the eastern coast of the United States.

Underneath the warm water, which on the north-east is flowing northwards, is a bed of icy cold water, the coldest of which lies in certain deep channels between the Faroe and Shetland Islands. And, lastly,

A great part of the warm water of the North Atlantic sets southward, down the coast of Portugal and Africa, into the tropics.

These are the very bare facts, concerning which there is no doubt; but everything beyond—every attempt to connect these facts together, to form a reasonable system out of them, or to offer any scientific explanation of them—has led to controversy and discussion, and very unscientific assertion.

The disputants may, however, be perhaps fairly considered as resolving themselves into two classes; one of which, maintaining that there is no break of continuity or flow between the water which issues through the Straits of Bimini and that warm water which spreads over the middle latitudes of the North Atlantic, and passes to the north on the coast of Norway, or to the south on the coast of Africa, applies to the whole, collectively, the one title of Gulf Stream, and confers the name more distinctly on that northern part of it which passes into Barentz Sea; the other, holding that the Gulf Stream, as such, cannot be traced beyond the banks of Newfoundland, where its distinctively warm water has thinned out to the merest surface layer, and its velocity has died away, argues from familiar physical principles that the warm water of the tropical Atlantic and the cold water of the Arctic

tic establish a circulation resembling, in its main points, that circulation which goes on through the pipes of an ordinary low-pressure hot-water warming apparatus; that, being such, the northerly flow of warm water along our coasts and the coast of Norway has no relationship to, and is quite independent of, the Gulf Stream; and that the name Gulf Stream applied to it is a geographical blunder and a physical misconception.

According to the first of these two classes the Gulf Stream is, in its origin, due to the trade winds, which drive the tropical surface water with considerable pressure into the Gulf of Mexico, from which it escapes through the Florida Narrows, as through the nozzle of a squirt, and is assisted by the prevailing south-westerly winds on the coast of the United States and by the strong west winds of the North Atlantic, known familiarly to seamen as 'the Roaring Forties.' These, it is argued, driving the water away from the American coast, call for a supply from behind. The so-called Gulf Stream is therefore strictly the continuous motion of the water that issues from the Florida channel, maintained, supported, and strengthened by the persistent westerly winds of the North Atlantic, and divided by the pressure of the European coast line, so that the northern part of it flows towards the north, the southern part towards the south; both of which branches are again still further supported by the winds of these regions, prevailing respectively from the south-west and north-west. That the water so driven under pressure into the Arctic should seek an escape as soon as, or wherever the pressure is withdrawn, is a necessary correlation; and in this sense the southerly flow of water down each coast of Greenland is a complement of the northerly flow on the west coast of Norway. It is argued also that the water so pressed towards the Arctic is more than can possibly get into that confined basin, and that thus a considerable portion of it, having lost its heat in high latitudes, is, as it has been called, banked down, and escapes as a southerly underflow of cold water.

This systematic explanation of the Gulf Stream in connection with the general circulation of the currents of the North Atlantic, seems to us satisfactory, not only in its broad outline, but in its more special details; whilst any theory which seeks to account for the existing state of oceanic circulation by reference to differences of temperature and density, falls far short of the geographical facts, and necessarily ignores the southerly currents on the coast of Greenland, or that grand southerly flow of water on the

coast of Portugal and Africa. It is, at any rate, difficult for any one who has studied the subject of ocean currents as a geographer, and has based his theories on geographical observation, to admit the effect claimed for what he knows as paltry and uncertain differences of specific gravity; although such may arise from differences of temperature, if, indeed, they are not more than counterbalanced by differences of salinity caused by differences of evaporation.

It is, of course, easy to produce any wished-for effect as a lecture-room illustration; but no theory can be accepted which is based on such, unless it can be shown that the conditions are similar, if not identical. Now, very great stress has been laid by those who have advocated the temperature theory, on the illustration shown by Dr. Carpenter; that is to say, on the fact that by heating the water at one end of a long narrow tank, and by cooling that at the other, a vertical circulation can be established, a motion towards the cold end above, towards the warm end beneath. The conditions in such a tank and in the basin of the North Atlantic, of the small body of uniform water and the very large body of water of many diverse degrees of salinity, are too different to permit us to accept Dr. Carpenter's experiment as even an illustration of a theory of oceanic circulation, which, when applied to the geographical area, does not conform to observation, and does not explain existing facts.

An examination into the arguments which Dr. Carpenter on the one side, Mr. Croll and many geographers on the other, have adduced in support of their several views, would lead us into the recesses of a controversy unsuitable for this Review. They will be found at length in the papers which Dr. Carpenter has contributed to the proceedings of the Royal Society or of the Royal Geographical Society, and in Mr. Croll's papers in the 'Philosophical Magazine,' or more recently in his latest work, 'Climate and Time,' as well as in other writings to which he refers. For our present purpose it will be quite sufficient to say that on the main point of causation we agree entirely with Mr. Croll. We believe that not only the Gulf Stream and its various branches and ramifications, but the ocean currents generally, are due solely to the system of prevailing winds; not—as Mr. Croll has well specified—to winds in any one particular locality, but to the connected system of winds, which act in relation to each other, and transmit their pressure to the surface of the sea through wide extents of ocean.

Now it might be considered that the

theoretical explanation of ocean currents has little to do with the question of climatic change, and that the bare fact of their presence or absence is all that we are now concerned with. This is not the case; for it is clearly difficult, if not impossible, to say whether, in the distant past, warm or cold currents did or did not, might or might not, traverse certain seas, unless we have a correct understanding of the forces which call them into being and direct their course. Dr. Carpenter, for instance, has maintained that the effect of the Gulf Stream upon the climate of this country is imperceptible. On the other hand, an American writer, Mr. Silas Bent, came before the transatlantic public some few years ago with a proposal to cut, through the Isthmus of Panama, a passage sufficiently large to allow the water forced into the Gulf of Mexico to escape into the Pacific, with the avowed intention of ruining this country as the commercial rival of the United States. Bent's proposal was so utterly absurd from an engineering point of view, that it escaped the notice due to it as a study in morality: but nevertheless, believing as we do that the Gulf Stream exercises a most direct and important influence on our climate, we believe that the submergence of Central America to such a depth as to permit the tropical waters driven by the trade winds to pass through into the Pacific, would produce a disastrous effect on the climate of North-western Europe; that glaciers might again flow down the valleys of Scotland, of Westmoreland, or of Wales; and that our harbours might be closed each winter with impenetrable ice: whilst Dr. Carpenter, believing that the warm current which passes to the north is quite independent of the Gulf Stream, and is the necessary circulation of tropical and arctic water at different temperatures, believes also that such a submergence of Central America would in no way interrupt this circulation, and would be to us a matter of little or no consequence.*

Similarly, he believes that the circulation would go on irrespective of other changes in the formation of the land, and that therefore oceanic currents cannot play any important part in the history or theory of the climatic changes of the past. It is on this account that Mr. Croll has devoted a very considerable portion of his work to the examination of the different theories of ocean currents, arriving, as we have already said, at the conclusion that the circulation supposed to be due to differences of temperature does not exist—we would rather say, is insensi-

ble—and that the currents are due solely and entirely to the prevailing winds.

Believing then in the extreme importance of ocean currents as agents of climatic change, Mr. Croll has attempted to calculate their actual effect under present existing conditions. The labour of this calculation must have been very great, and we are by no means sure that its value is commensurate; for, with all possible care, the data are so very uncertain, that the results cannot be depended on as even approximately correct. The utmost we can allow is that they dimly shadow out the nature of the effect, and it is only with this comprehensive limitation that we accept them.

Very different estimates have been formed of the quantity of water which passes through the Narrows of Bimini. Anxious to avoid any charge of exaggeration, Mr. Croll has accepted the lowest: he assumes that 459 cubic miles of water pass through every day. He further assumes that the mean temperature of this mass of water as it passes through the Straits is 65° F., and that the mean temperature of the same water as it returns south is 40° F. These estimates are purely hypothetical. Certainly very much of the water in the straits has a temperature far higher than 65°, and much of that which returns has a temperature far lower than 40°. As before, Mr. Croll purposely understates his case, and concludes from these data that the water projected each day into the northern part of the North Atlantic loses there twenty-five degrees of its temperature; that is to say, each cubic foot loses upwards of 1,500 units of heat,* and the total loss in these units is somewhat more than one hundred thousand billions.

Such a number is, of course, only useful for purposes of arithmetic, as affording a means of comparison with other numbers equally beyond our powers of conception. It enables us to compare the quantity of heat so thrown off by the Gulf Stream with that received directly from the sun. It shows us that, according to the calculations and experiments of Herschel, Pouillet and Meech, the quantity of heat so carried into our temperate regions by the Gulf Stream in one year is equal to that received directly from the sun over an area equal to the fourth part of the North Atlantic north of the Straits of Florida. The heat thrown off by the Gulf Stream in temperate latitudes is therefore equal to one-fourth of that supplied directly by the sun, and consti-

* A unit of heat is the quantity of heat necessary to raise the temperature of one pound of water by one degree Fahrenheit.

* 'Contemporary Review,' March, 1871.

utes one-fifth of the whole heat of this vast area of the Atlantic.

Having arrived at this relative value of the heating power of the Gulf Stream, he next endeavours to form some idea of its absolute value by calculating the whole effect of the sun. The method which he follows is undoubtedly correct, though the results he obtains are so startling, that we cannot be surprised that both method and results have been controverted and denied.

The temperature of space is, according to Herschel and Ponillet, about 239 degrees below the zero of Fahrenheit, and to this, if the sun were extinguished, they believe the temperature of the earth would rapidly sink. The mean annual temperature of the North Atlantic, north of the tropic, may be taken as 56° F.; the whole effect of the sun on the water of the North Atlantic is, therefore, 56 degrees more than 239, or 295 degrees: but we have just seen that one-fifth of this is imported by the Gulf Stream: it follows, therefore, that the stoppage of the Gulf Stream would withdraw 59 degrees, and reduce the mean temperature of the North Atlantic below zero.

Now, although we cannot attach any idea of exactness to this calculation of the effect of the Gulf Stream, we do believe that it shows more correctly than any previous attempt the enormous influence which that current has on our climate. It shows how important must be the general action of ocean currents, and leads us directly to the consideration of the great currents in other parts of the world. None of these have been examined with that care which has been bestowed on the Gulf Stream, and the conditions of their origin render it impossible to form even the roughest estimate of their volume. The Japan current in the North Pacific corresponds in many respects to the Gulf Stream, but there are no observations which enable us to say whether its volume and mean temperature are greater than those of its counterpart, or are less. It is nowhere confined in a narrow channel, where its dimensions can be, however rudely, measured; its surface flow is intermittent, and it has not yet been discovered what becomes of it during the month of February, when it disappears from the coast of Japan. The general impression amongst geographers is that it is altogether less than the Gulf Stream, and, compared with the larger area of the Pacific, there is little reason to doubt that it is so: still, its climatic effect is unquestionably very great.

The currents which, in the southern hemisphere, correspond to these, are small, in both the Atlantic and Pacific, and their

volume and temperature insignificant in comparison. The only current of any note which flows from the tropics into the Southern Ocean is that which escapes from the Indian Ocean along the coast of Natal, and its waters are almost entirely spread out and carried away to the eastward by the prevailing drift: being thus dispersed, it has little direct influence on the climate of any of the southern lands.

Small, however, as the heat-bearing currents of the southern hemisphere are in comparison with those of the northern, it is quite clear, by reference to the calculations which have been made as to the effect of the Gulf Stream, that they must exercise an important influence on the southern climate, and that if they were altogether withdrawn, the climate of the higher latitudes of the southern hemisphere would be very much worse than it even now is. If, for instance, the whole of the tropical drift to the southward of the line was to be pressed to the northward, the climate of the southern hemisphere would become much more severe; whilst at the same time the volumes of both the Gulf Stream and Japan current would be much increased, and the northern hemisphere would be made much warmer. And conversely, if all the warm currents were driven to the south, then the northern hemisphere would have a glacial climate, and the southern a mild and warm one.

Now, the median line between the northern and southern trade winds, which is also the median line of the equatorial drift, is undoubtedly coincident, or nearly so, with the line of greatest heat. When, therefore, one hemisphere is chilled and the other warmed, so that this line of greatest heat (thermal equator) passes far into the warmer hemisphere, the middle line of the equatorial drift, and the main body of the equatorial drift with it, passes also into the warmer hemisphere; and the volume of the warm currents of the warm hemisphere is increased, and that necessarily at the expense of the cold hemisphere. There is thus a tendency for the warm hemisphere to increase its warmth, and for the cold one to become more cold.

Mr. Croll explains this tendency by reference to a supposed increase of the strength of the trade winds in the colder hemisphere; but this seems at least doubtful. We would agree with him as to the effect produced, but would attribute it, rather, to the movement of the thermal equator; and we may support our objection by the evidence of the existing condition in the Pacific Ocean. Over none of the intertropical seas are the trade winds so irregular and uncertain as

over the South Pacific; but the thermal equator is some 3° or 4° to the north of the line, and undoubtedly a great part of the equatorial drift passes into the northern hemisphere.

But in connection with this, there is one important point on which Mr. Croll has scarcely laid sufficient stress; and that is the effect, on this interchange of currents, of even comparatively slight alterations in the form of the land. We have already referred to the possible effect of an alteration so slight as the submergence of Central America: the submergence of the low land of South America would produce a much greater. Notwithstanding the present position of the mean thermal equator some 5° to the north of the line, it is quite evident that the main cause of the intrusion of so much of the equatorial drift into the North Atlantic is rather the position of Cape St. Roque and the general lay of the coast of South America. Cape St. Roque is in latitude $5^{\circ} 10' S.$, and intercepts a considerable part of the north-westerly drift of the South Atlantic. It is quite clear that, when once caught, this has no escape to the southward, but must go north towards the Caribbean Sea. Similarly, all the water that, during a great part of the year, is 'pressed up against this coast line by the north-east trades, is also compelled to go towards the north-west. But if this coast line did not exist, if the plains of the Orinoco, the Amazon, and the Paraguay were at the bottom of the sea,—and it is certain they were there at no very distant geological period,—this restraint on the equatorial drift would no longer exist, and the greater portion of that heated water which now flows into the Gulf of Mexico would, beyond doubt, be pressed to the south, warming the southern hemisphere at the expense of the northern.

In the same way a slightly different arrangement of the islands in the west of the Pacific, the line of which now slopes away towards the north-west, and forces a great part of the equatorial drift to the north as a supply to the Japan current, would either divert it to the south, or would permit it to pass through into the Indian Ocean, and so increase in volume and in heating power the current of the coast of Natal. The effect of these changes cannot, of course, be calculated: they might vary in intensity; they might be whole or partial. All that we can say is, that having attempted to calculate the effect of the Gulf Stream, and, whilst fully acknowledging the roughness and imperfection of that calculation, having convinced ourselves of the enormous climatic influence of that current, we are able to

form a shadowy idea of the possible effect of other currents which might, under different conditions, flow in very different directions; and we arrive necessarily at the conclusion that the ocean currents are a most important cause of the conditions of climate now existing, and, changing in magnitude and direction obedient to changes in the coast line, in the thermal equator, and in the prevailing winds, must have been so ever since the world began.

But Mr. Croll, admitting the very great influence of ocean currents on climatic conditions, and arguing most ably on their causes and changes, has considered them throughout as secondary to cosmical changes, changes, that is, in the earth's orbit and position at different seasons relative to the sun. His theory on this point is entirely his own; and though, during the ten or twelve years which have passed since he first broached it in the 'Philosophical Magazine,' it has been much discussed, it has continually gathered strength, and is now very generally accepted as an extremely probable solution of the many difficulties involved in the question of climatic change.

From the days of our childhood, we, dwelling in the northern hemisphere, have been familiar with what then seemed the startling fact that the earth is nearer the sun in winter than in summer; and that winter and summer depend not so much on the lesser or greater distance from the sun, but on the degree of the divergence of the sun's rays from the perpendicular. We learnt, in fact, the meaning of the terms 'tropics,' 'arctic,' and 'antarctic;' and, in all probability, learnt also many climatic rules which we have been now proving to be erroneous. We therefore refer to this early instruction in the use of the globes only to remind our readers that the northern winter now occurs when the earth is nearest the sun, the southern winter when the earth is farthest from the sun. The difference between the two distances, the nearest and the farthest, is at present about one-thirtieth of the mean distance, or three million miles; but it is subject to continual though exceedingly slow change, and may increase till it is rather more than fourteen millions of miles, or between one-sixth and one-seventh of the mean distance. At the present time, the hemisphere which is nearest the sun in winter has a winter eight days shorter than its summer; at the time of the greatest difference just spoken of, the winter would be thirty-six days shorter. Now it might well be supposed that a difference of even eight days between the length of summer and winter, and much more a difference of thirty-six days, would

make a very great difference between the warmth in summer, or the cold in winter, of the two hemispheres. It might well be supposed that the hemisphere whose summer was eight days longer than the other would be the warmer in that proportion, and still more when the summer was thirty-six days longer.

Accordingly, no sooner was it shown from geological evidence that the earth had been subject to very great changes of climate, than the idea was started that these changes were due to corresponding changes in the shape, or, mathematically speaking, the eccentricity* of the earth's orbit; and to there having been, at some former time, this great difference in the length of summer and winter. But it was shown by physical reasoning from observed facts—we may say that it was satisfactorily shown—that notwithstanding this great difference, and whatever the difference between the length of summer and winter, the quantity of heat received from the sun in the course of the year by each hemisphere was exactly and always the same; from which fact it was argued that any climatic difference in the two hemispheres, either from each other or from a fixed mean, could not be due in any way to such a change in the orbit of the earth.

Sir John Herschel, indeed, as far back as 1830, was inclined to believe that these differences might give rise to remarkable changes of climate, but he would appear to have been dissatisfied with the evidence to that effect; and in the early editions of his 'Outlines of Astronomy' he taught that since the quantity of solar heat received by the two hemispheres was the same, the effects which might arise from the difference of distance and of the length of the seasons would be counterbalanced. In the fourth edition, published in 1858, he considerably modified this opinion, and wrote that, on the supposition of a very great eccentricity of the earth's orbit, other things remaining the same, in the northern hemisphere 'we should have a short but very mild winter, with a long but very cool summer; while the southern hemisphere would be inconvenienced, and might be rendered uninhabitable, by the fierce extremes caused by concentrating half the annual supply of heat into a summer of very short duration, and spreading the other half over a long and dreary winter, sharpened to an intolerable intensity of frost, when at

its climax, by the much greater remoteness of the sun.'

This, then, may be considered the most advanced view of the effect of the changing eccentricity of the earth's orbit previous to Mr. Croll taking up the subject in 1864. Accepting Sir John Herschel's views of the perpetual spring climate of the hemisphere whose midwinter occurs when the earth is nearest the sun (*in perihelion*), Mr. Croll dissents altogether from the opinion that the other hemisphere will have a climate of violent contrasts; an intensely hot, almost unendurable summer, contrasted with a winter as intensely cold. His argument amounts to this: that during the long cold winter of a period of maximum eccentricity, all the precipitation over that hemisphere would be in the form of snow; that this snow would lie unmelted, and would cover the surface of the ground at the commencement of the short summer; that the summer sun shining on this snow-clad surface could not warm it, but that a great portion of the heat rays would be reflected back into space; and of those rays which were not so reflected, the effect would be to convert some of the snow into water or vapour; that the vapour so formed, being partially condensed by the neighbourhood of vast masses of snow, would hang in the air as cloud and fog, and in great measure shut off the heat of the sun from the surface of the earth, or rather of the snow which covered it.

He considers that we have a feeble analogy to this in the existing state of things in the southern hemisphere, in which, according to Sir James Ross, at the comparatively low latitude of 59° , in longitude 171° E., snow was falling on the longest day, and during the month of February (the month corresponding to August in the northern hemisphere) there were only three days free from snow showers. More recently Captain Nares has given evidence to the same effect. He says: 'Whilst in the neighbourhood of the ice, between the 13th and 25th February, the temperature of the air ranged between 34.8° and 21.5° F., the mean being 31.5° ; a slightly colder climate in an average latitude of 64° S. than is found in the month of August in the Arctic seas, in latitude 74° N.'*

In the same strain Mr. Croll argues that the cold of Greenland and other arctic countries continues during the summer, not from the absence of heat, but because the snow-covering prevents the earth receiving it. During the early summer fogs are extreme-

* An ellipse is described on paper by drawing a pencil along in the bight of a string, fastened at the two ends to pins firmly driven in. The distance between these two pins as compared with the length of the string is the eccentricity of the ellipse.

* Reports, &c., of U.M.S. *Challenger*. No. 2, p. 10.

ly frequent, shutting off a great part of the sun's rays, and those which reach the earth do not warm the surface. He adduces on this point the evidence of Captain Scoresby, that the general obscurity of the atmosphere arising from fogs or clouds is such that the sun is frequently invisible during several successive days; and snow is so common in the arctic regions, that it may be boldly stated that, in nine days out of ten during the months of April, May, and June, more or less falls. Other arctic voyagers have given the same testimony. We will only add that from the latest voyage of which a report has been published, the cruise of the *Tigress* in 1873. 'At 10 o'clock,' writes Lieutenant-Commander White, 'on the morning of Sunday, the 10th of August, the ship was brought to anchor in the harbour of Upernivik. A dense snow-storm lasted the entire day, making the country look all the more dreary for its new, fresh covering. From this time forward, snow-storms, storms of sleet, and a sort of frozen fog, were not unfrequent.' *

This snow, this fog is, according to Mr. Croll, due entirely to the snow-covering of the surface; for the quantity of heat directly incident from the sun, during the long summer days, is very great, greater even than at the equator. Even as to momentary effect, a thermometer exposed to the direct radiation of the sun will stand at 100° F. or upwards, although the temperature of the surrounding air is below freezing point; and it is well known that, whilst snow and ice are lying in the immediate neighbourhood, the pitch of a ship's seams will melt, or the black paint blister in the sun.

Mr. Croll's argument, then, amounts to this: that the present summers of Greenland and the Arctic are cold by reason of snow. 'If,' he says, 'by some means or other we could remove the snow and ice from the arctic regions, they would then enjoy a temperate, if not a hot, summer. In Greenland snow falls even in the very middle of summer, more or less, nine days out of ten; but remove the snow from the northern hemisphere, and a snow-shower in Greenland during summer would be as great a rarity as it would be on the plains of India.'

If we agree with Mr. Croll in this view of existing conditions, it follows that if, in any locality, the snow of winter does not melt during the summer, the climate of the locality is deteriorated; a continually increasing quantity of snow will be left each summer, and by degrees the whole face of the country will be covered. Now the eccentricity

of the earth's orbit changes very slowly, and any climatic change resulting from it also would come on also very slowly. The accumulation of snow might go on for thousands and thousands of years, and might, it will be evident, reach almost any conceivable extent.

But the climates of the two hemispheres during a period of maximum eccentricity would be extremely different, and, so to say, complementary. That hemisphere whose winters occurred at or near the time of the earth being in perihelion would have a mild and equable climate; winters warm, with little or no snow, by reason of the nearness of the sun; summers temperate, by reason of the distance, but not cold, because there would be no snow-covering to melt away. The precipitation might be great, but if so, it would be as rain; and the condensation of vapour into rain sets free vast stores of latent heat. A climate of extreme rain is, as far as the thermometer is concerned, necessarily mild; and the vegetation of a country depends rather on the minimum temperature than on the mean. We are all familiar with the damage often done by a frosty night in May; and the effect of three such nights on the vineyards of the south of France was brought tangibly home to many of us, some four years ago, by a considerable advance in the market price of Bordeaux wines. It is thus an equable climate, in which such minima are unknown, that is most favourable to vegetation; and even now, the vegetation under the most thoroughly wretched climate on the whole earth, in Tierra del Fuego, is almost tropical in many of its characteristics. But whilst one hemisphere would have a climate thus favourable to vegetation, equable and warm, the other would be subjected to the extreme rigour of cold; the snow-covering would reach far into the temperate zone, and the whole hemisphere would be chilled.

In so considering the changes of climate, there is then another astronomical condition no less important than the eccentricity of the orbit, and that is the position of the earth in its orbit during the summer and winter halves of the year. At the present time the line which joins the positions of the earth at midsummer and midwinter is very nearly, though not quite, coincident with the greatest diameter of the earth's orbit, and midsummer and midwinter fall very nearly at the time at which the earth is respectively at its greatest and least distance from the sun—in astronomical language, when the earth is in aphelion and perihelion. Now this line continually changes its position, by virtue of a movement due, for the most part, to what is known as 'the precession of the

* Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, vol. i. p. 41. 1875.

equinoxes.' It turns slowly round the sun, and makes a complete circuit in rather less than twenty-one thousand years; that is to say, in about ten thousand years the position of the earth relative to the sun at midsummer and midwinter will be exactly the opposite of what it is now. Our midsummer will be when the earth is in perihelion, our midwinter when the earth is in aphelion; our winter will be about eight days longer than our summer, and the difference arising from this cause, such as it is, will be in favour of the southern hemisphere, as it now is in favour of the northern. But the same continual movement, the same precession of the equinoxes, goes on independently of any change in the eccentricity of the earth's orbit; and it may thus have happened that, during a period of maximum or very great eccentricity, the earth might be in both these positions, and, at intervals of some ten thousand years, both northern and southern hemispheres each be subjected to an extreme state of glaciation and to the very opposite conditions of a sub-tropical climate.

Amongst the many objections which have been made to this theory, there was one pointed out by Sir Charles Lyell, which cannot be overlooked. It amounts to this: that in this, as in other meteorological phenomena, the maximum effect would not be coincident with, but would follow at some distance, the maximum cause. The greatest accumulation of snow on the hemisphere supposed to be glaciated would not be when midwinter fell when the earth was in aphelion, but, rather, towards the end of the period during which the winters were longer than the summer, that is, as the earth at midwinter approached the point of quadrature. Now, in the gradual change of the earth's position, the accumulation of snow must take as long to disappear as to collect; and if the accumulation went on through the whole period during which the winter was longer than the summer, the removal of this accumulation would last through the whole complementary period, and begin again at the end of it. In this way each hemisphere would be subjected to continual, never-ending glaciation, instead of to an alternation of cold and warm periods.

A reference to the existing condition of the southern hemisphere permits us, to some extent, to explain away this difficulty. The winter of the southern hemisphere is now about eight days longer than the summer, but the accumulation of snow has scarcely made any approach towards that of the glacial period. There is no reason to believe that it increases at all; but if it does, it is so slowly that a hundred years has not

made it evident. We are therefore within our right in assuming that, under a condition of extreme eccentricity, the accumulation of snow would not approach the zone now called temperate until the excess of winter was considerably more than eight days, and would attain its maximum at the corresponding position of the solstice on the other side of aphelion. This snowy covering might thus well have disappeared before the position of midwinter in perihelion was reached, and the maximum effect of the sun would be some time after that position was passed. There is no doubt that in this there is a great difficulty; but as Mr. Croll has not referred to it, he is not responsible for the imperfect explanation which we have offered.

From his more especial point of view, Mr. Darwin has considered that the alternation of cold and warm periods, as described, will explain certain problems in the distribution of plants, which seem inexplicable on any theory of simultaneous glaciation at both poles. There are some species of plants common to the temperate zones of both hemispheres which are not found in the tropics, except on elevated mountains. How did they get there? How did they cross the equator? According to the theory we have been discussing, during a period of glaciation in one hemisphere, the line of greatest heat would reach far into the other, and the geographical equator might well be virtually included in the temperate zone. The plants of the colder hemisphere, flying from the increasing cold, or, rather, attracted by more favourable conditions nearer the equator, would gradually spread in that direction, and during the glacial period would flourish in the geographical tropics. As the thermal equator began again to approach the geographical, these would be driven into the higher lands, and would stay there till the hot zone had passed by into the opposite hemisphere: they would then descend, and, occupying the lowlands, would spread as far as possible towards the new ice-cap. Representatives of the species would thus be on both sides of the equator, and would necessarily retire to the temperate zones beyond the tropics, as the climate again changed. The probable solution of this botanical problem lends a strong support to the view which Mr. Croll has taken of the very different and alternating climate of the two hemispheres during the cold periods.

A peculiarly tempting feature of this theory is that it offers an explanation of the many puzzling changes of sea level, traces of which are still manifest on our own and neighbouring coasts. That many, and the

most important, of these changes have been brought about by the action of internal forces, which we do not and probably never shall understand, is accepted by all geologists; but, in Mr. Croll's opinion, it is unnecessary to appeal to these forces as an explanation of all. He believes that many of them are due, not to a raising or lowering of the land, but to a lowering or raising of the sea; and that this raising or lowering is due to the attraction of the mass of ice accumulated near one or the other pole. His reasoning on this point is a necessary corollary of the theory on which he founds it, the alternation of the glacial period in the two hemispheres. Assuming this, he argues that an enormous mass of ice at or near one pole must alter, to some extent, the position of the earth's centre of gravity; that an excess of sea will therefore be drawn over towards the glaciated hemisphere, causing in it an apparent sinking of the land, whilst in the other hemisphere the land will appear to rise. He believes, then, that the 'raised beaches' distinctly marked at many points of our coast, are the beaches so made at a higher level during the last period of glaciation; and that, further back, the junction of England with the continent was due to a withdrawal of the water from the North Sea, rather than to a real raising of the sea-bed.

That the accumulation of snow at one pole would tend to produce some such effect is mathematically certain; but the extent to which it would actually produce it is doubtful, and would depend entirely on the extent of the displacement of the centre of gravity, and, therefore, on the thickness of the ice-cap over the glaciated pole. Mr. Croll believes this to have been, in some instances, very great: he believes that, even now, it is very great at the South Pole; but the measure of this belief is founded on assumptions that will scarcely be generally accepted. He assumes, for instance, that the south polar region is occupied by a continent, which reaches in every direction to an average distance of twenty degrees from the pole, or rather more; and that this continent is covered with an ice-cap of a thickness sufficient to permit it to discharge icebergs by the natural motion of the ice. Now, he argues from experiment that ice will not move over a slope of less than one degree, and that this slope, carried from the coast-line to the centre of the hypothetical continent, gives a thickness of twenty-four miles.

That icebergs of enormous size are discharged from the south polar region is well known. Mr. Croll has given the estimated dimensions of many that have been seen, from which it appears that a thickness of

more than a mile is not uncommon; but the evidence of a continent three thousand miles across, or of an ice-cap twenty-four miles thick, is scarcely satisfactory. Mr. Croll is indeed willing to accept one-fourth of this thickness; but clearly, if the bases of his argument are sound, twenty-four miles, and not six, are necessary to meet the requirements of the known fact that huge icebergs are discharged. If he accepts a possible thickness of six miles, it is that he admits that ice may move on a much less slope than has been experimentally proved, and the very groundwork of his argument crumbles away; for there is as much reason to suppose that ice may move on a slope of one-hundredth part, as on one of one-fourth part of a degree, and, for aught we know to the contrary, it may be merely a question of time.

We thus find ourselves without any trustworthy data on which to base any calculations regarding the displacement of the earth's centre of gravity during the periods of maximum glaciation; and though we would freely admit the possibility of a displacement that would lay bare the North Sea, and carry our coast westward to the one-hundred fathom line, or that would, on the contrary, lay under water a great part of the lowlands of England, Scotland, and the adjacent countries, we are unable to admit it as a certainty, and are the more compelled to doubt, as a familiar proverb warns us ever to mistrust what seems probable. We think it is extremely likely; we know that it is extremely tempting; but it is not proved.

Another feature of Mr. Croll's theory, which is still more tempting, and which seems based on more certain evidence, is the possibility, the long wished-for possibility, which it promises of a really scientific estimate of geological time; for all attempts that have been made on purely geological bases have proved, on investigation, unsound and altogether unsatisfactory. Of these attempts, the most common has been by reference to the thickness of different strata, and an estimate of the time requisite for their deposition. But the calculations so made have been wild in the extreme, the general tendency of uniformitarians having been to run away into appalling statements of hundreds and thousands of millions of years. Mr. Croll considers that this propensity to exaggerate is due partly to the inability of the human mind to form any real conception of the meaning of very high numbers. A unit, followed by six, or twelve, or eighteen ciphers, is an arithmetical expression, and nothing more.

This incapability, however, whilst it has

perhaps permitted the acceptance of the exaggerated estimates, is not responsible for their being. This has followed from the method which has been adopted of referring different formations to a mean rate of deposit, instead of to an exceptional one; of virtually supposing, in fact, that earthy matter washed into the sea is uniformly spread out over the whole bed of the ocean. This, of course, is not the case: probably no one, or at a moment would think of asserting it, though many calculations have been made after tacitly assuming it. Deposits washed into the sea cannot, as a rule, reach beyond a distance of a hundred miles, and spread over even that very partially. The Mississippi, for instance, brings down from the sea each year upwards of seven thousand millions of cubic feet of solid matter; but as this is almost all laid down in the northern part of the Gulf of Mexico, clearly in a future age the thickness of this stratum can form no measure of time if compared with the formation of river deposits under very different conditions.

Similarly, although from the quantity of solid matter carried down each year by the principal rivers of the globe, we can calculate the mean rate of denudation now going on in their respective basins, it is utterly impossible to say what is the rate of denudation in any specified district. Professor Geikie (Archibald) has computed that the sediment brought down by the Mississippi in 6,000 years, the Ganges in 2,358, or the Po in 729 years, is equivalent to a mean denudation, throughout their respective basins, of one foot; but no geologist would maintain that the demonstrated removal of one foot, at any given spot, necessarily corresponded to the computed number of years, or, in fact, bore any relation to it. Attempts to fix the chronology of the past by any such calculations have always appeared to us utterly futile, a waste of much labour and ingenuity.

Mr. Croll, for the first time in geological science, has proposed to calculate the past epochs on an astronomical basis. From a formula given by Leverrier, he has computed the eccentricity of the earth's orbit at intervals of fifty thousand years, or, in special cases, at intervals of ten thousand years, for a period extending, in all, over four millions of years. This calculation is liable to the objection that the formula is proposed by Leverrier only with reference to a comparatively short period—a hundred thousand years—backwards or forwards, and its application to a period so extended as three million years is quite uncertain. It is beyond the power, even of astronomers, to say

positively what was the condition of the solar system three million years ago, or what it will be one million years hence. Mr. Croll's calculation is, therefore, based on the doubtful hypothesis that the solar system through all ages has been and will be subject to the same forces and disturbances as at present; and on this hypothesis he arrives at the conclusion that periods of extreme eccentricity have happened one, two, and three hundred thousand years ago; again between seven and nine hundred thousand years ago; and at other epochs still more remote, the greatest within the limits of his calculations occurring two and a half million years ago.

Comparing these figures with the geological record, he concludes that the last glacial period, whose signs are those which most clearly remain, coincided with and extended over the two latest of these epochs, being at its astronomical maximum two, and again one hundred thousand years ago, and continuing as distinctly a cold period to between seventy and eighty thousand years ago. Within this limit the computation may be accepted as fairly trustworthy. The more remote determinations, reaching back to a million or three million years ago, astronomical epochs which Mr. Croll wishes to identify with the periods of the middle and early divisions of the Tertiary age (Miocene and Eocene), must be considered as much more doubtful; but, failing any more exact knowledge, they may be accepted as vaguely measuring the lapse of time since the beginning of the present forms of life.

Sir William Thomson's calculations, that the age of the world cannot exceed one hundred millions of years, have at least a mathematical and physical basis. Professor Ramsay, perhaps the first of living geologists, has expressed his opinion that, as compared with the vast extent of geological time, the oldest formations are things of yesterday. The collocation of these two decided opinions of men, of all others the most competent to form opinions, serves at least to bridle the imagination, which has been apt to run riot in a labyrinth of unmeaning numerical expressions.

The reference of the last glacial period to an astronomical epoch eighty thousand years ago, gives a plausible estimate of the antiquity of man in this part of the world. From a long examination of the older stone deposits, Mr. Geikie has shown that palæolithic man was in this country contemporaneous with the last tropical mammalia, and that beyond a doubt these were antecedent to the last glacial period. All the geological evidence is to the effect that since

then our climate has been continually improving: there has been no intervening warm period. It has long been admitted that between palæolithic and neolithic man there was a distinct gap: the one did not merge by gradual improvement into the other. Mr. Geikie would conclude that the cause of this gap was the burying the greater part of Scotland and England under ice, and the small remainder under water. He considers, then, that the remains of the tropical mammals and of palæolithic man are to be referred to the last warm period, that is to say, about ninety or a hundred thousand years ago. These, as far as England was concerned, were exterminated or driven out by the increasing cold; the man maintaining his ground long enough to mingle his bones with those of the arctic animals which took possession of the country. After the lapse of many ages, when the ice-cap had partially disappeared, other men took his place—men of different form, habits, manners—neolithic men. These were contemporary with many of the arctic mammals not yet withdrawn to the north; amongst others, the musk ox and reindeer. It is of course impossible to fix the date of this new intrusion: the amelioration of our climate was very gradual, and both musk ox and reindeer continued for a long time to roam as far south as the Pyrenees. Neolithic man certainly lived with them and on them, and nothing in the evidence would point to a later date for the post-glacial colonization of this country than about sixty thousand years ago.

Mr. Croll's theory is so pretty, and the results are so fascinating, that it is difficult to avoid being carried away by a feeling of æsthetic admiration unsuited to scientific inquiry. It costs us an effort, as we conclude, to call to mind any of the objections against it. Of these, we think the one which we have mentioned as raised by Sir Charles Lyell has very great weight; but of even greater weight do we consider the objection that the ocean currents—having the enormous climatic influence which Mr. Croll has proved them to have—may increase, but may, on the other hand, act contrary to the effect of the orbit's eccentricity. Mr. Croll believes that they must necessarily increase it; he believes that the greater part of the inter-tropical drift must necessarily pass into the warm hemisphere. So far as depends on the position of the thermal equator, we fully agree with him, but we cannot, with him, ignore the effect of the trend of the coast line, which must act independently of cosmical conditions; and whatever effect we may allow to changes in the eccentricity of our

earth's orbit, we believe that the relative severity or mildness of the cold and warm periods must have been measured out by the coast line of Central or South America, of New Guinea, and the adjacent islands, and have been determined by the volume and temperature of the Japan current and of the Gulf Stream.

ART. II.—Dean Hook on the English Reformation.

DRYDEN speaks of some writers of history who are not 'historians of an action but lawyers of a party,' on the 'front of whose histories there ought to be written the prologue of a pleading, "I am for the plaintiff," or "I am for the defendant."' The Reformation of the Church of England is a peculiarly tempting subject for a party writer. It had so many phases, so many stages of development, with so many points of advance and retrogression, that it is easy to find arguments apparently valid for almost any theory. Moreover, many important documents are missing; some are supposed to have met unfair treatment, and the language of others, owing to the inherent imperfection of all language, is capable of being turned to a meaning altogether different from what was originally intended. It is found, too, that on many questions of theology our Reformers are either silent or indefinite, so that the field is wide for surmise and conjecture.

On the title page of his 'History of the Reformed Archbishops of Canterbury,' Dean Hook should have written that he held a brief for what he calls the 'Anglo-Catholic' party in the Church of England, and that he intended all his narrations to be statements of his case. His thesis, gathered from different places and repeated perhaps a hundred times in every volume, is this: the Church of England has preserved its continuity from Augustine to the present day; in this respect the English Reformation was unlike the Reformation in other countries; we reformed the Catholic Church, but other reformers set up Protestant sects. The conclusion is that the Church of England and the Church of Rome are members of the same family, though not on speaking terms, but all other Protestants are *extra ecclesiam*, touching the Church at no point. Anything in English ecclesiastical history which seems to contradict this theory is called Puritanism, and as such is put down as the parent of hatred, strife, variance, and every evil work.

It must be admitted to be somewhat remarkable that there is not a line in the writings of either the English or the Continental Reformers which indicates the smallest consciousness of any difference in the objects proposed by them. They all intended the reformation of the Catholic Church. Bishop Jewel, who may be taken as an authority on this subject, says expressly that 'these worthy and learned fathers, Luther and Zwinglius, and other like godly and zealous men, were appointed of God not to erect a new Church, but to reform the old.*' The Church of Scotland, which was modelled after the pattern of the Reformed Church of Geneva, claimed in its constitutional documents to be the old Church, and not a new sect. The petition of the barons and gentlemen to the Parliament that voted the Reformation, asked the suppression of the Roman doctrines only in 'exceptionable points,' the restoration of the *ancient discipline of the Church*, and the abrogation of the Pope's supremacy. In the reign of Edward, the German refugees were allowed to worship at Austin Friars by an express patent from the king, in the preamble of which it was stated that 'the German Church made profession of pure and uncorrupted religion, and was instructed in truly Christian and apostolical opinions and rites.†' There is nothing in history more certain than that the English Reformers fraternised with those on the Continent, that they imitated them in their formularies of faith, and even corresponded with them concerning their uniting together into one great Protestant Church. There were many points on which the Swiss Reformers differed from those of Germany, and many on which the English Reformers differed among themselves, but never once on any side is it even intimated that the English alone reformed the Catholic Church, while the others only established Protestant sects.

Dean Hook's arguments may be classed under three heads: (1) That our Reformers always claimed to belong to the Catholic Church. (2) That they received the Primitive Church of the Fathers as an authority in matters of faith. (3) That, unlike other Reformed Churches, our historical continuity with the ancient Church was never broken.

On the first head, it is true that all our Reformers claimed to be Catholic and to belong to the Catholic Church. The same, however, is true of the foreign Reformers. All of them sometimes speak of the Reform-

ed Church as if different from that before the Reformation, just as historians often speak of the Primitive Church or the Mediaeval Church or the Protestant Church. It is a case of identity and difference. The same Church exists under different forms. Dean Hook, for instance, admits that the Church of England is both Catholic and Protestant, but if an argument is to be raised on words, here is a foundation for two arguments that would be mutually destructive. It proves nothing that our Reformers called themselves Catholic, till we know in what sense they used the word, and if the foreign Reformers did not call themselves Catholic in the same sense. Bishop Beveridge says that with the ancient Fathers Catholic commonly meant orthodox. This is the sense in which it is generally used by the English Reformers after the Reformation was in any way settled. When John Bradford was on his trial, the Archbishop of York quoted from St. Augustine a definition of Catholic, as 'that which has consent of all peoples and nations,' asking how that could agree to the Reformed Church. 'Marry,' answered Bradford, 'all peoples and nations that be God's people have consented with me and I with them in the doctrines of faith.' Archdeacon Philpot made the same answer to a similar question. He agreed, he said, with the true Catholic Church, which had the perfect doctrine of Christ, and quoted Augustine's authority that it was by teaching the right faith that the Catholic Church was to be known.

The evidence is overwhelming that the English Reformers and those on the Continent were entirely agreed on the whole question of what constitutes the Church. Cranmer says that it consists only of the elect, and is known by none but God. The Scripture does not depend on it, but it depends on the Scripture. In this sense the Church is the pillar and ground of truth, and can never err. But there is another aspect of the Church in which it is regarded as 'open' and 'known.' This Church is not the pillar and ground of truth except so far as it is 'a register or treasury to keep the books of God's holy will and testament, and to rest therein.' If it go one step beyond this it is no more God's Church, but 'the synagogue of Satan and the pillar of Antichrist.*' The whole of this passage may be compared with one in Calvin's Institutes,† from which it is evidently borrowed. Calvin says that the Church is of two kinds,

* Works, vol. iii. p. 218. Parker Society Edition.

† See Neal's 'History of the Puritans,' vol. i. p. 50.

* See Works, vol. i. p. 377. Parker Society Edition.

† Book iv. chap. 1.

the invisible and the visible. The first consists of God's elect, and has its foundation in His eternal election, the second is the Church visible. It is true only so far as it abides by God's Word, and that which really makes a Church is to have the pure Word of God preached, and the sacraments rightly administered. The Reformers maintained that they were Catholics because of the very points on which they were Protestant. The use of the word, as in all words where the sense is double, often caused them to be misunderstood. The most remarkable case is that of Cromwell, Earl of Essex, who said on the scaffold, 'I die in the Catholic faith of the holy Church.' There is no evidence that he renounced the cause of the Protestant Reformation, but his words have been interpreted by some as a public recantation.

The question of deference paid to the Fathers by the English Reformers, and through them by the English Church, is a similar case of words understood in different senses from what the writers intended. The Anglican position, as usually defined, is that it is not the Bible alone that is the rule of faith, but the Bible as interpreted by Catholic antiquity. There is certainly great deference paid to the old Fathers by the English Reformers, but not more than was paid by those on the Continent. Some of the words quoted by Dean Hook seem conclusive until we look into the circumstances which evoked them, and by which they must be interpreted. We have not met in the whole of the writings of the Reformers one passage which justifies the assertion that the English Church differs from other Protestant Churches in the use made of the Fathers, or that it takes Scripture only as interpreted by Catholic antiquity. All the Reformers, both in England and in other countries, maintained that the Fathers were on their side, but that they followed the Fathers only so far as they followed truth. The creeds, the first councils, and everything which was received as in any sense an authority, was so only because they were found to stand the test of Scripture. In some places Dean Hook fairly expounds the views of the Reformers on this subject, while, in other places, he ascribes to them a theory which they never held. Speaking of Cranmer, for instance, Hook says that he 'thought all men should be placed in the situation of the Bereans of old. When the Church preached to them they ought to have the power to search the Scriptures to see whether these things were so.*' The principle is laid down broadly that, in all re-

forms the Church is to be judged by Scripture. A few pages further on the Dean gives another account. 'The Bible,' he says, 'Cranmer held to be the Word of God, but the Bible was, in his opinion, not the Word of God, unless it be rightly interpreted* and the interpreters are the Fathers, or the early Church. If these two accounts are put together, the result will be that the Church (the early Church included) is to be tested by the Scripture, and, at the same time, to be the interpreter of Scripture. To the view set forth in the first account no Protestant could take any exception. We never heard of the Protestant who thought that all men 'should chalk out a religion for themselves,' and this, we are sure, was not the meaning of the famous saying of Chillingworth, which Dean Hook seems to have quite misunderstood. The province of the Church, as a teaching body, is admitted by all sects of which we know anything. What is denied is the infallibility of the Church, either the early Church or the modern, and what is affirmed is the necessity of appealing always to the Bible, which is the only real foundation of the Christian religion, and so the religion of Protestants.

The doctrine of the English Reformers was that the Church at all times is to be tested by Scripture, but in the controversy with the Romanists they were willing to stand by the judgment of the Fathers. This principle was gradually changed by the Stuart divines, and the Church, that is, the early Church or Fathers, made the authoritative interpreter of Scripture. A third phase of the patristic theory has turned up in modern times. It has been supposed to be discovered that the Fathers are not on the side of the Protestants, so that our Reformers had the worst of it, but the Church of England is saved by its appeal to the Fathers. If their doctrines are anti-Protestant, so are the doctrines of the English Church. To this development of the doctrine of the authority of the Fathers we owe the principle of putting a *Catholic* sense on the doctrinal formularies of the Church, such as we have in Newman's Tract XC., Pusey's 'Eirenicon,' and Bishop Forbes' 'Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles.'

But the vital point is in what we have classed as Dr. Hook's third argument, that the continuity of the English Church at the Reformation was not broken, and that in this its position is different from other Protestant Churches. It is not denied that the foreign Reformers wished to reform the Church, but being driven out of it they had,

* Vol. ii. p. 137.

* Vol. ii. p. 147.

Dean Hook says, no Church to reform. We kept the Church, while it was their misfortune to lose it. In Scotland, for instance, the Catholic Church was *un-established* by the Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1560, which forbade the ministrations of the ancient priesthood. The Church of England, on the other hand, remained the same Church after the Reformation that it was before. It is the same garden with the weeds taken out, the same vine with the luxuriant branches pruned. This continuity is illustrated by York Cathedral. It belongs to the English Church, as an estate belongs to the representative of an ancient family. The Romanists have built a church by its side, which proves that they are not the lineal descendants of the family to whom the 'estate' belongs. A Presbyterian, we apprehend, might urge for the continuity of his Church, that Glasgow Cathedral stands to it in the same relation as York Minster to the Church of England; but the answer would be that the latter retained the ancient hierarchy, while in the former it was displaced. And so we come at last to this, that the Church is constituted not, as Cranmer and Calvin with all the other Reformers said, by the Word of God and sacraments, but by the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

As we are dealing with history, it will be best to follow facts, and convenient to follow them in the order of the biographies of the Archbishops of Canterbury. It is not necessary to go further back than Cranmer, and it is necessary to distinguish different stages in the development of his doctrinal views. Cranmer was a cautious man, and, as Dean Hook intimates, more of a lawyer than a theologian. The old-fashioned High Churchman used to laud his cautious policy, and contrast it with the revolutionary vehemence of such Reformers as John Knox. But some of the modern High Churchmen have found it impossible to bend his doctrines to 'Anglo-Catholic' notions, and in their wrath they have denounced him as a time-server and a heretic. Even 'rascal' and 'scoundrel' are terms that they have freely applied to him. Dean Hook treats the Archbishop as on the whole a 'suspicious' character. He had far too much to do with the foreign Protestants, and he yielded too much to the Puritans at home. He comes out, however, in the end, though somewhat soiled and sullied, a good 'Catholic' man, in whose writings, bating something said in the heat of controversy, may be found the principles of Anglo-Catholicism.

The first of these is the Apostolical Suc-

cession. As Cranmer never treated of this subject directly, it required some ingenuity to make out a case. This could only be done by inferences and by admitting 'inconsistencies not to be denied.' Two quotations, however, are found, one from the King's Book, called 'The Necessary Doctrine,' which bears the early date of 1543, and another from the Catechism of Justus Jonas, which Cranmer translated, or at least sanctioned for use in England. The exility of evidence Dr. Hook supplements by a terrible anathema against all who subscribe the formularies of the Church of England without believing the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession. They are 'wicked men,' whose sole object is 'to share the emoluments of the Church;' but Cranmer, says the Dean with an air of triumph, 'is not to be numbered among these.' We are, however, afraid that he must find his portion with these 'wicked men.' It is quite true that he speaks of orders, of consecration of bishops and priests, but never once in such a way as to leave it to be inferred that the Lutherans or the Calvinists had not all these things in substance, though they might not use the same names. No Presbyterian will deny that there has always been a body of teachers in the Church, in whose hands was vested the power of discipline, or the authority of the keys. It will also be admitted that these teachers were sometimes called bishops, and sometimes priests or presbyters. The question if there were one or more orders, was with the English Reformers a mere secondary question; Cranmer gave it as his deliberate 'opinion and sentence,' in a document still extant, with his autograph attached, that 'bishops and priests were not two things, but one office, in the beginning of Christ's religion.' There was always to be a ministry in the Church certainly, but it was not necessary for its continuance that there should be always the same names or the same forms. In the document just quoted,* Cranmer says that 'a bishop may make a priest, by the Scriptures, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them and the people, also by their election,' and that 'in the New Testament to be appointed a bishop or a priest needeth no consecration, by the Scriptures, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient.' It is competent for us to take these passages, and those quoted by Dr. Hook, and put them down as 'inconsistencies,' but we prefer finding Cranmer consistent, and interpreting the one set of passages by the

* See Works, vol. ii. p. 17.

other. This is surely preferable, at least when we know from other sources that Cranmer really agreed with Calvin as to the essence of the Church, that, as Dean Hook contemptuously expresses it, he 'held partly with ultra-Protestants,' that he even subscribed himself Calvin's dear brother in Christ, and that he wished the great founder of 'Protestant sects' to call a council of learned men to deliberate on the union of 'the Churches of God,' which meant all Protestant communities to the exclusion of the Church of Rome, whose case then as now was hopeless.

The next prominent question is that of the authority of the Church in matters of faith. This, it is inferred, Cranmer must have held because 'he was born a Churchman,' and 'professed himself, to the end of his life, to be a Catholic.*' It is added that he admitted the Canon of Lirinensis, that we are to receive that which has been 'believed always, everywhere, and by all.' Some further proofs are from public documents issued in King Henry's reign, to the effect that the Church of England did not wish to depart from the articles of the Catholic faith. The really important passages, however, are those in which Cranmer appeals to the Fathers. It is generally forgotten that in these passages the question is between the Reformers and the Church of Rome. The Romish doctrines, that is the doctrines received by the Catholic Church before the Reformation, were declared by the Reformers to be innovations of later times. So confident were they of this that they were willing to have the whole matter tested by the teaching of the Primitive Church. Never, indeed, is it said that the early Church is an authority in any absolute sense, yet Cranmer's words, if we take them out of their connection, may be made to mean this. The passage, quoted more than once by Dean Hook, is from the appeal before Thirlby and Bonner, and is certainly the strongest which could be produced. The subject is the doctrine of the Eucharist, concerning which Cranmer declares that 'it was never his mind to write, speak, or understand anything contrary to the most holy Word of God, or else against the holy Catholic Church of Christ;' but, rather, that he wished to 'mean and judge those things as the Catholic Church, and the most holy Fathers of old, with one accord, have meant and judged.' Cranmer was not, in these words, laying down the principle that the Fathers are to be authoritative interpreters of Scripture, or that what they taught is to

be a rule of faith. His simple meaning obviously is that the Romish doctrines are not to be found in the primitive Church. Of this he is so certain that he is willing the whole case should be tried on that ground. The same position is often assumed in the controversy with Gardiner on the Lord's Supper. Cranmer denies that Transubstantiation is either in the Scriptures or in the Fathers. Against the Church of Rome, which maintained agreement with antiquity, it was important to be able to say of any doctrine that it was not in the Fathers. Bishop Jewel formally states the kind of authority which the Fathers had in the estimation of the English Reformers.* They were interpreters of Scripture, not infallible interpreters whose doctrines were to be received as having authority, but as the conclusions of learned men. Their opinions were always to be tested by Scripture, and for this principle Jewel found authority in the writings of the Fathers themselves. Augustine said, 'Neither do we esteem the writings of all men, be they never so worthy and Catholic, as we esteem the canonical Scriptures; but that, save the reverence that is due unto them, we may dislike and reject somewhat in their writings if we find that they thought otherwise than truth allows. Such am I in the writings of others, and such would I wish others to be in mine.' Jewel quotes several Fathers who expressly renounced all authority, except so far as Scripture witnessed to what they said. He adds, 'Some things I believe, and some things which they write I cannot believe. I weigh them not as the holy canonical Scriptures.' Cyprian was a doctor of the Church, yet he was deceived; Hierome was a doctor of the Church, yet he was deceived; Augustine was a doctor of the Church, yet he wrote a book of *Retractions*. He acknowledges that he was deceived. That saint wrote, "Take away from us any of our books: let the books of God come amongst us, hear what Christ saith, hearken what the truth speaketh."

The only doctrine of Cranmer's which we need notice further concerns the Lord's Supper. Dean Hook does not contend for more than that he retained to the last a belief in the *real* presence of Christ in this sacrament, and this according to the popular idea is the middle position which the Church of England takes between the Church of Rome and the ultra-Protestants. Cranmer's doctrine, however, is simply Calvin's, a *real* but *spiritual* presence of

* Vol. ii. p. 147.

* Works, vol. iv. p. 117. Parker Society Edition.

Christ to those who worthily receive the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. Such persons eat the flesh of Christ and drink His blood, but only as all believers do in their daily life of faith. The bread and wine are symbols of Christ's body and blood, but as Calvin said, 'in such sort that the verity is joined with them.' We are not sure if Calvin's language, which was really borrowed by Cranmer, was of the most judicious kind, but we know what he meant. Cranmer doubtless began as a believer in Transubstantiation. He then apparently adopted the Lutheran theory, but at last he confessed his agreement with the Swiss Reformers. Our authority for this statement is the following passages: 'Christ is present as they (the old writers) teach, also that He is present in His Word.' Again, 'If Christ had never ordained the sacrament, yet should we have eaten His flesh and drunken His blood, as all the faithful did before the sacrament was ordained, and do daily when they receive not the sacrament.' Cranmer tells Gardiner in the following words that he agrees with Zwinglius: 'He (Bucer) utterly denieth that Christ is really and substantially present in the bread and wine, either by conversion or inclusion, but in the ministration he affirmeth Christ to be present; and so do I also, but not to be eaten and drunken of them that be wicked and members of the devil, whom Christ neither feedeth nor hath any communion with them; and to conclude in few words, the doctrine of M. Bucer in the place by you alleged he dissenteth in nothing from Ecolampadius and Zwinglius.*' When Cranmer was charged with being a Zwinglian, and calling the doctrine of Zwinglius the Catholic faith, he only answered that he did not now believe as he once did.

By keeping Cranmer's views out of sight it might have been possible to maintain the 'Anglo-Catholic' character of the English Reformation up to the end of the reign of Henry, or even, by a little violence, to that of Edward. But surely the task is hopeless after the Protestants were constituted into a Church by Queen Elizabeth, and all who could really be said to represent the ecclesiastical authority of the country were deprived of jurisdiction. We intend to examine the facts of this era with a little more minuteness than Dean Hook has done, for this great question really centres in the changes made at the accession of Elizabeth. There is a bird which makes a great noise when any one approaches its nest, and by an instinct, which seems like reason, it draws off

those who were in search of it by flying to a distance and alighting with a cry which seems to say, 'It is here.' Dr. Hook, with a like instinct, felt that his theory was in danger by the fact of the establishment of Protestantism under Elizabeth. When he approaches this subject he fences himself, and intimates that there is nothing of importance here. The work was done before this time, the English Reformation being no revolutionary break with the old hierarchy, but a long series of events which had been going on for a century and a half, and which went on for another century after the accession of Elizabeth, the Reformation culminating in the Act of Uniformity in 1552. With the 'Anglican' the most tender point is his 'orders.' He will compass sea and land to get their validity acknowledged by Greek or Roman or Old Catholic. Dr. Hook says that the followers of Luther and Calvin in England 'sought to overthrow the foundations of the Church, that on its ruins they might raise a Protestant sect;' but Matthew Parker was too valiant an 'Anglo-Catholic' to become their disciple, or to assume any other attitude towards them but that of a judge or a critic. Parker had read the Fathers, and had a taste for the study of old authors, from which Dr. Hook makes the mighty inference that he knew the Fathers had a tradition from the apostles, and that the Church was established to preserve this tradition. We are not favoured with a line from Parker's writings to show that he ever believed anything of the kind. We have in the place of that Dean Hook's assertions, comments, and inferences, with flings at 'Exeter Hall' and 'Evangelicalism.' The only evidence that Parker was an 'Anglo-Catholic' is that he was a great persecutor of those of the Puritans who would not wear the vestments and use wafer-bread in the communion; but even this evidence is considerably weakened by the declaration which Hook is obliged to quote, that he cared neither for cap, tippet, surplice, or wafer-bread, but only for the authority of the laws which enjoined them.

We have no evidence that Matthew Parker took up any different ground from that of Cranmer and the foreign Reformers. He continued the correspondence with Calvin about unity, and he sustained the same friendly relations towards the Protestant Churches abroad as had existed in King Edward's days. There is no trace that he ever once objected to their orders or by the retention of Episcopal government intended to separate the Church of England from what Dr. Hook calls the 'Protestant sects' on the Continent. Moreover, it is a sim-

* Works, vol. i. p. 225.

ple fact in history that the continuity of the ancient hierarchy was as much broken in England on the accession of Elizabeth as it was in Scotland by the Parliament of 1560. When Elizabeth came to the throne she deprived the whole of the hierarchy of their jurisdiction. Only one bishop, and he a poor time-serving creature, Anthony Kitchin of Llandaff, took the oath of royal supremacy. If the hierarchy or convocation represent the Church, then the old Church of England came to an end at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and a new Church entirely distinct from the old one was constituted by royal authority.

It is not surprising that the validity of Anglican orders is a doubtful question by all who have studied the subject, if we except those whom it most concerns. Had the consecration of Archbishop Parker been in any sense the act of the Catholic Church in England, there might have been some plea for its validity on Catholic grounds. But it was the act of the Catholic Church only on the supposition that four Protestant bishops, not in office but deprived of jurisdiction, civilly and ecclesiastically, in the previous reign, represented the Catholic Church in England. They were not in communion with any other bishops in any other part of the world, except their Protestant brethren in Ireland. Their only friends were the foreign Reformers, and they were about to take the sees of the deprived hierarchy with no other title but that given them by Elizabeth. This is what Dr. Hook calls the Catholic Church in England reforming itself!

The 'Anglo-Catholics,' who boast of their 'orders' to the exclusion from the Church of the 'Protestant sects,' should make themselves better acquainted with the facts which relate to the consecration of Archbishop Parker. The consecrators were William Barlow, formerly Bishop of Bath and Wells; John Scory, sometime Bishop of Chichester; Miles Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter; and John Hodgskins, Suffragan of Bedford. Not one of these four Bishops believed in the 'Anglo-Catholic' doctrine of Apostolical Succession. Coverdale was a notorious Puritan, and refused to appear at the consecration in any other dress but that of a Geneva minister. Hodgskins did the same, from which we may fairly infer that he was also a Puritan. Of Scory we know nothing, except that he was made a bishop in King Edward's reign and by the Reformed Ordinal, that he conformed at first under Mary, but afterwards betook himself to the haunts of the exiled Reformers among the founders of the 'Pro-

testant sects.' Barlow was properly the consecrator, and his sentiments on the subject of consecration are best known. In a sermon he said, 'If the King's Grace being supreme head of the Church of England did chose, denominate, and elect any layman (being learned) to be a bishop, that he so chosen should be as good a bishop as I am or the best in England.' Again, 'Wherever two or three simple persons, as cobblers or weavers, are in company, and elected in the name of God, there is the true Church of God.'

Dean Hook claims as 'Anglo-Catholics' two-thirds of the clergy and the laity in the time of Queen Elizabeth. It is difficult to say what were the opinions of the great body of the clergy, seeing that they were nearly the same men who had conformed under Mary. Less than two hundred went out with the bishops. The laity also seem to have taken wonderfully well to both religions. While Dr. Hook calls them 'Anglo-Catholics,' Archbishop Manning speaks of them as a nation robbed of the Catholic faith. Neal, again, says that the popular feeling was now strongly on the side of the Reformation, because of the cruelties of Mary's time. Such was the Reformation zeal of the people that great numbers of them appeared before the Commissioners with broken crucifixes, torn surplices, copes, and altar cloths. They even destroyed painted glass windows that had any appearance of Popery, and effaced all inscriptions that had any reference to the 'Catholic' custom of praying for the dead. Strype seems to think that in these things they were encouraged by the clergy. He says, 'The divines of that time could have been content to be without all relics and ceremonies of the Romish Church, that there might not be the least compliance with Popish devotions.' All that we know of the clergy of that era confirms Strype's judgment. For instance, at the first Convocation summoned by Elizabeth, a paper was presented in the Lower House against the ceremonies, and approved by 43 against 35 of those present. It only missed passing when the proxies were numbered, which gave a majority of one to the other side. So the measure was lost by 59 against 58. On another occasion, when Parker threatened the London clergy with deprivation if they did not wear the square cap, tippet, and surplice, out of 100 only 61 submitted, notwithstanding the rod of terror suspended over their heads, while the others preferred enduring the loss of all things.

The bishops consecrated by Parker are described by a modern Ritualist as 'the

whole tribe of Calvinistic prelates under Elizabeth.' This contemptuous language is much nearer the truth than setting them forth as the true ancestors of modern High Churchmen. The Zurich Letters bear ample testimony that not only those inclined to Protestantism, but even the party which fought for the Prayer-Book at Frankfort, were much more in harmony with the Swiss Reformers than with the maintainers of 'Apostolical Succession.' We need not waste space with quotations from these letters, but a specimen must be given. Richard Cox, who was made Bishop of Norwich, wrote to Wolfgang Werdner, 'We are thundering forth in our pulpits, and especially before our Queen Elizabeth, that the Roman Pontiff is truly Antichrist, and that traditions are for the most part mere blasphemies.' Edwin Sandys, who was made Bishop of London and afterwards Archbishop of York, only submitted to the vestments and ceremonies because he was persuaded not to desert the Church at a crisis so important for the Protestant interest. Other contemporary bishops, as Scambler, Horne, Parkhurst, and Pilkington, are known to have been Puritans. Jewel ridiculed the vestments and ceremonies wholesale, approving them only as a means of 'commending to the people by a comical dress' some of Mary's priests, who were 'logs of wood without learning or morality.' The most voluminous writer of the Churchmen of this time, Thomas Becon—who had been chaplain to Cranmer, and under Elizabeth a prebendary of Canterbury—sets forth clearly Cranmer's principles that bishops and priests are the same order. We cannot find anywhere Dr. Hook's 'Anglo-Catholics.' The Reformers of Elizabeth's reign must, with but few exceptions, come under the category described by the Dean as 'those who conformed with great discontent, their avowed object being to transmute the old Catholic Church into a mere Protestant sect.'*

In determining the theology of the English Church in the time of Elizabeth, we have the advantage of a work written at Archbishop Parker's suggestion, and which long retained a position of semi-official authority. We mean Bishop Jewel's 'Apology for the Church of England.' Dean Hook passes by the book with a brief notice, intimating that Parker would not agree with all that Jewel says, and yet claiming Jewel as an 'Anglo-Catholic.' He says, also, that the Church repelled Parker's attempt to give the 'Apology' a quasi-ecclesiastical authority, but we do not know on what ground

this statement is made. The book had the sanction of the Queen, the Archbishop, and three of his successors in the primacy, by whose authority a copy of it was chained up to be read in every parish church in England and Wales. We are also ignorant on what ground it is stated that Parker did not agree with all that Jewel wrote in the 'Apology.' There is every reason for believing that he did. Dean Hook, in his own peculiar way of recording facts that destroy his inferences, shows that Parker held it in high esteem, and probably had a share in its composition. In any case it must be admitted that Jewel's 'Apology' is a fair index of the theology of the men to whom Elizabeth committed the destinies of the Protestant Church of England.

John Jewel was one of the Marian exiles described by Dean Hook* as those heretics who did not wish to reform the Church, but to introduce the 'changes instituted by Zwinglius and Calvin.' Dean Hook's men, however, turn up in different forms, dressed up to suit the characters in which he wishes them to appear. Jewel is an 'Anglo-Catholic,' but he requires some whitewashing. He was 'a weak man,' flexible, 'unsettled in his opinions,' especially on his return from exile. He improved, however, and even, it appears, required some of the Puritans in his diocese to wear the prescribed vestments. All that Dean Hook can find in the 'Apology' of any service to him is one or two passages in which Jewel appeals to the Church of the Apostles, the Old Catholic Bishops, and the Fathers. No intimation is given of the sense which the context requires, or the relation in which the words stand to the question discussed. Their meaning plainly is, that the Church of Rome, having departed not only from Scripture, but from the Early Church, we are willing to have the subject tested by an appeal to the Fathers. Jewel set up no distinction between English Reformers and those on the Continent. He speaks in the name of all Protestants, that they bring antiquity to witness against the novelties of the Romish Church. 'The Fathers,' Jewel says, 'were learned men and vessels full of grace.' 'They may be read and revered, yet may they not be compared with the Word of God. We may not build upon them, we may not make them the foundation and warrant of our consciences.' There is a passage in Jewel which seems to refer to the party to which Dean Hook belonged. It is, 'These fellows, as often as they tell us of the Church, mean thereby themselves, boasting

* Vol. vi. p. 63.

* Vol. iv. p. 108.

as they did in times past, which cried, "The Temple of the Lord! the Temple of the Lord!" or, as the Pharisees and Scribes did, which croaked they were "Abraham's children." Thus with a gay and jolly show deceive they the simple, and seek to choke us with the very name of the Church.* There is another passage which Dean Hook might have quoted had he not held a brief for the other side. It is, 'God's grace is promised to a good mind and to one that feareth God, and not unto sees and successions. If so be the place and consecrating be sufficient, why then Manasses succeeded David, and Caiaphas succeeded Aaron, and it hath been often seen that an idol hath stood in the temple of God. In old times Archidamus the Lacedæmonian boasted much of himself, how he came of the blood of Hercules; but one Nicostratus in this wise abated his pride. "Nay," quoth he, "thou seemest not to descend from Hercules, for Hercules destroyed ill men, but thou makest good men evil." And when the Pharisees bragged of their lineage, how they were of the kindred and blood of Abraham, "Ye," said Christ, "seek to kill me, a man which have told you the truth as I heard it from God. This Abraham never did. Ye are of your father the devil, and will needs obey his will."† Jewel expressly sets aside the Canon of Lirinensis, as it is commonly understood, and makes truth only that which is to be received, so that we are to hold fast that which has been believed everywhere always and by all *uncorrupt* Churches. That is Catholic which is true, was the principle of the English Reformation, in opposition to the Romanists, who said that is true which is Catholic. We go not, Jewel argues, by the multitude. We do not profess to be Catholic because the greatest number is with us. If numbers made Catholicity, then 'Christ Himself and His apostles had not been Catholic, for His flock was very little, and the Catholic or universal consent of the world stood against it.'‡ Jewel in all his works has the impress of Calvin, on whom he bestows a splendid eulogium, calling him, not 'the founder of a Protestant sect,' but 'that great ornament of the Church of God.'

After the attempt to make Bishop Jewel an 'Anglo-Catholic' we need not be surprised at any other historical experiment on which Dr. Hook may venture. Archbishop Grindal, we are informed, entirely agreed with Parker as to the vocation of a prelate

who had to reform 'the old Catholic Church established by Augustine.' We have not found in the writings of any of the Reforming prelates any affection for Augustine or the Church established by him. They generally go to an earlier date for the origin of the Church of England, and speak of Augustine as one who 'brought in great heaps of strange rites and superstitions, as candles, candlesticks, banners, and holy water, and other like shows.*' Dr. Hook's inferences concerning Grindal are in violent contradiction to every fact that he records. On p. 24 it is said that Grindal visited Calvin at Geneva, but, as he did not settle there, it is inferred that he showed his determination to maintain 'Anglican' principles. Three pages further on, however, the truth is confessed that 'Grindal fell under the influence of the Calvinists.' This, from his correspondence, is too evident to be denied, but then comes a hypothesis, that he was 'partially restored to right principles,' which hypothesis is again set aside by the fact that he kept up his correspondence with the foreign Protestants, and showed 'that vacillation of character which prevented him being a wise ruler of the Church.' There is, however, one proof that Grindal was an 'Anglo-Catholic.' When Sandys proposed extensive alterations in the Liturgy, Grindal said, '*Potest fieri in Synodo*,' from which we are to infer that certainly no Calvinist would propose a synod as the proper place for deliberating on Church matters. But, alas! it is proved from the Zurich Letters that Grindal had grave scruples about the use of the vestments, and that he particularly objected to wafer-bread in the communion. How could such a leper change his skin, or such an Ethiopian be made white? And yet how can Dean Hook give up the second of Elizabeth's Archbishops of Canterbury? It is found that he stood up for 'Apostolic Succession,' and the proof is that he accepted an invitation to be present at Parker's consecration! Finally, Grindal has to be virtually abandoned. He deferred too much to the foreign Reformers, and had 'a propensity to ultra-Protestantism.' This led him to forbid at funerals all ceremonies that implied a belief in Purgatory, all wearing of beads and praying upon them, lighting candles when the sun was shining, making the sign of the cross on entering the church, and causing all shrine-altars to be removed. He was very hard against 'Catholic' ceremonies, and very tolerant towards Puritan 'prophesyings.'

Whitgift's case is quite as difficult as Grin-

* Works, vol. iii. p. 77. Parker Society Edition.

† Ibid. p. 103.

‡ Ibid. p. 268.

* See Jewel, vol. iv. p. 778.

dal's. It is certain that in doctrine he was a Calvinist. Of this we have the clearest evidence in the famous 'Lambeth Articles;' but we are told this was a weakness of which Whitgift, 'in the early period of his life, would not have been guilty.*' Grindal adopted Church principles—if he did adopt them—late in life, but Whitgift put on the folly of Calvinism with advancing years. An hypothesis comes to the rescue of the archbishop. It is supposed that he only agreed to the Lambeth Articles for the sake of peace with the powerful party of Calvinists at Cambridge. But if this hypothesis does not fit, there is in reserve the fact that his Calvinism did not include 'any denial of baptismal regeneration or of the Apostolical Succession.' The Dean does not seem to have known that the English Calvinists or Puritans never denied baptismal regeneration as they understood it, or objected to the use of the language in the baptismal service. For Whitgift on Apostolical Succession it is enough to quote the following passages in defence of his answers to Cartwright. Whitgift says, 'I find no one certain and perfect kind of government prescribed or commanded in the Scriptures to the Church of Christ. . . . The essential notes of the Church lie here only—the true preaching of the Word of God, and the right administration of the sacraments. For as Master Calvin saith in his book against the Anabaptists, "This honour is meet to be given to the Word of God and to sacraments, that wheresoever we see the Word of God truly preached, and God, according to the same, truly worshipped, and the sacraments without superstition administered, there we may without controversy conclude the Church of God to be." And a little after, "So much we must esteem the Word of God, and His Sacraments, that wheresoever we find them to be, there we may certainly know the Church of God to be, although in the common life of men many faults and errors be found." The same is the opinion of other godly and learned writers, and the judgment of the Reformed Churches, as appeareth by their confessions. So that, notwithstanding government, or some kind of government, may be a part of the Church, touching the outward form and perfection of it, not such a part of the essence and being, but that it may be the Church of Christ without this or that kind of government.'† It was the Puritans, and not Whitgift's party, which maintained that there was an order of Church government in the New Testament, and that this order was necessary

for all times and countries. The dismissal of Travers from the Temple proves nothing as to Whitgift, except that he disliked Travers, and was angry with him for preaching against Hooker. It was indeed among the objections that he had been ordained according to foreign rites, but it was not said that his ordination was invalid. He was immediately after his dismissal invited to Dublin by Archbishop Loftus, by whom he was constituted the first Provost of Trinity College. One of his pupils was Archbishop Ussher, who always spoke of him with the most profound reverence and esteem.

The first Archbishop after the Reformation who in any way answers to Dean Hook's ideal of an 'Anglo-Catholic,' is Richard Bancroft. To him belongs the credit of having first claimed as against the Puritans the Divine right of episcopal government. Bancroft wrote nothing but a few tracts. His great feat was the discovery of the printing press of Martin Mar-Prelate. As Bishop of London he made himself conspicuous at the Hampton Court Conference by his hatred of the Puritans. When Bishop Bilson spoke of the inefficiency of the clergy and the dearth of preachers, it was Bancroft who fell upon his knees and begged King James that they might have not a preaching but a praying ministry, 'priests to bless the people,' 'absolve penitents,' and sundry other offices for which great efficiency was not required.

Archbishop Abbot is given up to reprobation. His principles were simply those of Cranmer, Parker, Jewel, and Grindal, but he was so patient with the Puritans that Dr. Hook was obliged to sacrifice him at the shrine of Laud. It was impossible to put any colouring on Abbot. He withstood to the last the 'Anglo-Catholic' innovations, which, it is Dean Hook's object to maintain, were received by all the Reformers. Abbot is put down as representing a *new* class of Puritans, whose characteristics were that they held 'Calvinistic sentiments,' and 'the emoluments of the Church.' The Dean, however, by one of his peculiar slips, seems to admit that his great hero Laud was among the first who opposed the theology and principles of Church polity generally received by the reformed bishops and clergy of the Church of England. He 'declared the necessity to the existence of a Church of the order of diocesan bishops,' and taught principles which involved 'a separation from foreign sects and a repudiation of the doctrines of their Apostle Calvin.*'

It is a curious illustration to what extent

* Vol. v. p. 157. † Vol. i. p. 184-85.

party prejudices may blind a man's understanding, to find a writer like Dr. Hook maintaining that the English Reformation was not the work either of Puritans or Erastians. After an examination of all the writings extant of every English divine who had any share in the Reformation, either under Edward or Elizabeth, we do not know of one who did not belong to one or other of these two classes. It is evident, even from Dr. Hook's volumes, that there was really no party such as he denominates 'Anglo-Catholic.' The contest during the reign of Edward, and especially of Elizabeth, was entirely between Puritans and Erastians. The first Dr. Hook describes invariably as enemies of the Church, and among the second he mostly finds the men whom he regards as 'Catholic' Reformers.

It is not to be forgotten that the term Puritan is very vague. It includes theologians who had very different ideas of Church polity and of the course of action required in the circumstances in which the Church was placed by Elizabeth. This being the case, it must be reckoned a grave fault in Dr. Hook to have denounced them all as enemies of the Church, and a still greater fault to have shown towards them a spirit of hatred and uncharitableness. Such language as 'the malevolence of the Puritan mind,'* or that the Puritans subscribed formularies merely 'to share the emoluments of the Church,' is not becoming in a historian much less in a Christian, even though a dignitary of the Church. Dr. Hook is himself compelled to admit that the bishops elected by Elizabeth were Puritans.† If this term is to continue in use, a distinction should be made between Puritans that conformed and Puritans that were Nonconformists. The latter will be found to be much the smaller number, and they will have to be subdivided into those who separated from the Church on principle, such as the Brownists or Barlowists and the Presbyterians, who believed in the Divine origin of Presbyterianism, but wished to remain in the Church till it adopted Calvin's 'platform.' We have no means of making an accurate estimate of the numerical strength of either of these parties, but we are disposed to conclude, from all the evidence we can collect, that the great body of the Puritans were those who simply had scruples about the vestments and the ceremonies, some of whom conformed notwithstanding these scruples, others were tolerated, and such as fell under the cognizance of Matthew Parker, and one or two like-minded prelates, had

to endure persecution. They all received the doctrines of Calvin, but that was true of all the clergy of Elizabeth's time who were capable of forming a judgment on that subject. Even Archbishop Parker comes under Hook's censure for having petitioned the Queen to license the Geneva Bible, the notes appended to which are notoriously Calvinistic. A fair specimen of the ordinary Puritan was Dr. Reynolds, the representative of the party at the Hampton Court Conference. He wore the cap, tippet, and surplice, regarding them as indifferent, and wishing that the use of them was not made a matter of obligation. It was at his suggestion that the present authorised version of the Bible was undertaken. Neal says that in the time of Charles I. all the Puritans would have been satisfied with a modified episcopacy such as that proposed by Ussher and Baxter.* There is ample ground for believing that from the time of Elizabeth such an episcopacy or even freedom as to worship would have satisfied the great body of them. In the time of Parker they stated their case in these words from Calvin, 'Let them give us such a hierarchy in which bishops may be so above the rest as they refuse not to be under Christ, but dependent upon Him as their very Head . . . and then if there be any who do not behave themselves with all reverence and obedience towards them, there is no anathema but I confess them worthy of it.'† So great was the change in the theology received by the English clergy in the next century, that all who were Calvinists in doctrine were regarded as Puritans. Bishop Montagu called the framer of the Lambeth Articles by this name, to which Bishop Sanderson evidently alluded when he exclaimed, 'Could that blessed Archbishop Whitgift, or the modest and learned Hooker, have ever thought so much as by dream that men concurring with them in opinion should for some of these very opinions be called Puritans?' A large body of Churchmen are condemned when Dr. Hook speaks of 'the malevolence of the Puritan mind.'

The leaders in the English Reformation were without doubt Erastians. But when we use this word it is in the wide sense, which includes the conformable Puritans, who merely submitted to the acts of the State, as well as those who held definite doctrines concerning the duty of the civil magistrate in the affairs of the Church. We have no love for the name at all, and would look rather to the facts on the ground of

* Cranmer, vol. ii. 160. † Vol. iv. 358.

* Preface to 'History of Puritans,' p. xiv.

† Quoted by Hook, vol. iv. p. 267.

which we call the English Reformers Erastian.

The first question of all is the substitution of the royal supremacy for that of the Pope. It has certainly been maintained by Protestant lawyers that Henry VIII. claimed no more jurisdiction than his British, Saxon, and Norman predecessors. The amount of this jurisdiction might be an interesting historical inquiry, and it is certainly a strange thing that the Roman Catholic bishops in King Henry's time admitted the power which he claimed. It is certain that the royal jurisdiction was greater than the Church of Rome, the Presbyterians, or any Church which maintained spiritual independence could admit. By the Act of Supremacy it was enacted that 'whatsoever his Majesty should enforce in matters of religion should be obeyed by his subjects.' The king was also 'to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, &c., whatsoever they be which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed.' On the other hand, there is the clause in Art. XX. which says that 'the Church has authority in controversies of faith,' but the whole history of the Church of England since the Reformation shows that the 'authority' was never more than the civil power chose to give the Church. The clergy when summoned to Convocation were only called to do what the king or Parliament had before ordained to be done. The power of the Pope's legate was now vested in the king's vicegerent, or in a commission appointed by him. In Henry's days, Thomas Cromwell presided over all synods and other ecclesiastical assemblies, performing the functions that had hitherto been performed by the Papal legate. In Edward's time a Bill for the restoration of the jurisdiction of the clergy was rejected by Parliament because, as Collier expresses it, 'the majority of the bishops and clergy were still Popishly afflicted, so that if power were put into such men's hands they might probably turn it upon those who abetted the Reformation.' The first Prayer-Book was not submitted to Convocation, but sent forth by authority of Parliament. The Articles of Religion came forth by the king's authority alone. Peter Heylin, indeed, argues that they must have received the sanction of the Convocation, since the Church accepted them, but by arguments of this kind many strange things could be proved. At the first revision of the Prayer-Book, which seems to have been undertaken chiefly at Calvin's suggestion, the king threatened to manage the

whole business without the bishops if they would not attend to the alterations which Calvin proposed.* When the Prayer-Book was revised under Elizabeth, the persons employed to do it were those known as Protestants, who had just returned from exile, not one of whom was either bishop, dean, or head of a college. When the Bill for revision was proposed, it met with decided opposition from the bishops. Convocation, which was then sitting, also issued its protest, and so many even of the temporal lords were against it, that it passed the third reading only by a majority of three. The cases of the secular power exercising spiritual jurisdiction are so many that they make a sufficient comment on the meaning of the Acts of Supremacy and Submission. In spite of his thesis that the English Reformation was the work of the bishops and clergy, Dean Hook has to administer censure to one of his favourite archbishops, Matthew Parker, for having on several occasions asked the authority of a royal commission.† In one place he makes this poor apology, 'Although Parker was not an Erastian, he sometimes acted as if he were, and he set a bad example of appealing to the authority of the Crown.'

The actions of the Reformed Archbishops of Canterbury, as recorded by Dean Hook, to say nothing of their words, are a sufficient refutation of the Dean's thesis, that the English Reformation either was, or was intended to be, different from the Reformation in other countries, or that it was the work of the bishops and clergy in their ecclesiastical synods or convocations.

ART. III.—*The American Centennial.*

THE American people are this year engaged in celebrating an event which marks a new era in the history of mankind, the era of Democracy. It is true that commonwealths and free governments existed long before the Declaration of Independence asserted that 'all men are born free and equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;' but it is none the less true that these stirring and inspiring words uttered a new truth that had never been acknowledged before. In the early dawn of European

* See Dodd, vol. ii. p. 43.

† See vol. iv. p. 385.

history democratic republics existed in the peninsulas of Greece and Italy; but these, although glorious in their life, and fruitful beyond comparison in their rich legacies to the human race, were small and of brief duration. They were founded upon narrowness and exclusion, for the great world-religion had not yet proclaimed the brotherhood of man; and, still more fatal to their influence for good, they were bound up with human slavery. When their civilization, language, manners, and arts spread among the people of other climes, their free institutions did not spread in like manner. It was by means of the arms of Alexander of Macedon, and not by the republicans of Athens, that Greek civilization permeated a large portion of the Asiatic continent. And in like manner the Roman Republic had come to an end before the Italian city assumed the sovereignty of the world, and set the stamp of her religion and jurisprudence upon the races of Europe.

In northern Italy, city commonwealths again came into being; but this form of government is unable to propagate itself beyond the city which has given it birth. In other parts of Europe, as Switzerland and the Netherlands, the torch of freedom has been handed on from age to age; but these countries have exercised only a small influence on surrounding empires, and have experienced great difficulty in maintaining intact their own liberties.

It was left for the hardy and vigorous people of a fair and beautiful island to establish on a firm basis the institutions of freedom, and to plant on vast continents, over which the eagles of Cæsar had never flown, the same institutions, reformed and modified, which had taken such firm root on their own soil. The present occasion provides a good opportunity for the consideration of this great birth of Time, especially for finding out the lessons which America has taught the world, and in what position she stands to-day.

This great celebration calls for expressions of brotherly good-will and deep human generosity, not for petty, carping criticism, nor for vulgar Pharisaical reflections on our own righteousness and the shortcomings of others, in which it is to be feared we English people are rather apt to excel. While we hear on every hand both the ravings of demagogues and the noisy brawlings of sycophancy, we may well feel a doubt whether the glass of our own house is strong enough to justify us in casting stones at the edifices of our neighbours.

While admitting, therefore, nay, while in-

sisting on the fact that there are many features of American society which inspire all right-minded men with feelings of disgust—the gigantic frauds, the unprincipled wire-pullers, the glaring luxurious display of the large cities—while fully admitting and lamenting over these, can we not speak a few words in praise of the young and vigorous republic, sprung from the loins of English Puritanism, which, young as it is, is yet exerting such a great influence in the world?

There are some superfine persons who have little sympathy with democracy, and less with Puritanism, who would have us believe that because the celebrations of this year commemorate victories won by America over England, therefore Englishmen ought to feel that they have no part nor lot in the matter; that instead of 'rejoicing with them that do rejoice' they should feel that it becomes them to maintain a dignified silence, and to appear as perfectly oblivious of the existence of America as though Columbus and his co-workers had never left the shores of Europe. It is true that when a fresh scandal is reported from Washington these persons are apt to pay no regard to their own injunctions, but are among the first to treat us with long dissertations on the sad consequences of democratic government, and the dismal scenes which it presents to our view; but generally their attitude towards America is one of studious neglect. The people of that unfortunate country are as yet scarcely recognised in 'society'; they may be very good in their way, but for the most part they are regarded as scarcely capable of soaring into the lofty regions of the 'club' and the *salon*. This was certainly the kind of feeling prevalent in what is wrongly termed 'good society' up to the time of the civil war; and during that great conflict it came out very strongly, so far as the Northern States were concerned. Southern rowdies were spoken of as 'gentlemen,' while the true men of the North and (to the shame of English 'West-end' classes be it said) their illustrious and honoured president were made the subjects of scornful sneers.

The triumph of the North did much to destroy this feeling. Valour has always been regarded as the true mark of a gentleman; and when this valour was displayed by the men of the Northern States in fighting for their homes and hearths, and in behalf of a grand and heroic cause; when, after an unparalleled struggle, in which their opponents had nearly every advantage on their side, the North was victorious, there was a considerable change of opinion and feeling.

But the old exclusive insularity* still survives in certain classes. With this feeling, however, it is certain that the great body of the English people have no sympathy. They feel that the people of the United States are their brethren; they are proud of their success and desire their friendship.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that the England which was defeated by the Thirteen United Colonies is not the England of to-day. The policy which led to the loss of the colonies was the policy of a party which has for ever disappeared from the scene of English affairs. The period of that struggle was the age of the revival of Toryism. The path of folly was entered on by the 'patriot' king and his subservient minister in spite of the warnings and opposition of the greatest Englishmen of the day, the organisation for the expression of public opinion being a gigantic sham. Those days are gone for ever; they form a disgraceful episode in the annals of English history, and no one is very fond of recalling their memory. So far indeed are these times removed from our own, that the Englishmen of to-day can feel with real sincerity that it was not *they* who were repulsed at Lexington and defeated at Saratoga. These disasters were justly inflicted on hirelings who had for a time snatched the English inheritance, for which Cromwell and Hampden fought, from those to whom it truly belonged.

It is customary to say that America is extending English institutions and English civilization over vast territories reclaimed from barbarism. But this is not altogether true. Two hundred and fifty years of democratic government, uncontrolled by the aristocratic and priestly elements of the English political system, and of struggles with nature in her strong fastnesses, have rendered American civilization different from that of England. It is true that the great multitudes who will one day people the North American continent will be for the most part of English extraction; they will speak (however modified) the English language; and they will rejoice in the rich inheritance of English literature. But it is in reality *New England* that is moulding and fashioning American life.

People are somewhat apt to be deceived as to the true nature of the revolutionary struggle of the last century, and the events

which followed it. Too much importance, indeed, can scarcely be attached to that period, but it was not, nevertheless, the beginning of American history. America had already established her polity, and she now fought against England to retain it. In contemplating these birth-pangs of modern democracy, the life of the past New England history must be remembered, in order that the historical continuity may be understood. The people of New England were not a mere colony; they had already a country, with traditions of freedom grand and heroic as those of any nation in the world. Men find that in 1787 a constitution was drawn up and adopted by the states; they find that this constitution contains provisions for the election of a president, which they suppose to be an imitation of the English kingship; they see that a congress was established, consisting of two houses, and they at once conclude that this was taken from the English parliament. So far they are right: Hamilton, to whom, more than to any other of the statesmen of the revolutionary era, America owes her constitution, was a profound admirer of the English system, and endeavoured to introduce its forms so far as he could. But when such persons go beyond this, and suppose that America is but little more than a copy of England on a large scale, that it is really but little more than an English colony, they are altogether in the wrong. For all this history of the adoption of the federal constitution is quite external to the real life of the American people; their institutions existed complete long before this. The constitution of England has grown with the growth of the nation; its roots are hidden in the depths of the past; it is part and parcel of the national being. Not so with the American constitution. The problem with Washington and Hamilton was how to bind together in a close union those states scattered along the Atlantic seaboard which had won their independence by force of arms. How prevent these communities from falling a prey to internecine strife? How combine the heterogeneous elements they contained? How knit together Georgia and Massachusetts, or Rhode Island and South Carolina? The constitution of 1787 was the answer to this problem. That constitution provided a regulating agency, furnishing a central government to represent the states in the eyes of the world, and giving as much power as could be given to the federal government, congress, and courts of justice as was consistent with the nature of the alliance which bound the states together. A great and wise work this

* 'That pitiful affectation of contempt, by which some members of his (Southey's) party have done more than wars or tariffs can do to excite mutual enmity between two communities formed for mutual friendship.'—Macaulay's Essay on 'Southey's Colloquies on Society.'

was, doubtless, conferring endless renown on the illustrious statesmen of the revolution; but it only superadded to the previously existing institutions, the local courts and legislatures, the criminal jurisprudence, the educational laws of the various states. It was thus in no wise an indigenous American growth, for federations had existed before; it was the offspring of great political sagacity, but not the fruit of the soil.

The human cargo of the *Mayflower* is the real germ of American history. There is scarcely a single noble or useful development in American life to-day that is not the result of the heroic act of these brave pilgrims. And this act was inspired by religion: the founding of a democracy has been the practical result of their deeds, but their purpose was only to seek out a spot where they might obey the Divine commands without let or hindrance from kings, bishops, or statesmen. Religious faith is thus the corner-stone of the American Republic. Well is it for us in these days of materialism and worship of mere earthly, physical good, to think on this! If New England should ever forget this rock from which she was digged, her noble influence for good over America and the world will be gone; it will be a sad day for mankind if she ever prove recreant to the inspired and inspiring faith of her great founders. The teachings of history indeed furnish the most satisfactory evidence that can be desired of the great truth that man has indeed a spiritual nature, that this world and the things thereof constitute but narrow bounds indeed to a being who can hold communion with the Eternal Mind.

The researches of Sir Henry Maine have proved conclusively that the family and religion are the primary elements of state life, thus upsetting the conclusions of Rousseau and of speculative utilitarians, and furnishing an invincible testimony to the spiritual nature of man. The history of New England is the noblest history of the origin of any state, inasmuch as it shows us, in times not very distant from our own, the founders of a commonwealth who were, before all things, religious men, and whose work still stands fresh and strong, a living demonstration of the falsity of atheism more satisfying than a thousand learned treatises to the minds and hearts of men.

From the very first, New England entered on a path of her own, honouring and reverencing the mother country, but determined not to be controlled by her, and so, perchance, lose the rights and liberties which those who wisely and heroically dare will ever gain. When the people of Massachu-

setts resisted the arbitrary doings of George Grenville, when they claimed the right of self-taxation, they were asserting nothing new; they were holding fast to the principles of their New England forefathers. In 1646, the legislature of Massachusetts, addressing the Long Parliament, protested against the assertion of the paramount authority of that body:—

‘An order from England is prejudicial to our chartered liberties, and to our well-being in this remote part of the world. Times may be changed, for all things here below are subject to vanity, and other princes or parliaments may arise. Let not succeeding generations have cause to lament and say, England sent our fathers forth with happy liberties, which they enjoyed many years, notwithstanding all the enmity and opposition of the prelaty and other potent adversaries, and yet these liberties were lost in the season when England itself recovered its own. We rode out the dangers of the sea, shall we perish in port? We have not admitted appeals to your authority, being assured they cannot stand with the liberty and power granted us by our charter, and would be destructive to all government. . . . The wisdom and experience of that great council, the English parliament, are more able to prescribe rules of government and judge causes than such poor rustics as a wilderness can breed up; yet the vast distance between England and these parts abates the virtue of the strongest influences. Your councils and judgments can neither be so well grounded, nor so seasonably applied, as might either be useful to us, or safe for yourselves, in your discharge, in the great day of account. If any miscarriage shall befall us, when we have the government in our own hands, the state of England shall not answer for it.’*

This extract shows what was the spirit of the men of New England from the very first, and which was simply reproduced in their descendants of the last century. ‘I rejoice,’ said Chatham, ‘that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the sentiments of liberty as voluntarily to bend the neck to the yoke of slavery, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest.’ Truly, if such could have been the case in the green tree of New England Democracy, what might not have been the result in the then dry and leafless boughs of a stagnant English Toryism?

But this resistance to English control was merely an outcome of the New England idea. What was that idea? It is the foundation and very corner-stone of the American superstructure, and it cannot be better stated than in the words of one of

* Bancroft's ‘History of the United States,’ vol. i. p. 330.

New England's truest and most highly cultured sons :—

'What the early settlers of Massachusetts did intend, and what they accomplished, was the founding here of a *new* England, and a better one, where the political superstitions and abuses of the old should never have leave to take root. So much, we may say, they deliberately intended. No nobles, either lay or cleric, no great landed estates, and no universal ignorance as the seed-plot of vice and unreason; but an elective magistracy and clergy, land for all who would till it, and reading and writing, will ye, nill ye, instead. Here at least it would seem simple manhood is to have a chance to play his stake against Fortune, with honest dice, uncogged by those three hoary sharpers, Prerogative, Patricianism, and Priestcraft.*

Or again, in the words of Wilhelm von Humboldt, the New England political idea 'is the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity.'

Doubtless there are many who think this a hard saying. They call to mind the narrow and rigid Calvinism of the Pilgrim Fathers; the intolerance of the early settlers; the theocratic character of their government; the forbidding of innocent amusements; the stern gloom; the rigid austerity. They think that this system tends rather to the crushing than to the development of humanity, and that it is likely to produce hypocrites rather than good men. The system did certainly crush and repress, and unquestionably it did produce some hypocrites. But it had its good side, and it is that which should recommend itself to our notice. The heart of it, the belief in the immense worth of man, the unspeakable value of the soul, the Divine guidance, was sound and true. These great beliefs strengthened and confirmed the highest qualities of man; they are the foundation of the New England character at this hour. They gave a moral tone to the commonwealth that has permeated American society.

When the foundations of a great republic are to be laid, when men are to be fitted for sober and dignified self-government, this is no bad discipline for a people to pass through. It is the black earth into which the seed of democracy is to be cast, there to be hemmed in and closed up in the darkness of a long night, but which will one day spring forth, casting off the trammels which have bound it, and, based deep in the solid earth, will grow up into a mighty tree, under whose majestic branches the toil-worn children of men will find repose.

* 'Among my Books,' p. 220, by James Russell Lowell.

It is probably the wonderful growth of the colonial empire of England which has tempted men to suppose that it is an easy thing to start a commonwealth. Bring on your trial by jury, your representative assembly, your ballot-box, your policeman, and your most confident expectations may be realised: such seems to be the idea of some. But the experience of America as compared with that of France may teach a far different lesson to those who have ears to hear and a mind to understand. The strongest and noblest traditions are essential to the continued existence of a republic; and the higher and purer these traditions, the firmer will be the confidence of the citizens in their commonwealth.

While James I. was setting forth with all his pedantry the decaying doctrine of the Divine right of kings, and his unfortunate son was paying dearly for the folly of having imbibed this doctrine, the Puritans of New England were building up a society founded on the Divine right of man. Kings and priests, who had done a work of their own at one time, were now felt by the best of men to be hindering the world's work, and consequently arresting the development of man. The Reformation had almost destroyed the powers of the priest, but the Puritans felt that it was essential to civil and religious freedom that the powers of both king and priest should be shattered. This the New England Puritans actually carried out in their commonwealth. Men in past times had believed that their kings ruled by Divine right; but for the whole English race this doctrine perished when King Charles's head was laid upon the block. The men of New England believed that Abraham Brewster and John Winthrop held a commission visibly stamped with the seal of heaven, although no consecrating oil had ever anointed their brows. And does the critic find fault with the theocratic organisation? with the rule that those who bore office should be members of the Church? At the least it insured the government of the wise and good, and helped to build up the character of the people. And in a very short time this stage of New England history passed away; it did not remain long enough to breed a succession of hypocrites. In New England was never seen the spectacle of a Bolingbroke in close alliance with a Church at whose doctrines he scoffed and jeered.

Faith in God, and in His living inspiration; faith in man, in his power of development, in his capacity for self-government, in a word, in his right to *grow*, characterised the founders of America. But this was

never accompanied by a love of license, by an undue straining of the bonds of freedom. All were to be loyal to the state and to one another, for democracy cannot exist unless it borrow this soul of good to be found in feudalism, this feeling, that we do not live for ourselves but for others, that we are doing the best of which we are capable when we truly and faithfully serve the interests of others. The bad thing in feudalism is that the dependence is all on one side; in the new democracy the feeling of dependence, or perhaps it would be truer to say of help, was to be mutual. It was a co-operation for the good of man. Every one was to be entitled to his rights, but none was to neglect his duties. These have ever since been the guiding principles of the true spiritual sons of New England, the genuine offspring of the Pilgrim Fathers. These were the motives which led and sustained Sumner and Phillips, Garrison and Whittier, in their struggle for the enfranchisement of the slave. It is true that the transcendental movement which so deeply stirred New England greatly animated these noble men, but that germ which has given America its literature would never have taken such firm root had it not fallen on the Puritan soil. It is also true that America has produced some eminent men whose natures did not seem thoroughly permeated by New England love for freedom, who appeared indifferent to the poison which slavery was infusing into the atmosphere of liberty; as Prescott the historian, who through a stinging period of his country's life stood apart from politics, and could not understand why his friend Mr. Bancroft should interest himself in the affairs of to-day; as Daniel Webster, the acute lawyer and eloquent orator, of whom Emerson said, 'Every drop of his blood had eyes that looked downward. He knew the heroes of 1776, but could not recognise those of to-day when he met them in the street.' But these men, great in many respects, have not been among those who have done America's noblest work. They have been too content to dally with compromises when great principles were at stake, and to wander aside, for personal convenience, political success, or literary ease, from the strait and narrow way.

This New England has long since burst asunder the narrow bounds within which she was first confined. The people living in these bleak, rugged regions to the north of the river Hudson have spread south and west, over the mountains, valleys, prairies, and fertile plains of a noble continent, imposing their institutions, their manners, and

their arts wherever they have gone; building ships, and factories, and railroads, and filling half a continent with the spirit of industry and progress.

There are some who take delight in decrying all the great material works of our time. In a mill or a factory they can see nothing but ugliness, in a steam-engine nought but a huge unwieldy mass of iron enabling us to move quickly from the warehouse or the office to the suburban home. Such men cannot see the poetry of science, the romance of invention. Do they never think of the vast quantity of human force, formerly consumed in toilsome efforts, but which is now preserved to man by means of the machines he has constructed? Do they never contemplate the immense cost at which Man still does his work; the marring of exquisite beauty, the bruising of human hands, the bleeding of human hearts?

'Surely the wiser time shall come

When this fine overplus of might,
No longer sullen, slow, and dumb,
Shall leap to music and to light.

'In that new childhood of the earth,

Life of itself shall dance and play;
Fresh blood in Time's shrunk veins make mirth,
And labour meet delight half way.'

Such are the beautiful words of an American poet, who, we may be sure, believed that such a consummation is to be wrought out in his own land. For this belief he has good reason. Already a railroad spans the continent, connecting two oceans and bringing the West face to face with the East; steamboats throng the great rivers; the busy hum of commerce is heard in ten thousand streets; great cities are arising in spots that were, but a few years ago, the hunting ground of the Indian or the lair of the wild beast. Surely in the thought of this wonderful march of humanity, of these triumphs of industry, of these victories of peace, there is infinitely more to call forth the loftiest poetry than in the border-brawls or even in the knightly encounters of the past. That man is recreant to the cause of freedom who will not see this, blind who cannot; neither has any lesson for the present or the coming time.

Certainly all things have worked together for good to the Americans. The discoveries of modern science and their application to the arts of life have come just in time for them. Without steam locomotion it is hardly too much to say that the Union could not have been preserved, nor could the people of New and Old England have flocked to the boundless regions of the West. To-day senators from California and Oregon sit in the congress at Washington,

traversing the distance in less than a week. This Pacific Railway, of base metal though it be, has performed good work in binding together, in the bonds of permanent alliance, a great but scattered people.

Wide space, plenty of room, is probably an important factor in human improvement. In the middle ages, under a feudal régime, men were huddled together within the walls of a town, outside which most of them rarely stirred, living a very animal life, encumbered with dirt and litter. All was dark, close, stifling, though wearing a picturesque aspect to the modern eye. But the material and mechanical appliances of modern times demand a great deal of room. A modern town is much larger than an ancient one containing an equal population: our railways alone require a large amount of space. And these mechanical appliances extend the bounds of our desires. We like to travel long distances, to see strange sights, to explore the wonders of other climes, to search, to investigate, to satisfy these longings which we cannot restrain. And not only as individuals are we affected. Rulers wish to add new provinces to their empires; statesmen cry for new fields to satisfy their administrative capacity and their ambition for government.

'England, bound in with the triumphant sea,
Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
Of watery Neptune,'—

is now all too small for the daring enterprise of her sons. Russia advances step by step to an Asiatic dominion; the states of Germany unite under a federal bond. Breadth of territory appears a necessary adjunct to largeness of administrative conception. Now this breadth the people of the United States possess before all other nations, having a great and at the same time a compact territory, the shores of which are washed by two oceans; grand mountains, fertile valleys, 'rivers that move in majesty,' and a climate capable of fitting all kinds of vegetable produce for the use of man. It was such a land, with such surroundings and with such capacities for material improvement, that was destined for simple men after the era of kings and priests had given place to the industrial commonwealth.

The democracy of America has made many experiments in government, and has taught many valuable lessons to the mother country and to Europe. Foremost amongst these experiments is that of republican government itself. It was said above that America is being moulded after the New, and not after the Old English pattern. Although in England we have a government

free as that of the United States, yet so long as we preserve a hereditary monarchy with all its old associations, so long as we maintain a hereditary upper chamber, so long as prelates assist in our legislation by virtue of the ecclesiastical position which relegates them to a place in aristocratic circles, so long as the land of the United Kingdom is locked up in the hands of a few noble families, it is simply absurd to pretend that our political and social system is, looked at as a whole, popular as that of America. No reflection is here made on England, no suggestion for reform is offered; it is merely pointed out that a vast gulf still separates American from English society. In truth, England is not yet a democracy; things seem to be tending that way; but although many great reforms will probably be accomplished by the end of this century, it is almost certain that Englishmen will pause long before they will radically change their whole system. At present in England a kind of friendly compromise seems to reign. The poet laureate calls England a 'crowned republic.' The crown is popular, the monarch is beloved, there is general political contentment; but constitutional monarchy, with a large mass of voters, before long to be greatly increased, is a very delicate and subtle piece of machinery, and may perhaps fall in pieces if the vagaries of such political tinkers as Mr. Disraeli are allowed full swing. It is usual to say that democracy is on its trial in the United States. That may indeed be the case, just as all human institutions may be said to be on their trial; but it is neither more nor less true than that English constitutional monarchy is on its trial. The latter has existed, in conjunction with a really popular House of Commons and cabinet government, only forty-four years, as it cannot certainly be dated further back than the Reform Act of 1832. We have yet to discover what attitude democracy will take up towards the crown and all its necessary surroundings. Now democratic government has existed among the English people of America for upwards of two hundred and fifty years. From the very first a settled democratic system was established among the New England populations,* a system having the township, with its select men, for its governmental unit. As De Tocqueville says, the township was organised before the county, the county before the state, the state before the Union. The republican system of America thus rests upon

* See Mr. Bancroft's chapter on the Colonization of New England.

an elaborate system of local government, which is in no sense artificial, but of natural growth. Each office qualifies for a higher one. Each citizen is well instructed both in the principles and details of government, and hence the permanence and stability of republican institutions. A system which, founded by a few exiles in the bleak wilderness, has expanded and adapted itself to the wants of a nation of forty millions; which has survived the terrible shock of a gigantic civil war; which has even stood the greater strain of being administered in many cases by ignorant immigrants who had never been entrusted with administrative or legislative functions in their native European homes; such a system has surely proved itself to be an enduring one. As for the great federal offices, such as president, vice-president, and members of congress, it would be too much to say that very high success has been attained. Such presidents as Polk, Taylor, Fillmore, and Pierce have reflected no credit on their country; while the really able men, Clay, Webster, Seward, have never filled the presidential chair, for which, it would seem, they were well qualified. But happily for America her prosperity depends but little on president and congress.

'How small of all that human hearts endure,
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure!'

is especially true of the United States. Congress and the federal officers generally do not fill such an important and lofty position in the public estimation as our own parliament and cabinet ministers. Many of the functions of the English parliament are, in America, undertaken by the state legislatures, each state having, for example, its own educational laws and its own system of criminal jurisprudence. Congress has a great deal to do, but much of its work is of a kind but little interesting to the general public, and consequently little attention is paid to its proceedings, as compared with that which is paid in England to the proceedings of parliament. When this is the case it may easily come about that inferior men shall occupy positions which an impartial observer would assign to their superiors. This evil, if it should be so designated, is aggravated by the fact that senators and representatives can sit in congress only for their own state, and in the case of the latter only for their own particular district of the state; so that if a man is defeated there, he has no chance elsewhere. If congress is to be a really national, as well as a mere federal assembly, this disability should be re-

moved. The English theory and practice recognize a member of parliament as representing not only his own constituents, but the nation;* and this theory seems more consonant with reason than the American, although one can well understand how the practice in America should have arisen.

That there are dangers in the path of American democracy no one will deny, but the sound practical wisdom of the greater portion of the people may be compared favourably with that of other nations. The greatest dangers are those which attend the contact of native white citizens with the lower races, the Negroes in the South and the Chinese on the Pacific coast. No hint at any solution of the problem can of course be suggested here; it simply suffices to take note of the facts; but the problem is certainly important, and presents great difficulties. Another drawback attending American progress consists in the attachment of large numbers of the people to an unsound financial and commercial system. In spite of the immensity of her resources, protection and inflation, if persisted in, will seriously affect the industrial and agricultural interests of the Republic. But as regards inflation, there is no great cause for fear. The defeat of Governor Allen, of Ohio, the champion of inflation, and the election of Governor Tilden, of New York, the advocate of 'hard money,' afford much hope to the friends of America that these financial heresies are of temporary duration, and will in time pass away.

A worse stigma, however, attaches to the American people, that of political corruption. If we were compelled to believe that corruption was closely allied with a republican form of government, it might indeed cause grave misgivings as to the future. But happily there is no reason to believe this. The most corrupt European government is the Russian, while from this political vice the Swiss cantons are free. But American democracy

'Works all her folly up and casts it outward
In the world's open view.'

In a large democratic community, and with a free press of gigantic magnitude, all scandals come to light sooner than in another society. For many years New York and Washington have been assiduously washing their dirty linen in the full gaze of the European world. Again, let the circumstances of America after the close of the civil war be also considered. There was a general disorganisation of society over a vast terri-

* See D'Ewe's account of the debate on election of non-resident burgesses in 1571.

tory. A gigantic crime against God and man like the system of human slavery must result in the demoralisation of those who have permitted and encouraged it. -

'Hot burns the fire
Where wrongs expire,
Nor spares the hand
That from the land
Uproots the ancient evil.'

And from a lower, and what many will regard as a more 'practical' view, this political demoralisation is not to be wondered at. In 1868 the victorious chief of the Federal armies was elected to the presidency; and when he, a mere soldier, never previously connected with politics, came to the head of affairs, what wonder that he should elevate to high office men with whom he had fought and acted through those long four years, and who were as capable of dealing with political and administrative matters as himself? What wonder that the nation in its enthusiasm for the man who had saved the Union should pay but little heed to the character or position of the men with whom he chose to surround himself, remembering that these men had fought for their country and saved it from destruction? And further, what wonder that these men, when elevated to their new posts, should have desired to keep them, and been even ready to resort to corrupt means to do so? In all this there is nothing very strange, nothing very unaccountable to those who possess but an elementary knowledge of human nature. While we should not extenuate, neither ought we to set down anything in malice.

This democratic system, this great extension of local government, affords a high political training to all citizens; and humble men by it are enabled to found new states in the far West, each of them as large as a good-sized European kingdom. California, for example, is larger than Spain; Colorado is nearly as large as Italy. And thus over vast regions great states are growing up, starting with all the lessons of the past to direct them, containing an instructed, intelligent, self-governing people, unhampered by any kings, lords, or spiritual rulers, or any other survivals of a defunct feudalism.

America has also done much to lessen the probabilities of war over a great portion of the earth. By means of her federal system, international hostilities have been averted over 3,000,000 square miles of the North American continent; and by means of her Supreme Court, to whose decisions contending states must bow, she has done more than any other nation to develop the principles and to render easy the practice of International Law. It is surely an inspiring

thought that the greatest branch of the English race will in future time be preserved from the calamities of war, so far as human wisdom can render that dire contingency improbable. America has thus as it were, through her great and wonderful advantages, leaped at one bound into a position which it may take Europe many weary years of toil, bloodshed, and agony to reach. Victor Hugo indeed, and many other noble-minded enthusiasts, believe that a few years will see the formation of a United States of Europe; but the condition of the European system bears no sufficient analogy to that of America to render this probable.

Two great political lessons has America given which are of especial importance to the mother country: these lessons are concerning National Education and the relations of Church and State.

American activity in educational work is a direct outcome of New England principles. The Pilgrim Fathers were themselves for the most part educated men, and would not tolerate ignorance in their commonwealth. In 1636 the General Court of Massachusetts Bay voted a sum towards the erection of a college; and this was done, be it remembered, in the wilderness only sixteen years after the company of the *Mayflower* landed at Plymouth. This college, which was reared under the fostering care of graduates of the English Cambridge, has since grown into Harvard University, the greatest seat of science and culture on the American continent. When Cromwell, some years later, proposed to transfer a colony from New England to Ireland, one condition of the settlers was that a new college should be established in the latter country. But the most striking evidence of the love of knowledge which characterised these wise and far-seeing Puritans is to be found in the famous Act which declared:—'To the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, the Lord helping our endeavours, every township, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and when any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar-school, the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university.' Mr. Matthew Arnold and those who think with him that the Anglican Church is a great means of producing and spreading culture, while Nonconformists are wanting in 'sweetness and light,' will perhaps at some time explain how it is that the Anglican clergy are for the most part constantly resisting and

thwarting efforts to educate the masses (excepting in their own creed and catechism), while the New England States, founded by English Nonconformists, have from the very first striven to remove all ignorance and provincialism by conferring on all their children, rich and poor alike, the priceless privileges of a sound mental training.

These common schools and grammar-schools are the peculiar glory of the American republic, being, as they are, free and open to all. The nation expends annually for schools about one hundred millions of dollars, and in them are employed two hundred and twenty thousand teachers. The finest building in every village of the new states and territories is the public school. And it will be to the lasting honor of New England that it was her first citizens, removed as they were from the life of men, and living amid lonely woods and on a rugged coast, with little more than the bare necessities of life, who had the wisdom to discern that, next to an earnest and genuine religious faith, nothing was so necessary for the new era that was coming to bless the world as a thorough education, reaching all members of the community, and permeating the entire body-politic with a love for the choicest thoughts and the noblest deeds of all times.

The common school of America is now threatened by that great foe to all human progress, the Roman Catholic Church, which has made such a commanding position for itself in the New World. The Roman clergy do not make direct attacks upon the schools; they do not persuade the people to give them up, and to resort to voluntary efforts; they have too much wisdom for that. What they are attempting is to bring the schools under clerical control, and to appropriate large sums of public money to the propagation of their own dogmas. And in the state of New York they have actually secured such sums. Under the corrupt administration that, until recently, controlled the city of New York, an administration sustained by the Irish vote (not by native-born Americans), the Roman Catholic Church received from the public treasury for sectarian purposes, such as churches, church schools, and church charities, in 1869, \$651,191; in 1870, \$711,436; in 1871, \$552,718; in 1872, \$252,110; in 1873, \$360,193; making a total of \$2,473,648, or about £500,000.

It was said above that the relations of the American government towards religious sects constituted one of the lessons which that country was appointed to teach England. What are these relations? What is

the attitude of the State towards the Church in the United States? There is according to law a complete separation of Church and State, each being perfectly free to act within its own sphere without the hindrance, license, or sanction of the other. The following was the first amendment to the constitution:—‘Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.’ The story of Disestablishment in New England has been recently told in the pages of the ‘British Quarterly Review.’ In Maryland and in Rhode Island no establishment ever existed. In Virginia the Church was gradually separated from the State during the revolutionary struggle. In North Carolina one or two religious disabilities still exist, but of course no establishment: this however is a backward and conservative state, and its position is exceptional. In the new states, which may be classified roughly as those founded in the present century, no establishment has ever existed. Respecting religion and state aid, the American theory is that in a modern state, where Christianity prevails, it will flourish in direct proportion as it is relegated to the free, generous support of those who believe in its great doctrines.

The sums of money voted in New York towards the maintenance of the Roman Catholic Church are scarcely to be regarded as an exception worth noting, so far as American principles are concerned, as this action results simply from the overwhelming preponderance of the Irish faction in that city, who are made tools of for electioneering purposes by their priests. And of these votes we have probably heard the last, as the people of New York have been aroused to the danger, and are determined that this misappropriation of public funds shall no longer continue. It is worth noting that in the state of New Jersey the revised constitution voted by the people last year provides that no grant of public money shall ever be made to sectarian colleges or other corporations.

The separation of Church from State is the great contribution of America to political science. Coleridge was wrong in saying that America had done nothing for mankind in the domain of political philosophy. If she had done only this, she would be entitled to our lasting gratitude. For she has demonstrated conclusively that neither Church nor State suffers from this political separation. She has proved beyond dispute

that religion can not only subsist, but can provide for the spiritual wants of rich and poor alike, of learned and ignorant, of the inhabitants of great cities, of country villages, and of small communities of settlers far removed from civilised life, without any support from the secular power. In no other nation at this hour is religion such a mighty force as in the United States of America. There are seventy thousand churches, and to the wishes and opinions of both the members and pastors of these churches great respect is paid by the secular press. It is matter of question whether it would pay the London papers to print the sermons delivered every Sunday in the metropolis; yet this is what is done every Monday by nearly all the daily papers in New York, Boston, Chicago, and other American cities. This proves conclusively, if it proves nothing else, that the masses of the people are interested in religious things.

But still further than this; although religion is such a mighty force, although the Churches are so numerous and influential, the State is in no danger from the influence of any of them, excepting that great organisation which has proclaimed war against all free governments and modern institutions, the Roman Church. De Tocqueville expresses the surprise he felt when he saw the Churches of America all arrayed on the side of progress, all in harmony with the popular institutions by which they were surrounded; while in Europe the Church was allied with despotism, and blind, unreasoning resistance to progress. With regard to the hostility of the Roman Catholic Church, it is evident that that hostility can only be met and overcome by intellectual and spiritual forces. That Church has its supporters mainly among the most ignorant classes of the community; it is, in fact, sustained by the large Irish immigration; and none can believe that it will ever find favour among persons of American birth and education, with every one of whose early and deeply-rooted convictions and—it may be—prejudices, it is utterly and irreconcilably at variance.

One more lesson may be learned from American experience, which is, that in our times free government adds to rather than takes from the functions of the state. If, by a process of political differentiation, all ecclesiastical functions are removed from the hands of government, many new functions are also placed in the same hands. Education is the most striking example of this; no power less than the state can be relied on to overcome the opposition of the foolish and ignorant. In this country we

are learning the same lesson, and the experience of many European nations points in the same direction. But America probably offers the most striking example and furnishes the completest lessons. Besides education and the advancement of science, sanitary matters, liquor laws, and numberless other things which concern the social life of the people are dealt with by the state. In the matter of liquor laws especially, there is not the slightest indication that a policy of free trade will ever be carried out in any part of the Union. In a modern state a man cannot be permitted to regulate his social affairs just as he pleases; for he may, by so doing, be injuring his neighbour, who, as an equal, is entitled to the same respect and the same rights and privileges at the hand of the state as himself. This is the American theory. Democracy thus encourages respect for man, if not as a brother, at least as a fellow-citizen; while Christianity teaches that the fellow-citizen is also a brother. In a state where these are the two great factors in the building up of the social system, can we be so altogether wanting in courage and faith as to apprehend ultimate failure?

But a few words can be said here on American literature. No one will ask now, 'Who reads an American book?' Rather may it be asked, 'Who does not?' America has given no supremely great genius to the world. Her people have been engaged in taming the wild and shaggy continent, and so have had little time for the construction of a great literature. But America has nearly, if not quite, kept pace with England in literary production. In poetry there are the names of Bryant, Emerson, Lowell, Longfellow, and other lesser celebrities; in fiction, Hawthorne stands in the foremost rank of literary artists; in history, Bancroft, Prescott, and Motley form a trio of whom any nation might be proud; in science, Asa Gray, Dana, Draper, and others are men of deserved eminence; while in language and philology Marsh and Whitney shed a lustre on American scholarship. Then we have the rich, native humour of the 'Biglow Papers,' the rare and subtle thoughts of Emerson's 'Essays,' and the genial laughter and tender pathos of the 'Autocrat.' America has had many students of philosophy, especially of the transcendental school of Germany, but she has as yet produced no philosophers, excepting the great New England theologian, Jonathan Edwards. In art, Powers, Crawford, and Story are names of deserved eminence as sculptors, and the grand scenery of the West is beginning to inspire painters. In the domain of

music America can produce no name of note.

In spite of the hard, rugged work of preparing a continent for the habitation of man, the people of America have ever been studious of science and literature, especially of the literature of the mother country. Thanks to her schools, the vast majority of the population of the United States have been able to read with appreciation the greatest masterpieces of English literature, and they have a faculty for quickly discovering genius. 'Sartor Resartus' was published in Boston long before its publication in England, and such was also the case with those peculiarly English productions, 'Macaulay's Essays.' Herbert Spencer's writings were read widely in America before the author's name was known in England, except to a select few. Of these things the Americans have a right to boast.

This review of American history must now draw to a close. One thing more may be noticed, and that is, that American 'Spread Eagleism' is at an end. The times of Elijah Pogram and Jefferson Brick, if there ever were such times, are certainly over. Multitudes of American travellers now visit England, France, and Germany, and the very sight of the active life of these countries shows them that all is not decay outside the United States. They feel that these nations have yet in them unexhausted stores of vital force; that they, as well as America, have a mission to accomplish and a work to do for the world. This feeling does not destroy patriotism, it probably renders it stronger and truer; but it serves to combine a pure and lofty patriotism with a deep and generous philanthropy.

ART. IV.—*Disestablishment and Disendowment.*

Annual Report of the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control. 1875-76.

It is not too much to assume that Disestablishment is one of the certainties of the future, and that future, in all probability, not a very distant one. The Primate, who, with all his optimist tendencies, must sometimes feel himself overwhelmed by the difficulties of his position, may proclaim, possibly as much with the view of encouraging his own heart as of reassuring his friends, that the Church never had a stronger hold upon the affections of the people, and there-

fore (a very common though illogical *non sequitur*) that the idea of peril to the Establishment is purely chimerical. His right reverend brethren may, as in duty bound, echo his complacent utterances, albeit not unqualified in some cases by expressions which reveal a secret distrust. Writers of ecclesiastical leaders in 'The Times' may seek to sustain this confidence by an imposing parade of the vast sums raised for church building. When occasion requires these figures furnish a text for a homily on the architectural extravagance and mediævalism which are rightly regarded as full of the gravest peril to the National Church; but when the object is to exhibit the strength of the Establishment, they are quoted as signs of its exuberant vitality, and of the folly of Nonconformists who dream of overthrowing an institution which has such immense resources at its command. Aspiring Liberal politicians, who, having been converted from hereditary Toryism themselves, seem to fancy that they have a special mission to instruct and strengthen their older brethren in the principles of their common creed, may warn them 'to beware lest, in clutching at a phantom of religious equality, they should let go the substance of religious liberty,' and insist that the 'Radical demand for Disestablishment' is 'no legitimate expression of Liberal principles;' indeed, that the only cause for surprise is 'that such an alternative should commend itself to any Liberal.' Even a great Liberal journal which in happier times and in obedience to truer instincts than those which seem sometimes to inspire it now, has done good yeoman service in vindication of Nonconformist rights, may pour contempt upon the abstract principle of religious equality, and maintain that the nation, having done so much in the way of redressing Dissenters' grievances, is so indifferent to any sentimental wrong which the Establishment inflicts upon us, that we must endure it with what equanimity we can command, unless the clergy, by their sacerdotal exclusiveness or their internal dissensions, shall make a State Church intolerable. But, all these adverse appearances notwithstanding, there is a wide-spread conviction, all but unanimous, indeed, on the part of unprejudiced observers, and shared by not a few whose prejudices would incline them to an opposite view, that the time is rapidly coming when, to adopt Dr. Freeman's phraseology, the existing 'legislation in ecclesiastical matters' must give place to a system in which the rights of the whole nation shall be fairly recognised. Disestablishment is hated, dreaded, or desired.

There are very different ideas as to the mode in which it should be effected, or the results by which it is likely to be followed. There is as great an uncertainty and diversity in the speculations as to the time at which it may occur, or the circumstances by which it will be probably brought about. But that it is inevitable is an opinion which is not confined to any party or class. It is openly stated in journals of the most opposite politics, it crops up in the most unexpected places, it is expressed by men whose prepossessions and interests would make them least disposed to admit it. It would even appear that Churchmen anticipate it with a stronger confidence than Nonconformists, and that their calculations are largely affected by the prospect.

In writing thus we are not at all insensible to the magnitude of the change which Disestablishment would involve, or the gigantic difficulties which stand in the way of its accomplishment. When we are told that they are much too formidable for Nonconformists to overcome, we at once assent to the suggestion. What is more, we would not have it otherwise. Few things would in our estimation be more unfortunate than that such a revolution should be so effected as to be a mere sectarian triumph. The whole subject is degraded when treated as a struggle between different Churches for political privilege or ascendancy. In such a conflict, whoever was the victor, both the State and the Church would be sufferers. To us, therefore, it is a subject for rejoicing, not regret, that Nonconformists will never be able to humiliate their ecclesiastical rivals by depriving them of the unfair advantages they have enjoyed for centuries. The nation, including a very considerable section of Churchmen, must be satisfied that justice requires the change before it can be effected; and it is on every ground desirable that it should be so.

Ardent friends of the Establishment may easily be pardoned if, notwithstanding all the changes which the last fifty years have witnessed, they refuse to believe such a revolution possible. Anguries drawn from the fate of other institutions which seemed to have every element of stability are sinister enough, but there are considerations which may make them proof against their depressing influence. The National Church, they argue, and not without force, is so deeply rooted in the thoughts and social habits, if not in the affections, of the people, that it is difficult, nay, all but impossible, to conceive of England without it. This may be only a sentiment, but we should be the last to underrate its power. Sentiments impress the

popular imagination more than mere logical demonstrations. But, on the other hand, the power of this instinctive feeling will be greatly broken as soon as its influence in hindering a fair discussion of the subject has been overcome. At first there may be a shudder at the prospect of England without a National Church, but when the aversion to entertain the thought has been conquered, calmer reflection may lead even those who feel it most strongly to see that England, without the marked line of demarcation which divides Conformists and Nonconformists, without the invidious social distinctions, based on religious opinion, which enable a certain class of the clergy to strut about in their fancied superiority, and without the political strife and bitterness to which these distinctions lead, would be a more glorious and happy England even than that which boasts of a National Church. It is idle indeed to suppose that an institution can be maintained in an age like this, in opposition to the convictions of a large section of the people, simply because it is so venerable that there is a reluctance to disturb it. The question is one of right and expediency, and those who watch the currents of public opinion can have little doubt as to how it will be decided.

The Establishment has a power derived both from its virtues and its failings, its strength and its weakness, its religious ideal and its political resources. It has a body of religious supporters whose consciences would be aggrieved by what in their eyes would appear a national apostasy. The Bishop of Bath and Wells may be the voice of one crying in a wilderness when he proclaims that the Church's days are numbered, and that ere long it will be announced to a 'startled world that, for the first time in her existence, the empire of England is without a God and without a Church,' but it is hard to believe that he stands alone. The idea that the presence of God in the nation is dependent on an Act of Parliament must indeed have staggered many who would pardon much to a bishop when exposing the nefarious designs of the Liberation Society. But if few would endorse his too forcible expressions, it is certain that the sentiment which underlies them, and which he presents in this exaggerated form, is shared by numbers in whose estimation Disestablishment would be a national repudiation, and Disendowment a national robbery of God. Behind them, too, is a much larger class, who appreciate, though not more highly than it deserves, the great work which the Church is doing, and have not the faith in God or

in truth which would lead them to trust in its continuance if the help of the State were to be withdrawn.

These believers in the Divine right of the National Church are doubtless an element of great strength, but the defenders of the Establishment can hardly regard them with unalloyed satisfaction. Erastianism must always press hardly upon religious convictions, and as these deepen in intensity and earnestness, a collision between two forces so essentially antagonistic becomes increasingly difficult to avoid, and when it takes place the result can hardly fail to be the overthrow of the State Church. It is far from impossible that the awakened conscience of Churchmen, even while rebelling against the idea of what they would describe as a 'godless' state, may in time prefer even that to a law-controlled Church, may even welcome it as the only escape from the humiliation and bondage of a parliamentary religion.

The case is very different with those whose attachment to the Church is inspired chiefly by secular and political considerations; who like the idea of a religion with the stamp of fashion and authority upon it; who wish that even their Church should have a savour of aristocracy, and feel that if the Episcopal Church were reduced to the level of the sects they would be robbed of the distinction which at present belongs to its members; who possibly have even more selfish interests, and oppose disestablishment lest it should diminish the value of their property or injure the worldly prospects of some relative. These are not the most creditable supporters of the State Church, but we are not sure that they are not those on whom the most implicit reliance can be placed. The purse-proud millionaire—who has perhaps himself been trained a Dissenter, and owes not a little of his success in life to the influence of the Nonconformist teaching and example of which he now thinks so lightly—whose zeal for the Establishment is a passion which would have a nobility in it were it not that a scornful hatred of Dissent is one of its most powerful elements—is not in his spirit or deportment an honour to the Church to which he devotes so much of his wealth, but he is, at all events, a champion who will fight for it *à outrance*. He is never troubled by any feelings of what may be due to Nonconformists, for his one principle is that the business of the State is to hold them in check. Probably at heart he thinks they have too much liberty already. He has no scruples as to the right of Parliament to interfere with the doctrine or

worship of his own Church, provided that its action is so directed as to prevent any follies which might menace the supremacy which that Church enjoys. He accepts articles and creeds, he has profound admiration for the liturgy, he cherishes all becoming respect for the episcopate, but the one thing in which he glories is the nationality of his Church—that is, the right which the law gives her members to esteem all others as religious outcasts; and this will always find in him a stout and unflinching defender.

In a time of Tory reaction the power of this class may seem to be irresistible; but it is not by men of their stamp that a high-minded people will be permanently controlled. Where the force of popular opinion has sway, ideas must (as the 'Spectator' put it when discussing another question) beat interests, and the last institution in the world which can afford to ignore this maxim is a religious establishment. What might be its fate if the spiritual forces of the nation were all arrayed on behalf of the State Church, we will not undertake to predict, but that it can be upheld by the power of vested interests is simply impossible. On the whole, the strength of the Establishment, imposing as it is, may yet prove to be more apparent than real. It is weakest on the side of conscience, it is stronger in the region of sentiment, but its chief dependence is on self-interest; and if once conscience should throw itself decidedly into opposition, in consequence of the kindling of new zeal within the Church herself, or the awakening of a deeper sense of justice or a more anxious care for Protestant freedom on the part of the nation, the struggle could not last long nor would its issue be doubtful.

The tender mercies, indeed, of those who prophesy smooth things to the Establishment are little short of cruelty. They talk contemptuously of Disestablishment as a 'fatigued horse,' which it is useless to flog; they enumerate the powerful forces on the side of the State Church, and compare them with the feeble Dissenting communities whose representatives might be gathered under the roof of Exeter Hall; and they sneer at the suggestion that the country will ever allow its policy to be determined by the abstract principles of Nonconformity. If their discourse ended here, it would be eminently satisfactory to such Churchmen as have in some way or other come to believe that the Liberation Society is a great power, and its triumph a real and imminent danger. But these comforting Mentors go on invariably to add that the salvation of the Establishment is in the hands of its

own friends, who can assure its continuance if they will only observe certain conditions which all the world knows are the very last to which they will listen. If the clergy will live at peace among themselves and in friendly relation to Nonconformists, remembering that in a community where religious opinions are so nearly balanced their privileged position can be held only on sufferance and on condition of good behaviour; if they will cease to magnify the prerogatives of the priesthood, to deck themselves in the fripperies of Romish millinery, and what is worse still, to introduce the superstitions of Romish doctrine and ceremony; if they will take their place by the side of other Christian ministers, and regard them as fellow-workers in Christ, then the Establishment may continue for a time. What the advantage is of holding out such prospects, or what comfort they can minister to any heart, is not obvious. For these are just the things which the clergy, or a large majority of them at least, will not do; they would rather surrender the Establishment at once than even make a pretence of doing. Sacerdotalism daily becomes more advanced in its Romeward tendencies and more rampant in its intolerance. The sentence against its evil works is not executed, and it is encouraged to do greater evil. It finds countenance and acquiescence, if not positive sanction, from those by whom it ought to be sternly repressed, and as the natural result it becomes more confident and daring. It yields nothing in deference to the Protestant feeling of the nation, but throws down on the floor of the Jerusalem Chamber a petition signed by 14,000 workingmen, as a proof that the people are in its favour. It overawes Convocation, whose venerable clerics are only too ready to yield to its influence, and instead of giving a plain and honest deliverance against its masses and confessionals, seek to excuse its excesses as the vagaries of a few extreme men, and to secure its essential principles a place in the Establishment. It bullies the bishops, who quail before the storm they are powerless to subdue, or sit like so many Canutes on the edge of the swelling tide, whose advancing waves they vainly seek to arrest by their humble entreaties and tender appeals. It would laugh to scorn the suggestion that the priests of the Anglican Catholic Church should lower their pretensions in order that they may remain the ministers of an Establishment.

The country watches all this and forms its own conclusions. Even in this period of apathy and stagnation the various indications of Episcopal weakness and priestly in-

subordination, of Ritualistic encroachment and Evangelical treason to the cause of Protestantism, of haughty intolerance and social injustice, are not unnoticed, and are silently moulding public opinion. When or how the harvest of the seed that is being thus continually sown will be gathered is a secret which we are neither able nor desirous of penetrating. But we interpret the pleasant assurances which are intended to comfort the hearts of anxious Erastians, coupled as they are with the monitions to arrogant ecclesiastics, as the unconscious predictions of our adversaries that our triumph cannot be long deferred. It would be difficult under any conditions to maintain a National Church to which one half of the nation does not belong. But in the present state of things the difficulty becomes an impossibility. The temper which is now too characteristic of the clergy—which inspired the insolent proceedings in the Owston Ferry case, which was expressed in the savagery and cynicism of the letters in which the incoming Head Master of the Cambridge Grammar School dismissed the experienced and cultured Nonconformist, who had long and ably filled the post of second master, as a social inferior because a Dissenter; which dictates the resolute, and, as we venture to think, highly impolitic opposition offered to the Burial Bill; which was manifest in the disgraceful treatment of a Nonconformist captain by the Admiralty, that evoked the keen criticism of Mr. Goschen that a captain had better sink one of her Majesty's ships than offend one of her Majesty's chaplains; and which so far affects defenders of the Church who ought to have more wisdom, that it betrays even 'The Times' into an occasional truculence worthy rather the organ of the Romish Curia—seals the fate of the Establishment. Men who, on the one hand, are betraying the fundamental principles of their Church, while on the other they trample on Nonconformists as though their loyalty to conscience were sufficient to brand them as pariahs, cannot long be suffered to gratify these tastes as ministers of the National Church. The arrogance of the priesthood has of late reached such a point that Nonconformists would be less than men if they did not insist that those who choose to display it shall not be sustained by the nation in their insolence. It matters little to us that the Bishop of Lincoln should assert that, being a trustee for God, he is bound to exclude us from the burial grounds over which he may have control; or that the half-mad Cornish vicar should slander all the Dissenters of his diocese; or that a whole company of the priests should

ostentatiously renounce the title of 'reverend' rather than share it with us; but we protest against their being allowed to indulge in these freaks of petty bigotry as representatives of the State, in which we have a part and a heritage equally with themselves. And we are satisfied, the sneers of Liberal Comtists notwithstanding, that these proceedings are hastening the time when the nation, for the sake of public liberty as well as of justice to us, will endorse our protest and give it effect by terminating the *régime* of ecclesiastical privilege altogether. We are often told of the peril to which the State would be exposed if a powerful priesthood, possessed of large revenues, were emancipated from State control. But there is a far more real danger, that of having the State controlled by the priesthood. Those who have observed the clerical spirit of the Tory majority in the House of Commons, as shown in the educational debates, cannot esteem this chimerical. For the moment the people may seem to be in so deep a sleep that they do not heed these things. But already there are signs of awakening; and when the nation has thoroughly roused itself, it will not be deterred by imaginary fears from laying the axe to the root of a system in which Sacerdotalism and intolerance have always found a home.

Our chief object in this paper, however, is to throw out some hints as to the way in which Disestablishment and Disendowment should be carried out, rather than to discuss the wisdom or probability of such a measure. But this preliminary review of the situation is not irrelevant to our main point, for some knowledge of the aspects of public opinion towards the question is essential to a wise judgment as to the form which a scheme for Disendowment should assume. The more clearly the difficulties to be overcome are appreciated, the greater the care which will be taken to anticipate any reasonable objection, and to conciliate, as far as practicable, any prejudices which have to be met. There is no hope, of course, that any proposals which can be made will be acceptable to the class in which, as we have pointed out, the political strength of the Establishment lies, and as little that any argument we can employ will convince them. With them we must be prepared for a hand-to-hand fight. It will be necessary and just to satisfy their reasonable claims for compensation, but it is folly to suppose that this will remove their opposition. They wield a force which must be overcome in hard conflict, and this can be done only by that power of national enthusiasm which cannot be awakened except on behalf of a measure

so manifestly just, so adapted to the feelings and habits of the people, so complete and final, and at the same time so fairly considerate of every privilege or right that at all merits such respect, that it shall commend itself both to the intelligence and the sense of right always to be found in the community.

It is so obvious as hardly to require any distinct statement that there should not be even a taint of vindictiveness in the policy which may be adopted. The change, however effected, must be sufficiently trying to those who suddenly find themselves reduced from supremacy to an equality with the members of other Churches, and it is desirable, therefore, that it should be made as easy as is compatible with the full assertion of the principle of religious equality. The object is not the triumph of a party, but the vindication of a right; not the humiliation of the Episcopal Church or her clergy, but the completion of the great edifice of liberty, by the removal of every disability or disqualification which attaches to any classes because of their religious opinions. It is a misfortune that this cannot be done without depriving one class of privileges they have enjoyed so long that they have come to regard them as inalienable, but the misfortune is in no sense the fault of those who seek to redress an injustice under which they and their fathers have groaned for centuries. It is desirable, however, on every ground that the advocacy of the change should be kept as free as possible from all personal elements, and that, in deciding on its method, respect, even beyond what strict justice might demand, should be paid to the feelings and interests of those who must suffer by it. Christian principle and generous sentiment would dictate such conduct in any case, but in the divided state of public opinion, and in view of the strength which the Establishment possesses, a sound policy imperatively demands it. Should the settlement be deferred, there may rise up another class of enemies to the State Church, who will adopt a very different tone and resolve on far more drastic methods; but there is no desire on the part of English Nonconformists, constantly though they are charged with envy, and jealousy, and malignity, to deal harshly with their ancient rival and sometime oppressor. They fully understand, and are prepared to act on the old maxim, *summa jus, summa injuria*, and their only anxiety in relation to the settlement is that property which fairly belongs to the nation should not be diverted to the strengthening of sacerdotalism or sectarianism. It is to be hoped that even the

fiercer antagonism, which must grow up as the struggle advances towards its final issue, will never induce a different kind of feeling, but that throughout Nonconformists will, under whatever provocation, have regard only to national interests. These will certainly be best promoted by a settlement which shall err on the side of generosity rather than of severity.

Such a view, however, is far from being acceptable to many who are at present among the defenders of the Establishment. The bugbear by which they are haunted is a free Church with large possessions, such as the Anglican Church will retain even though she ceases to be the Church of the nation. They dread Sacerdotalism, and in order to prevent it from becoming rampant in the Episcopal Church they would maintain the control of the State. That honest and reasonable men can seriously advance such a plea in face of the facts, is simply astounding. That Sacerdotalism derives immense advantage from the position which its teachers enjoy as the authorised religious instructors of the nation, and from the sanction given to its most extreme claims in the formularies which the State sets forth as the symbols of the national religion, is obvious enough. Wherein the restraint consists it is not so easy to discover. If, indeed, the legislature were resolved to get rid of the evil, it would find no slight difficulty from the fact that the bishops, acting under the direction of the law, have publicly, and in the most solemn form, conferred on the clergy the prerogatives of the priesthood. It may be possible that the clergy have exceeded the terms of their commission, extensive as those are, and may have afforded occasion for the interference of the law; but that Sacerdotalism must be ambitious indeed which advances claims that are not covered by the language of the ordination formula which is enjoined by the law of the land. Whether or not the priests to whom this power has been committed by the authority of the State wear vestments of many colors, burn incense in their churches, decorate their altars, and in general magnify their office, are matters of secondary importance. The important fact is that they are priests, and that the power they claim to remit sins, involving surely a right to receive the confession of the sins they are to forgive, is conferred by Act of Parliament.

The maintenance of an Establishment whose clergy are invested with priestly prerogatives is, to say the least, a remarkable expedient for the repression of Sacerdotalism. Assuredly, if that be its object, never was failure more complete. It would be in-

structive if those who are so afraid of what a Free Church, especially if richly endowed, might become would point out the direction in which the aggressions of Sacerdotalism might have been pushed further, in such a condition of liberty, than they have been under the supposed restraints which are now imposed upon an Established clergy. It is hardly possible that the exclusive rights and spiritual powers of the priesthood could be asserted in stronger terms; that the mystic grace alleged to reside in the sacraments they celebrate could be more fully proclaimed, whether in word or symbol; that the demand for the subjection of the conscience to the sway of the priest could be urged with more openness or enforced with more urgency. Nor are these evils confined to a small circle. The English Church Union, which really exists for the purpose of guarding what is called the most precious inheritance of the Church—her sacerdotal and sacramentarian teaching—numbers, according to the last report of the Council, 13,387 members, including 2,420 clergy. The Hon. C. L. Wood, the son of an eminent Whig statesman, and the President of the Union, in his speech at the annual meeting, added further that 'in 64 churches in London alone the holy mysteries had been celebrated that morning on behalf of that society; that vestments were now used in about 300 churches in England; and that apart from the Church Union more than a thousand priests were banded together for the maintenance of Church rights.' Church rights in this connection mean the usurpations of the priesthood, and so, on authority which cannot be disputed, we learn that more than 3,000 of the clergy are banded together in the interests of Sacerdotalism. In the same week in which this annual meeting of the Church Union was held, there was the gathering of a still more remarkable body, the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, whose anniversary is fixed for Corpus Christi day, of all the festivals of the Romish Church the most strongly sacramentarian, and on that account doubtless selected for the anniversary of a society of Anglican priests whose object is to repair the injury done to the Blessed Sacrament, and restore to it its rightful honours. We ourselves witnessed last year the 'celebration' held 'with this intent' at a church which has become one of the favourite shrines of this new worship, St. John the Divine, Kennington, and a ceremony more thoroughly Romish in spirit and character we have never seen, even in a Roman Catholic chapel. The history of the Kennington church is specially

noteworthy as an illustration of the extraordinary methods which the authorities of the Establishment adopt for the repression of Sacerdotalism. It has been consecrated since the passing of the Public Worship Act, and yet St. Alban's cannot boast of a ritual more extravagant or of priests more defiant of the law. At the time of the consecration the Bishop of Winchester was still under the influence of the feelings which had led to the passing of the Act by which Ritualism was to have been put down, and he ordered the super-altar to be removed, and prohibited the use of the sacrificial vestments. But on the very day after the consecration his commands were set at defiance, the forbidden super-altar was restored, and the obnoxious robes were assumed. Yet such is the meekness of the episcopal character, that Dr. Harold Browne has done nothing to vindicate his authority thus contemptuously set aside, and a few weeks ago was himself the principal object in a grand Ritualistic spectacle on the occasion of a confirmation in the very church where his episcopal injunctions had been so shamelessly burlesqued.

The men who ask us, in the face of such facts, to believe in the Establishment as a restraint upon Sacerdotalism, and urge the nation to continue privileges and endowments to the priests, in order that this control may be preserved, must have unlimited faith in human credulity. As if to discredit their views still further, we have just seen the Wesleyan Conference, the most powerful ministerial confederation in the kingdom, preparing to denude itself of its exclusive authority. There could scarcely be a stronger proof of the power of the laity in a Free Church than this very significant movement furnishes; and with it on the one side, and the alarming growth of Sacerdotalism in the Establishment on the other, we might be content to dismiss the objectors, whose one fear of Disestablishment is that it will strengthen the hands of the priests. But illogical and absurd as the reasoning seems to us, it would be very unwise to disregard the sentiment which inspires it. We have no temptation to such folly, for whatever our view of a logic which rests on prejudice as its base, and trusts to mere fancies for its proofs, we need not say that, in common with all Nonconformists, we are in perfect sympathy with the professed objects of these reasoners. The only difference between us and them is that, while they would preserve the institution which is fostering the evil of which we both alike complain, we would get rid of it, and take care to pre-

vent the establishment on its ruins of some other system which might be equally mischievous in its operations. Any scheme of disendowment should be constructed on such lines as to satisfy all reasonable critics, not only that it would not bring about a state of things worse than the present condition of anarchy and lawlessness, but that under it Sacerdotalism would have no advantage except that liberty which it must enjoy in common with all other systems, subject only to the condition by which all are bound, that it does not interfere with the peace and good order of the State.

It is necessary, further, that any proposals which are to have a chance of being adopted should not only satisfy the national conscience by their essential justice, but that they should appeal to the popular imagination by their completeness. A gigantic reform of this character can never be accomplished in opposition to the immense force of prejudice, of interest, and of religious feeling arrayed against it, except by a still mightier force of enthusiasm, which will certainly not be created in favour of a timid, hesitating, half-hearted measure. A scheme which was manifestly incomplete and inadequate, or one whose full operation was postponed to so distant a date that the present generation would not reap its benefits, would be predestined to failure. We have no desire that tempting baits should be dangled before the eyes of the people with the view of stimulating their cupidity, but we are satisfied that unless they can be shown that a great injustice is to be redressed, and a great national good to be secured, there is not the faintest hope of securing the impetus which is essential to carry a movement of this character to a successful issue.

For this reason, if for no other, we should strongly oppose the proposals which Mr. Hopgood, who some time ago propounded similar views in the 'Contemporary Review,' recently laid before the Unitarian Association. He shrinks from the idea of the violent wrench from the past which immediate Disendowment and even Disestablishment would involve. He does not think that the evils which the Establishment produces are so serious and intolerable as to render its speedy overthrow necessary, and unless necessary he holds it to be undesirable. He advocates, therefore, a method of 'painless extinction.' The present bishops and clergy are to retain their positions during life, but as they die off no successors are to be appointed. He calculates that about two hundred and fifty die annually, and that in about forty years the last of the generation

will have passed, and the work of Disestablishment be complete.

Considering that Mr. Hopgood says—

‘I take my stand on the ground that the existing arrangements under which the Established Church of this kingdom exists are essentially unjust—they are arrangements against which more than one half of the people of this realm have a right to complain, and, in fact, are bound to do so; and that it would indeed be surprising if Non-Episcopalians were not to complain of an arrangement which is altogether inconsistent with religious, political, and social equality’—

these suggestions, which involve the continuance of this injustice until the generation which is asked to effect its overthrow shall have passed away, are certainly surprising. When the late Lord Derby, then Mr. Stanley, introduced his great measure for the emancipation of the West Indian slaves, he proposed that a twelve years’ apprenticeship should prepare them for freedom. Even he did not go so far as to defer the boon of liberty to the next generation; but Macaulay, in a speech which (looking at the risk which he incurred by his opposition to the ministry, of which he was a member) did him more honour than even his most brilliant orations, pointed out the folly of an arrangement which would deny to ‘the negro the blessings of freedom, and to the planter the profits of slavery.’ An arrangement which is justly open to a similar criticism might, in Mr. Hopgood’s view, last for forty years, although it is not a comparatively small number of negroes, but more than one half of the English people, who are to be subjected to injustice, and a system ‘altogether inconsistent with religious, political, and social equality,’ which is to be continued for this long period! *Credat Judeus!*

The proposal carries with it its own condemnation, and if we think it desirable to examine it further, it is only because the apparent facility of accomplishing the change in this way attracts some minds. Mr. Hopgood has not realized the difficulties of the problem of which he fancies he has given a satisfactory solution. He seems to think it a very simple thing to pass a law which should carry out his idea. ‘Suppose the legislature, with a view to disestablishment, were to enact that henceforth no new nomination to a living should be made by any patron, whether queen, archbishop, bishop, college, or lay patron, what would be the result? Would it be very terrible?’ The querist, no doubt, supposes that the question admits but of one reply; but there are numbers, indeed almost the whole body of Church defenders, who would answer it in a way very dif-

ferent from that which he anticipates. We do not suppose, still less do we desire, that any rearrangement of the relations between the Church and the State would be very terrible to the members of the existing establishment, but, unfortunately, they do not agree in our view. To them any proposals which point to the overthrow of the institution would be intensely objectionable, and would be met with strenuous opposition. Mr. Hopgood’s suggestion does not even go so far as to guarantee them peace in their day, for although it may be probable that it will require forty years to remove the last vestiges of the establishment, yet no man knows that his own parish may not lose its advantages within the course of the next year. And even if this delay could be secured, what consolation would it afford to those who are in sympathy with the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and must regard any action of the legislature, though ‘only with a view to Disestablishment,’ as the entering on that fatal course which would ‘leave the nation without a God and without a Saviour.’

But if there is no warrant for a belief that the Anglican clergy or laity would take the same pleasant view as Mr. Hopgood of a measure which, by however dilatory a process, would ultimately deprive their Church of the unjust supremacy they so highly prize, it is perfectly certain that the attacking force would be materially weakened as soon as it became evident that even success would not produce immediate and perceptible change. The legislature would merely pass an Act ‘with a view to Disestablishment,’ and from the day when it came into operation no vacancy which might arise, whether among the bishops or the parochial clergy, would be filled up. In the meantime all things would continue as they are now. The House of Lords would still enjoy the presence of the right reverend prelates; the clergyman of each parish would remain the authorized religious instructor of its people; all the organisation of a national establishment would be maintained; Non-conformists would be branded as Nonconformists still; in short, not a vestige of a system which is truly pronounced ‘essentially unjust’ would be removed. Sectarian supremacy would indeed be under sentence of death, but for a period, computed to be from thirty to forty years, it would remain undisturbed, and probably become more offensive, ‘having great wrath, because it knoweth that it hath but a short time. It is asked, Where are the hardships inflicted upon Episcopalian, whether clergy or laity? We might ask in return, Where are the ad-

vantages to the half of the nation on whose behalf this great revolution is to be wrought? We believe, and shall presently show, that of all schemes which are likely to be suggested, this is that of which Episcopalians would have the strongest reason to complain. But even were it not so, some consideration is due to those who have so long been the victims of injustice, and they may properly demand that they be not doomed to endure the same wrong for another generation. Certainly, if this be what is contemplated, it is in the highest degree improbable that they would be roused to any display of energy in order to secure a promissory note payable by small instalments, and not to be fully redeemed till their personal interest in the payment has ceased altogether.

It is not hostility to episcopacy, still less any antagonism to the clergy, which creates the desire for Disestablishment. It is, therefore, mere trifling with the subject—rather it is a misrepresentation of the issue—to ask, ‘Can it be truly said that the Established Church is absolutely unendurable? Must it be stamped out like the cattle plague?’ It is meant, no doubt, to impale us on the horns of a dilemma. If we reply in the affirmative we are taunted with bigotry, if in the negative, we are asked why not wait until the present incumbents depart in peace? But, in truth, it is necessary only to define the terms to supply a complete answer. Episcopacy is not intolerable, still less are the clergy of the Episcopal Church intolerable, nor is there any desire or expectation of getting rid of either. But sectarian ascendancy, which is the one thing against which the efforts of Nonconformists are directed, is ‘absolutely unendurable.’ It is only as this is felt by a large majority of the nation—not by those only on whom it presses, but by Episcopalians also, whose attachment to their Church does not blind them to the wrong which is done to Dissenters by the present inequality—that a force of popular opinion will be created in favour of Disestablishment. When such a sentiment has acquired the momentum without which any success is impossible, it is idle to suppose that its victorious course will be arrested by such a concession as that we are considering, with which Mr. Hopgood would mock its reasonable expectations.

The hopelessness of the suggestion becomes more apparent when it is considered that even for this arrangement a good round sum will have to be raised at once in order to compensate the patrons. The value of their advowsons is destroyed as soon as the Act is passed, and it would be only an act

of bare justice that the payment for the property of which the State has deprived them should be immediate. Practically the nation buys up the patronage with the view of abolishing it, and must act as any other purchaser would be required to do, arrange the time and terms of payment without regard to the life of the incumbent. Twenty-three millions, we are told, would be required for this transaction, and it is suggested that ‘this money could easily be raised by the State and paid to the patrons, leaving the amount to be repaid by the parish, with interest, on the death of the incumbent, out of the sale moneys of the rectory, glebe lands, and tithes, the balance being retained by the parishes for such purposes as the legislature might determine.’ This seems a very simple process, and there is no doubt that a Chancellor of the Exchequer of very moderate abilities would find it perfectly easy to raise the money. Whether it would be as easy to find a Chancellor who would submit such a proposition to the House of Commons is much more doubtful. To a nation with the credit which England enjoys, the raising of such a sum would, of course, be a mere trifle, but it does not therefore follow there would be no difficulty in persuading Parliament to adopt the scheme. It means the payment of twenty-three millions for a bond which may possibly never be redeemed, and the statesman who has to convince Parliament and the country that this is a wise investment of money, will have no enviable task before him. The interests of the nation must be paramount to those of either Churchman or Nonconformist, and these, on financial as well as on other grounds, are utterly opposed to this plan of gradual disendowment. It would require a large sum of money, the guarantee for whose repayment would be very unsatisfactory, and the arrangements for which open up a long vista of endless complications and difficulties, and yet it would not effect a settlement. For who is sanguine enough to suppose that agitation would cease when the Act had been passed? Anglicans, dissatisfied with the future before their Church, would naturally seize every pretext for reopening the question, and would seek so to educate public opinion as to induce a reversal of the policy. Every difficulty that might arise in any parish where a vacancy had occurred would be magnified and made a plea for a return to the old system. Every period of Tory reaction would lead to a renewal of the struggle with the introduction of augmented bitterness. The nation would have parted with its money, and it would not have the satis-

faction of feeling that it had thus removed one of the most fruitful sources of intestine strife and division. It is far from impossible that some change of opinion might deprive it of the advantages for which it had paid so dearly.

Had the proposal come from the defenders of the Establishment as a compromise, it might have deserved consideration. But even apart from the hope that some change of circumstances and reaction in political feeling might lead to a cancelling of the sentence, there is no reason why Churchmen should regard slow and gradual destruction with any favour. The promoters of the scheme certainly do not intend to foster this hope in order to win the support of Churchmen. Yet it is hard to see what other benefit the latter could derive from the delay, while it is perfectly clear that it would very seriously hinder the organisation of a Free Episcopal Church. We may at once dismiss the talk about the wrong of 'needlessly inflicting enormous hardships upon innocent people,' and indeed it would be hard to understand the expression but for another about turning 'all the ministers out of their habitations,' which interprets it. The suggestion of hardship in connection with a statement that the nation would be required to pay eighty millions—Mr. Gladstone put it at ninety millions—to the Church, whose clergy are represented as sustaining this wanton and grievous injury, is entertaining. If indeed there is one thing more certain than another in reference to Disestablishment, it is that the clergy will not be allowed to suffer any pecuniary injury, and that sympathy expended upon them, and the hardships they may possibly have to endure, is a sheer waste of sentiment. No one wishes to deal severely with them, and if there were any such unchristian desire, they are quite strong enough to prevent its gratification. The most ardent members of the Liberation Society would be the first to urge that the change should be so made, as not only to respect their rights, but as far as possible to consult their feelings also.

Still the interests of individuals are not the only point to be considered in a settlement of this most difficult question. The nation must have regard to the welfare of the community at large, and further must take care that in showing tenderness to incumbents it does not do injustice to the Church from which it is withdrawing its fostering care. In thus speaking of an Episcopal Church as having an independent existence, we are of course employing popular language only. The fact that there is nothing of the kind, and that the present

members of the National Church would not, in the event of Disestablishment, be a Church at all until some new organisation was established, is one of the most serious objections to the plan of gradual extinction. It is doubtless meant in kindness to the Anglican Church, but it would really be the most cruel blow which could be inflicted upon her. The aim of her rulers would be to have the Church rebuilt on the old lines, with no more change than would be absolutely necessary to adapt it to the altered circumstances of the case. The effect of gradual disestablishment would be to render this impossible. In the first year it is calculated that about 250 benefices would become vacant. How are they to be filled up? The parishioners who would have the right of election would no doubt be anxious to secure the best men. But how are they to be obtained? In some cases—and those the benefices which it is most important to occupy effectively—the choice would probably fall upon the incumbent of some other parish, who would have to decide between the enjoyment of freedom, with its attendant uncertainties of income, and the advantages assured to him for his life. But his choice would determine not only his own position, but that of the parish over which he presides, for his removal would create a vacancy there which would at once deprive his present parishioners of any benefit supposed to result from their having a place under the old arrangement, and cast them upon their own resources. But suppose this difficulty surmounted, another at once arises. Under whose jurisdiction is the disestablished parish with its incumbent? The bishop of the diocese has no further control over it, and it may place itself under another, or resolve for the present to abjure episcopal authority altogether. This is no slight or imaginary difficulty. Suppose a vacancy to occur in St. Albans, Holborn. Is it at all probable that the congregation would wish their new incumbent to submit himself to the Bishop of London? And if not, what would be his and their relation to the Episcopal Church?

In the present state of opinion and feeling there would be numbers of such cases. As they multiplied, the episcopal organisation would be destroyed in detail without any possibility of construction until the dreary period of transition was run out. For it must not be forgotten that it is not rectors and vicars only who die. It is quite possible that a diocese might be deprived of its bishop, and it is almost superfluous to point out the innumerable difficulties which such a calamity would entail. Who is to choose

his successor? And who will acknowledge him when he is chosen? That the clergy who belong to the old régime would always cordially unite with the new ministers who have been appointed by the parishioners is more than any one who has a knowledge of clerical human nature can reasonably anticipate. The difficulties would not be slight if all belonged to the same school in theology, or even if their differences of opinion were not pressed so far as to create alienation of feeling. With the fierce antagonism which exists between the different parties which divide the Episcopal Church, they would be insuperable. It does not need any great ingenuity to anticipate endless controversies, both in relation to the election and to the position of the new bishops who might be chosen. In short, Episcopalians would have good reason to say that the State, after favouring their system for centuries, had now resolved to annihilate it altogether, and to do it by a process of slow torture, of all others the most irritating and humiliating. Possibly the sensitive feelings of the clergy, and especially of those who dwell in the pleasant rural mansions in which Squarson delights, might be spared. But even they could hardly desire this if the price paid was the sacrifice of the future of their Church.

There is another objection, or perhaps another form of the same objection, which is not less serious, and which cannot be ignored if the sympathies of a powerful section of the laity of the Church are to be enlisted in favour of the Establishment. Like a great many other theories, that which we are considering seems to think only of the interest or comfort of the clergy, and proceeds on the supposition that, if these be properly consulted, the demands of the Church will be fully met. But just as the freedom of the clergy means (as an eminent Churchman has said) the bondage of the laity, so here generosity to the clergy may be in numbers of cases an intolerable injury to the laity. There are at present many congregations with strong Protestant sympathies who are continually fretted and provoked by the sacramentarian teachings or the mediæval ceremonies which some young Ritualist rector chooses to inflict upon them. It is even within the compass of possibility that there are congregations who find nothing to edify and very much to irritate in the feeble platitudes which are read to them, Sunday after Sunday, by a clergyman who, however amiable and cultivated a gentleman, simply travesties the office of the preacher, and whom they go to hear only out of loyalty to the National Church.

Will not all congregations who are in such condition have just ground of complaint if these ministers are inflicted upon the parishes, in which they may be found at the time of Disestablishment, for the term of their natural lives?

The case of the latter, who suffer only from incompetence, is the least serious of the two. With the tendency at present prevailing, especially among the younger clergy, the former is a very grave matter indeed. There are numbers of Protestant laymen who regard the growth of sacerdotalism with extreme alarm. Their attachment to the Establishment is strong, and they have therefore endured much, hoping, though they must sometimes have felt that it was against hope, that deliverance would come. They have been trained in the belief that the Establishment is the bulwark of Protestantism, and they find it very hard to accept the idea which events are nevertheless forcing upon them, that it is an outwork of Romish invaders. But let them be convinced of this, and they would be the first to seek its overthrow. We must abandon all hope, however, of gaining their co-operation, or even of neutralising their opposition, if we propose that things shall remain as they are during the lifetime of the present clergy, that is, that for that lengthened period their Church shall have no opportunity of purging itself of the leaven of Roman error which is working so powerfully and disastrously.

It is fortunate that we have already had one great measure of disestablishment, the experience of whose operations will be a most valuable guide in the preparation of another. There are some who would have us regard it only as a beacon to warn us against the repetition of its errors; but those who talk in this reckless manner are strangely forgetful of the difficulties under which it was passed, and of the magnitude of the work it has accomplished. Granted that the Irish clergy have shown a marvellous skill in manipulating its provisions for their own advantage, and that they have been aided in their ignoble task by a too accommodating body of commissioners; granted that not a few of these devoted champions of the Church have thought more of themselves than of her, and have made a large profit out of her misfortunes; granted that (as was urged by a speaker at the Unitarian Association) in Ulster larger funds are at the disposal of the Disestablished Church, while 'the sort of liberty that was once allowed' is not tolerated; that is, that clergymen have not such opportunities as they formerly had for teaching

one creed, whereas they had subscribed another, a kind of liberty for which we have no great respect, and whose loss does not, therefore, seem to us a great misfortune; granted, in short, that the friends of the Church were able to take advantage of the desire of the nation for a speedy settlement, and to indulge in a little sharp practice; it is, after all, only the loss of money which the State has suffered, while on the other hand it has been able to establish perfect religious equality.

The more we study the Act the more are we struck with the evidences of high statesmanship which it bears throughout. The boldness of its conception, the thoroughness of its proposals, the remarkable mastery of the details of arrangement, necessarily very complicated, are worthy of all admiration. It must be remembered, too, that some of its faults are no part of the original measure, but blots with which Tory obstinacy and clerical selfishness blurred and defaced a noble work. As a measure of Disestablishment, it is hard to see how it could be improved. With a decided and vigorous hand it at once completely severed the tie by which the Church was bound to the State, and in this respect its precedent cannot be too closely copied. There is no reason to believe that its opponents would have desired that the change, if it was to take place, should have been more gradual; and whatever discussions may arise now, it is tolerably certain that any statesman who may undertake to deal with the English establishment will feel that his task must be performed with a like promptitude.

It is only the terms of Disendowment which it is at all necessary to revise. The spectacle of the Irish Church, with the large revenues she has contrived to appropriate, has undoubtedly created a strong prejudice against the idea of Disestablishment in the minds even of many Liberal politicians. In the earnestness of their protests, they forget, however, that the evil is not that which they most apprehend and which they are so fond of predicting in relation to this country. The Church has been scandalized, but she has not been sacerdotalized. The State has been plundered, but it has not been priest-ridden. We see no reason why the money of the nation should be foolishly squandered; but pecuniary loss—that is, the loss of a portion of that which the nation has yet to recover—is a small matter compared with the spiritual evils with which we are continually menaced as the necessary result of allowing a richly endowed Church to pass from under the control of the State. It is perfectly right that the estate of the nation

should be secured and made available for national purposes. But if any equitable settlement would leave the Anglican Church in the possession of large revenues, that is no reason on the one hand why the State should endow her with public property and with special privileges, in order that it may establish the right to a control over her even in the management of her own patrimony; nor, on the other hand, why we should alarm ourselves with the fear that she would abuse her freedom by becoming the instrument of the priest. In a free Church the power of the laity must be felt. It is a singular fact that the very party who profess themselves so fearful that sacerdotalism would become rampant in a Disestablished Church, are the first to pour ridicule on Dissenters for the alleged subjection of their ministers to their congregations. It would seem as though the only form of lay government which they would approve of is that which is exercised through Parliament, which though including many who own no allegiance to the establishment, and some who are the bitter enemies, not only of Protestantism but even of Christianity, is assumed to be the representative of the lay element in the Anglican Church. The State is their idol, and they would invest it with power to repress the excesses of liberty as well as to curb the arrogance of priest-craft. Our faith is in liberty, and we have no fear of a free Church, even though richly endowed.

We admit, indeed, that if the clergy were to be treated as though they were the Church, and an amount of compensation given to the clerical body, or even to a Church body in which the clergy were predominant, which would render them independent of their congregations, things might remain as bad as they are—worse they could hardly be. But unless the laity of the Church, in their blind opposition to Disestablishment, are content to play into the hands of the priesthood, such an arrangement could never be made. Nonconformists, so far from being disposed to this, would rather wait for Disestablishment until public opinion was so educated as to render it impossible. Those who suspect them of an alliance with High Churchmen only betray an utter ignorance of their spirit and their aims. With the resistance of conscientious men to any dictation of the State in matters of faith or worship, they have an intense sympathy, which is independent altogether of their views on other points. But they are equally decided in their opposition to the assertion of this liberty by those who do not hesitate to accept the

gifts of the State, while they scornfully reject its control. They believe that if a Church establishment is to exist at all, it must be Erastian, and they cannot coalesce with those who would assert spiritual freedom within a national Church, or who would endeavour to effect disestablishment on such terms as might lead to the strengthening of the hierarchical system. For a certain distance their path and that of the High Churchmen may seem the same. But except in the case of those who are prepared to pay the price for freedom, and while renouncing Cæsar's authority to sacrifice also Cæsar's honours, the point of divergence must soon be reached.

The great mistake in the Disestablishment of the Irish Church was the recognition of a Church body authorized to negotiate with the Commissioners, to make terms with them for the clergy, to receive the large compensations awarded to the Church, and altogether to represent and uphold its corporate interests. The creation of such a body introduced an entirely new element, in fact, involved the establishment of a new Church; and were so evil a precedent followed in this country, the consequences would, in all probability, be much worse than they have been in Ireland. We have been told again and again, and we are extremely thankful for the reminder, that the Church of England has no corporate interests; and this statement, resting on authority like Dr. Freeman's, suggests the principle on which any act of disendowment should proceed. There is no single corporation to which the ecclesiastical property of the country belongs, and it would be an act of gratuitous folly for the legislature to create or even recognise one, and enter into dealings with it as to any rights which it may be supposed to possess, as representing those who adhere to the doctrine and ritual at present prescribed by the Act of Uniformity. There is an inaccurate mode of speaking on the subject, which would be of little importance were it not that it proceeds from a radical error of thought which interferes with intelligent discussion. There are also many members of the Anglican Church who want to unite the advantages of an independent sect with the prestige of the National Church. When they have to speak of questions of right and property, theirs is a private system with its own constitution and estate. When, on the contrary, they want to enforce its claims to special distinction or emolument, it is a great public institution to which the whole nation belongs. They seem to forget that it cannot be both at once. For centuries it has

been the National Church, and while it has derived immense advantages from this, it has been without that independent organization which the humblest of the sects it has been accustomed to despise have enjoyed. Those who retain their allegiance to its principles will, of course, constitute themselves into a Church as soon as this national establishment ceases to exist; and the new Episcopal Church may, in a certain sense, be regarded as the legitimate successor of the Church at present established. But even if theological continuity be maintained, there will be no such relation to the old as would give the new corporation claims upon any property at present held by the various ecclesiastical bodies in the kingdom.

This is not a very palatable truth to Churchmen, but it is one from which it is impossible to escape. They have been accustomed to regard their hierarchy, their Articles, and their Liturgy as the essential elements of the national Church; and it is not pleasant to be told that they are merely its accidents, which the law attaches to it at present, but which the law might separate from it to-morrow. What is worse, their Church (as some defenders of the establishment have been so anxious to inform us without very carefully considering what their own principles involved) never had an existence independent of the State. Certain ecclesiastical divisions have been established by law. A hierarchy, with its gradation of offices, has been set up by the law as the national Church polity. Certain doctrines and ceremonies have been prescribed by law as a form of belief and worship. The national Church is really the Act of Uniformity. Repeal that, and it ceases to exist; alter it, so as to establish a Romish system, and the national Church becomes an entirely different institution.

The most recent defender of the establishment has asserted all this in even stronger language. Here are some of his statements:—

'To those who think that the theological changes made at the Reformation were sufficient to constitute a new Church, it need only be said that the question of the connection between the Church and the State has nothing whatever to do with the theology of that Church. A Church may change its theology any number of times, and yet remain the same Church in that legal and historical sense with which alone we, in this inquiry, are concerned.*'

With the full courage of his convictions, and carrying out his principles to a point

* Harwood's 'Disestablishment,' p. 94.

from which many would shrink, Mr. Harwood does not hesitate to insist on the continuity of the Church during the times of the Commonwealth. Its constitution was changed, but it was not destroyed. The accidents were altered, but the essence remained. The bishops were set aside and the Liturgy disused, but that did not affect the existence of the Church of England. We do not vouch for the accuracy of Mr. Harwood's history, that indeed not being one of his strong points, but it would be hard to disprove the correctness of his principles.

'To talk, as is so often done, as if the Church had died with Charles I. and revived with Charles II., is to mistake altering a national Church for destroying it. . . . It is true that bishops were abolished, but episcopacy is no essential part of a national Church; and the Presbyterianism which took its place was based on the old parochial system, and was still more closely allied with the State.*'

With still more distinctness he enunciates his general principles in these words, remarkable as coming from a champion whom so many of the organs of the Establishment have applauded, but as true as extraordinary.

'This supreme authority for the Church of England has always been lodged in the State, and it is the Church merely on account of that fact. Convocation may be destroyed, as it has frequently been suspended. Bishops may be abolished, and the whole machinery of Church discipline may be changed, but as long as its organisation remains under this State control it will continue to be the Church of England, and it will cease to be that Church as soon as it is removed from that control; in fact, the organisation itself would cease to exist.†'

This is an unfortunate position for a Church to occupy, but it is only the necessary result of the principles on which Anglican advocates of different schools have insisted. There is, in fact, no other ground on which the continuity of the Anglican Church can be maintained. If divines like the Bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, who find a point of connection in the very thin line of episcopal succession, do not see the weakness of their case, it may be safely said that the blindness is shared only by their own school. Theological continuity there is none, and the only ground on which the identity of the Pre-Reformation Church with that now existing can be asserted is that laid down by Mr. Harwood. But that being so, it is clear that when the State re-

solves to do away with a National Church, the Episcopalians who now belong to that community have no legal right to regard themselves as a disinherited body, to whom adequate compensation should be made. The nation would undoubtedly rise above a technical view of this kind, and looking at facts as they are, would recognise the equitable claims which might be urged on behalf of those who had largely increased the property of a national institution. But we should demur strongly to the precedent of the Irish Church being followed, or to bishops or to Convocation being treated as representatives of a Church entitled to compensation. It may be that the Episcopalians may choose to place themselves under the rule of their present bishops and clergy, but this should be their own voluntary act. The existing hierarchy is that of the national Church. The legislature has no right to impose it upon any new Church which may come into existence when the present system has been abolished.

The first condition of any wise and equitable settlement therefore is that it be based on a recognition of the special character of the property to be dealt with, as consisting of separate estates belonging to a number of corporations, sole and aggregate. It is hardly necessary to say that all personal rights must be scrupulously respected and redeemed by compensation which should go beyond even the requirements of law or equity, and be marked by a generosity such as the circumstances of the case would dictate to all right-minded men. There is one exception to this. The patrons must receive the fair market price of property they at present hold, and no more. Anomalous and utterly indefensible as is the power they exercise, it has the sanction of the law, and is as much a part of an estate as the manor-house in whose lord it may be vested. In dealing with the holders of so very questionable a right, however, we should proceed on the most rigid business principles. It is not a case in which any regard should be paid to a sentimental unwillingness to part with a venerable heirloom. The nation deems it wise to put an end to a system to which it has hitherto given its warrant, and is bound, both by justice and precedent, to purchase the property which it is resolved to sequester, or, rather, to annihilate. But further it is not called upon to go. It is not to be deterred from a great reform because, in some of its incidents, it will be unpleasant to those who are pleased with the notion that they have territorial rights over the souls as well as the bodies of men; nor have they a right to expect compensation for the

* Harwood's 'Disestablishment,' p. 83.

† Ibid. p. 47.

wound inflicted on their dignity by the withdrawal of this prerogative.

There are two views as to the principles on which the claims of the clergy should be estimated. At first sight it seems a natural and obvious course to leave them in enjoyment of their incomes for their lives, and this would at once be accepted in relation to all who have arrived at such an age as to render it all but impossible that they should undertake any new duty. But it is urged, and not without reason, that men who are in their prime cannot expect such favourable terms. The dissolution of the establishment releases them from all obligation of ministerial service, and the result of guaranteeing to them their previous income for life would be to confer on them a valuable boon at the cost of the parishioners. They might decline to form any new engagement, or, if they continued in the ministry of the new Episcopal Church, they might claim to dictate their own terms, without regard to the compensation which the State has given them. If the experience of the Irish Church had not taught us so different a lesson, it might have been argued that these were visionary fears, and the clergy would certainly subordinate their personal interests to those of the Church. There are no doubt large numbers, perhaps a majority of the clergy, who would feel themselves bound, not more by honesty than by Christian impulse, to take a nobler view of their responsibilities; but we are not surprised that there are those who, with the Irish beacon to warn them, are unwilling to trust in this, and who maintain that all demands would be satisfied if the compensation to those of the clergy who are in the fulness of their strength were in an ascending scale according to their age. Admitting that much may be urged on both sides, our own preference is for the former plan. If it appear to some needlessly generous, it should be remembered that the loss of status will itself be esteemed a humiliation, and probably create bitter resentment, which it assuredly is not desirable to aggravate by inflicting, if not absolute pecuniary loss (and in many cases there must be this), at all events great uncertainty and anxiety. We should not be afraid of showing an excessive liberality to individuals, provided it is not abused so as to provide endowment for a new Church. Our battle is against a system, not against individuals, for the assertion and development of a great principle, rather than for the redistribution of a national estate. We shall not be greatly troubled even though the present race of clergy are gainers in a pecuniary sense by the change, and, in fact,

should infinitely prefer that this were the case than that they should be left with any ground for complaint that justice to the Nonconformists and the nation had been secured only by inflicting serious hardship upon them.

The settlement, however, is made more difficult by its relations to the free Episcopal Church of the future. The nation might be content to bear pecuniary loss, and remembering that it would hardly be possible to offer men who were beyond fifty years of age less than their full income, and that these would probably include a considerable proportion of the incumbents of the bishoprics and the richer benefices, this might not be so large as a superficial view would suggest. But Episcopalians might reasonably complain that an arrangement which left their clergy free to decline all service, and yet continued to them their full income, would be unfair to the congregations. Whether it might be possible to provide against this objection, by making a certain part of the income contingent on the continuance of ministerial service, is a point on which we will not venture a decided opinion. Such a proposal would be open to serious theoretical and some practical objections, but in many cases there can only be a choice of difficulties, and we must be satisfied to take the course in which they appear to be the least serious.

To the parishioners should be left the disposal of the property, whether in buildings or endowments, belonging to the several parishes. The surplus fund which would remain after the satisfaction of all reasonable claims might be appropriated to some object or objects of general utility. The imperial legislature should either strictly define the purposes, or name several from which the parishioners might select one or more. The administration in any case should be local, and one aim should be to give every parish a direct participation in the benefits of the fund.

The control of the parish church might be entrusted to a representative parochial board. The idea of selling the parish churches, and throwing the proceeds into a general fund, has been mooted, but could hardly be entertained by any one who has a true conception of the intensity of the feeling which has gathered round these venerable edifices. The mere proposal would be resented as an insult to those who fancy themselves already the victims of injustice, and, without securing any practical end, would increase the fierceness of the strife. The simplest solution of a problem which cannot be divested of difficulty, is to leave

them as suggested in the hands of the parishioners. That would doubtless mean their appropriation in the vast majority of cases (nineteen out of every twenty at least, probably a higher proportion) to the Episcopal Church; but that does not disturb us. We should protest against their being vested in a Church body which might make them the temples of sacerdotalism, but it is a very different thing to give the parishioners the control of their own parish church, even though it might happen that in some cases they would devote it to Ritualistic uses. If the people should prove to be thus so enamoured of priests and their teachings we should deplore it, but we should not be deterred by such a fear from adopting what appears to be a wise and equitable course. We have, indeed, no such apprehension, but believe, on the contrary, that no greater hindrance could be interposed to the growth of priestcraft than to give the people the power over the building. Of course it would be held under certain specified conditions, the freehold being made inalienable, and a period fixed for the revision of the mode of appropriation. The cathedrals and a few other churches, which, though not actually cathedrals, are of the same class, should be exempted from the application of the law. They are national and monumental buildings which the nation ought to retain in its own hand, caring for their preservation and determining the uses to which they shall be applied.

But beside the ancient parish churches and the endowments attaching to them, there remains a large amount of property which has been created during the present century, and a great part of it within the last fifty years, and which on that account is supposed to be held by a different tenure from that which was inherited from the ante-Reformation Church. This, at least, it is confidently argued must be the property of the Anglican Church. After what we have already urged, we need hardly say that we see no validity in such a plea. We have only to define the terms to see its weakness. For what Church is meant? That to which it was given was the Church of England as by law established, or, to put it more correctly, the property was vested in trustees, to be employed in accordance with the regulations of that Church. It is clear that the characteristic and distinctive feature of the trust is that the Church on whose behalf it is created be the national one; and it is equally clear that so long as this condition is fulfilled no question can arise as to the duty of the trustees. The law might establish Romish doctrine and Romish worship in the

national Church, and this so-called private property of the Anglican Church would be used for this legalized Romanism on the same principle as that in virtue of which property, originally devoted to Romanism, has for three centuries been held by Protestants.

It is certain that no distinction can be maintained between the two kinds of property. The one belongs to the national Church as much as the other, and when such an institution ceases to exist, where is the rightful heir to these modern endowments to be found? Even if we were to concede that the donors meant to endow an Episcopal Church, that would not end the difficulty, for we are continually told by Church advocates that Disestablishment would leave us with two if not three Episcopal Churches. Again, if, as Dr. Littledale asserts, there are 'two religions' within the establishment, it is reasonable to ask to which of them does this 'private property' belong. We have heard of an evangelical who built two churches, but was so unfortunate as to be driven first from one and then from the other by the introduction of Ritualism, that is, by the invasion of another religion. In the days of Disestablishment whose shall those churches and their endowments be? The fact is the internal divisions of the establishment add immensely to the complications of the question, and interpose insuperable obstacles to treating the buildings and funded question as 'private property.' At the same time every one must feel that, whatever be the actual law, these creations of modern benevolence cannot equitably be dealt with on the same principles as the foundations of mediæval times. Where the donors are living, the obvious course would be to give them the right of disposing of that which they had given, and the same privilege might be extended to their immediate heirs. Where the donors are dead, or where the churches have been built by subscription, there seems no better plan than to give the congregations the buildings, and probably the endowments also, or rather the surplus which would remain after satisfying the claims of the patrons and the incumbents.

Our space is exhausted, and we are, therefore, compelled to leave many important questions untouched, and to omit a fuller exposition and defence of the proposals we have indicated. All that we have sought to do is to supply a basis for discussion. All suggestions for the present must be tentative, and we hope that the promised scheme of the Liberation Society will be of this character. Nothing would be more unwise than to lay down an elaborate scheme in any

formal manner, and the prudence with which the work of the Society has always been conducted inspires the confidence that it will make no such attempt. But the time has arrived when the country should have some idea of the general lines on which a plan of Disendowment should be constructed.

We shall have done something if we have shown that Nonconformists have no sectarian feeling to gratify, and still less any sectarian interest to promote, in the settlement; and that their desire is to see a proper jealousy and watchfulness over the rights of the nation, united with the most generous consideration for those who have come, from the lengthened tenure of a great national estate which their Church has enjoyed, to regard it as her own property. We cannot so far consult this feeling as to perpetuate a system of injustice out of deference to it, but our endeavour should be to make the redress of a long-standing wrong as inoffensive as possible.

ART. V.—*American Ecclesiastical Law.*

- (1.) *Two Lectures upon the Relations of Civil Law to Church Polity, Discipline, and Property.* By Hon. WILLIAM STRONG, LL.D., Justice of the Supreme Court, U.S. Dodd and Mead, New York. 1870.
- (2.) *Church and State in the United States, with an Appendix on the German Population.* By JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, Boston. James R. Osgood and Co. 1873.
- (3.) *American Ecclesiastical Law: the Law of Religious Societies, Church Government, and Creeds, with Practical Forms.* By R. H. TYLER, Counsellor-at-Law, Albany. 1868.
- (4.) *Ecclesiastical Law of the State of New York.* By MURRAY HOFFMAN, New York. 1868.
- (5.) *The American Reports; containing all Decisions of General Interest decided in the Courts of Last Resort of the several States; with Notes and References.* By ISAAC GRANT THOMPSON, Albany. John D. Parsons, jun.
- (6.) *Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States.* Reported by JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE, Washington. W. H. and O. H. Morrison.

AN important question has been slowly rising in Europe for the last few years, a question which Europe has scarcely the materials for answering. The old dispute of Church and State, establishment and disestablishment, has suffered a visible pause, while men have been asking, Suppose that the Church were disestablished, what would thereafter be its relation to the State and to the law? Such forecast is at the present

moment inevitable. Continental Liberalism has always made the deliverance of the State from the influence of the Church part of its programme; and events like those happening in Germany, while increasing the dislike to the conjunction of the one power with the other, naturally raise the question how far they can in any circumstances be quite separated. The Latin Church, on its part, has always formally protested against the separation of the two powers,* but, practically, it has for more than a generation begun to make preparation for the seemingly inevitable future. In France, the idea of Montalembert, that the Church should exchange privilege for freedom, and so reconcile itself with democracy, has borne fruit at last in measures like the recent Universities Law, promoted by M. de Montseigneur Dupanloup. Austria and Spain have both abandoned the old concordats, and in Italy the pope and priesthood hold themselves apart from the State even ostentatiously. In Germany the demand for mere freedom, as distinguished from the ancient claim of supremacy kept in reserve, has become shrill and loud, and it has as yet been unavailing. The consequence has been that in all Protestant countries, and notably in our own, ecclesiastics like Cardinal Manning have conspired with laymen to fix attention on what may be called the universal and necessary relations of Church and State. That there are such relations is now acknowledged, but it has been generally felt only within the last few years. Disestablish every Church in the world to-morrow, and we are only upon the threshold of a new régime. The great questions will not then be ended, but rather begun. Unless we exterminate its members as well as disestablish the Church, the law of the land must immediately take cognisance of it in innumerable relations; and the judicial, if not also the legislative authority, must fix the principles upon which the law is to deal with it. In England this question has come upon us with a certain surprise. With the complex and often highly artificial relations of establishment we have all been acquainted. But supposing them all swept away, what are the necessary and fundamental relations of mere civil law to a Christian Church? In realising the importance of this new problem, men have in recent years hazarded answers to it in different directions, very much according to their previous

* Among the errors 'proscribed and condemned' in the Syllabus of 1864, the fifty-fifth is the opinion that 'Ecclesia a statu, statusque ab Ecclesia sejungendus est.'

prepossessions. Those who have been oppressed by the prejudices and restrictions of establishment have generally looked with more hopefulness to the free Church in the free State, as free even although implicated with laws, and harmless though not under State regulation. Those, on the other hand, who have a passion for existing institutions, have tried to show that the Christian Church, if it claim from the law mere toleration or recognition (instead of privilege and power), will almost necessarily lose its freedom, and become one of the many associations under the State. And if so, why not acquiesce in State control as it at present exists? On both sides the reasoning has been to a great extent theoretical, and there has been a plentiful lack of facts in dealing with a legal problem of the highest importance for the coming time. Where indeed are lawyers and statesmen to look for precedents for a region of jurisprudence upon which Europe has scarcely entered?

The answer is plain. It is in the United States of America that the great experiment of freedom has been chiefly tried, and that experiment has now lasted for a hundred years. We are not aware that any attempt has yet been made to present to the English public the results of that century of ecclesiastical jurisprudence. In doing so in these pages we build chiefly upon a study of the excellent and well-condensed reports of the American judiciary, and we have derived less advantages from popular sketches like Dr. Thompson's, or special studies like Mr. Hoffman's, or detailed manuals like that of Mr. Tyler. But while writing, we have received an early copy of the two lectures by Judge Strong, one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, which contain an admirable and lucid survey of the whole field we have been investigating. On a few controverted points Mr. Strong's opinion (given with a freedom which judges in this country do not emulate) seems to us to vary from the recent conclusions of the court which he adorns. But generally we have found his views to be supported by authority as well as stated with power, and we gladly welcome his assistance in the study of a jurisprudence which all foreign lawyers admire. And the ecclesiastical department of that law is instructive not to statesmen and publicists only—they have always found the Western Republic full of interest—it is specially so to lawyers. The great questions of Church Law where there is no establishment are mainly questions of jurisdiction—questions of the limits beyond which the court will or will not go in dealing with Church matters. Now the Ameri-

can Republic, compacted of so many quasi-sovereign states, each possessing its separate law and independent judiciary, has become very much the home of international law. Its illustrious names in this department, well known to English lawyers, are not accidental phenomena. They are the result of an immense mass of study on this point, carried on habitually and necessarily by their jurists and professional men, a study which results in their judges dealing with matters of jurisdiction almost as by instinct. Nor is this all. Not only does the proximity of so many sovereign states force the state courts into questions of jurisdiction; the position of these courts themselves is, it is well known, higher than is conceded to any law court in our own country, or perhaps in the world. Each of them is invested with a certain control even over its legislature, and part of their ordinary duty is to set aside all enactments which they judge to be unconstitutional. The Supreme Court of the United States in particular has a position accorded to it which is quite unexampled. To it belongs the duty of judging between state and state, and between each state and the Union as a whole; but in addition it has committed to it the high function of reviewing and cancelling whatever has been incompetently enacted not only by the legislatures of the several states, but even by the president and congress—by supreme legislative and supreme executive combined. No doubt this pre-eminence is only exercised in defence of the constitution of the United States; but a position so exceptional imparts dignity and power to all the decisions of such a tribunal on questions of constitutional law in general. And the same effect is traceable very visibly in the case of the several state judiciaries, as the admiring student of constitutional questions in their law reports must acknowledge. Now it is to constitutional law in the most general sense that our subject leads us. Church law where a Church is established by statute may be merely legal and technical, but questions as to the inevitable relations to the law, of the Christian Church even when not established, are almost necessarily constitutional. Accordingly we shall find that the supreme courts of the several states of the Union, and the one Supreme Court of the United States, have had alike to deal in the most general way with this matter of Church rights and Church functions ever since the declaration of independence.

A foundation for this was already laid, both in the Federal Constitution and in the constitution of the individual states. These do not profess to ignore religion, but to

guard it, by separating it from the sphere of the civil power, while they defend the civil power at the same time from intrusion upon its sphere by the Church. The only original article in the constitution of the United States on this subject declared that 'no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States,'* a provision purely for the protection of civil rights. But the first clause added in 1789 provides that 'congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' and the suggestion of these last words, that the exercise of religion is recognised, and its freedom protected against establishment, is more than borne out by the constitutions of the separate states, as these are detailed, but not classified, by Mr. Tyler. The 'natural and unalienable right' of all men 'to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience,' is claimed as fundamental in the constitutions of Maine, of New Hampshire, of Vermont, of Ohio, of Florida, of Kentucky, of Arkansas, and of Texas. The constitutions of Pennsylvania, of Illinois, of Tennessee, and of Missouri prefer to claim the same right as 'natural and indefeasible.' Maryland guards it as 'the duty' of every man; New Jersey, Georgia, and Alabama, as his 'inestimable privilege;' Massachusetts as both his 'right and duty;' Indiana and Oregon as his 'natural right;' Delaware as 'through Divine goodness his right by nature.' And on this foundation all of these state constitutions go on to provide that (to quote the express words of those of New York, South Carolina, California, and Nevada) 'the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference,† shall for ever be allowed;' or as Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Kansas put it, the original 'right' of all shall 'never be infringed' by 'any preference given by law to religious establishments or mode of worship.' Virginia puts the freedom of man in religion, 'or the duty which we owe to our Creator,' as part of the 'basis and foundation of government.' Rhode Island, Michigan, Iowa, and North Carolina‡ all found the constitutional guarantee that no man shall be obliged to 'frequent or support' any worship other than his own, upon the original freedom to worship God; and lastly, Connecticut wraps up

all in the single provision 'that the exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship shall for ever be free to all persons.'

It is plain that these constitutional provisions amount to the strongest recognition of religion. It is not ignored, but relegated to its own sphere, which though not that of the civil power, is in the very act declared to be a great one. And the mere 'freedom to worship God,' which they claim, has been found to result in all variety of the most vigorous Church life. Accordingly, American law has always been in the closest contact with every form of the modern ecclesiastical problem. Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, Episcopacy, and Roman Catholicism are all powerfully represented.

How does the law deal with the non-established Church as a whole, and under its various modifications of faith and government?

1. *American law acknowledges a jurisdiction in the Church; leaves all Church questions (questions of worship, doctrine, discipline, and membership) to the decision of the Church itself; and refuses to review these decisions.*

During the last hundred years Church life in the United States, under all the forms which we have mentioned, and under a hundred others less important, has been carried on from day to day with all the energy characteristic of the country. Innumerable Church questions, at least as intricate and difficult as those which the civil courts dispose of, emerge every week. In Congregational Churches they are dealt with by the Congregational authorities, or by the congregation itself; in Hierarchical Churches they may be referred to the hierarchy; in Presbyterian Churches to the representatives of the whole body or other superior judicatory. All this vast Church business of America has been flowing on side by side with the civil and commercial tide. Over the latter the courts of each state assert their absolute authority. How do they deal with Church questions, or do they ever consent to deal with them at all? On this point there seems never to have been any doubt, or any diversity of practice throughout the Union. The Church is assumed to be a separate domain, with its own laws, organisation, and jurisdiction. 'This court,' said the Chief Justice of Kentucky,* and his opinion is repeated by the Supreme Court of the United States, as adopted by that high authority. 'This court, having no ecclesiastical jurisdiction, cannot revise or

* Art. vi. § 3.

† Mississippi omits the word 'preference.'

‡ The North Carolina Constitution goes further, and denies office in the state to infidels or Roman Catholics.

* Shannon v. Frost, 3 Ben. Monroe.

question ordinary acts of Church discipline.

The judicial eye cannot penetrate the veil of the Church for the forbidden purpose of vindicating the alleged wrongs of excised members. When they became members they did so upon the condition of continuing or not, as they and their Churches might determine; and they thereby submit to the ecclesiastical power, and cannot now invoke the supervisory power of the civil tribunals.* Kentucky is a border state, but in the south the rule of law is the same. Chancellor Johnson, in delivering 'the careful and well considered judgment'† of the Court of Appeals of South Carolina, says:‡ 'it belongs not to the civil power to enter into or review the proceedings of a spiritual court. The structure of our government has, for the preservation of civil liberty, rescued the temporal institutions from religious interference. On the other hand, it has secured religious liberty from the invasion of the civil authority. The judgments, therefore, of religious associations, bearing on their own members, are not *examinable* here.' So in the north, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania holds‡ that 'the decisions of ecclesiastical courts, like every other judicial tribunal, are final, as they are the best judges of what constitutes an offence against the Word of God and the discipline of the Church. Any other than those courts must be incompetent judges of matters of faith, discipline, and doctrine; and civil courts, if they should be so unwise as to attempt to supervise their judgment on matters which come within their jurisdiction, would only involve themselves in a sea of uncertainty and doubt, which would do anything but improve either religion or good morals.' It is useful to compare these striking general statements of principle with the highest point which our own jurisprudence on the same subject has reached. In the case of *Long v. the Bishop of Cape Town*, the Privy Council laid down§ that the Church of England, in places where there is no Church established by law, is in 'the same situation with any other religious body—in no better, but in no worse position.' What is that situation?

'The members may adopt rules for enforcing discipline within their body, which will be binding on those who expressly or

by implication have assented to them. It may be further laid down that where any religious or other lawful association has not only agreed on the terms of its union, but *has also constituted a tribunal to determine* whether the rules of the association have been violated by any of its members or not, and what shall be the consequence of such violation, then the decision of such tribunal will be binding when it has acted within the scope of its authority, has observed such forms as the rules require, if any forms be prescribed, and if not, has proceeded in a manner consonant with the principles of justice.'

The chief difference between this dictum and those of the American lawyers is plainly the immediate reference by the English court of the right of Church tribunals to the source of contract, and the careful measurement of their powers by the contract which has created them. For most practical purposes there is probably no difference between the two. The legal theory which founds Church jurisdiction on contract will generally, if it is honestly worked, find as much included in the jurisdiction so created as will the other or American doctrine, which makes it part of public law. The difference in all such cases is chiefly one of the presumption of law. The American courts assume that every Church has jurisdiction in the ordinary sense, and has provided some means for working it out, until the contrary is proved, and they accordingly refuse to review what is admitted to have been a Church question. The English law, on the other hand, only expresses its willingness to sustain Church jurisdiction when it is shown that such jurisdiction exists. In one sense they are both founded on voluntary contract. In both cases it is the voluntary act or acquiescence of the individual which makes him a member of his Church. But when he is admitted or proved to be a member, the American law steps forward, and without any further proof or inquiry acknowledges—seemingly as a matter of public or constitutional law—a separate Church jurisdiction, which in all Church matters is final and conclusive. We shall in the next paragraph notice the important provision which counterbalances this. But meantime how suggestive is the fact at which we have already arrived! The one great country in the world which has no established Church—no Church with a jurisdiction conferred upon it by the State—is the country whose jurisprudence acknowledges all Churches as having a jurisdiction conferred upon them by the conscience of their members—a ju-

* So characterised by the Court of the United States.

† *Harmon v. Dreher*. 2 Speers' Eq. 87.

‡ *German Reformed Church v. Siebert*. 2 Barr 291.

§ *Ecclesiastical Judgments of the Privy Council*. Murray, London, 1865. P. 310.

risdiction in its own sphere, exclusive even of the law of the land!

2. *American law claims for itself complete and exclusive control, not only over the life, liberty, and goods of all Churchmen, but over all Church Property and Church Funds.* The claim of the Latin Church, that the civil power shall look up to the spiritual as authoritative, so as to take from it the rule and limits of its own actings, has been rejected by every state in the Union as thoroughly as by Northern Europe. Of no other state in the world, indeed, can it be said, as it may be of the American Republic, that private judgment, as opposed to the principle of authority in religion, is one of its foundation stones. Nor is the supreme Church authority likely to be at all more acceptable now that it has been declared infallible. It follows, of course, that all the old claims to withdraw the patrimony of the Church and the persons of Churchmen from civil and criminal jurisdiction are everywhere condemned by American law. The absolute subjection of Churchmen to the civil and criminal courts of the states seems, indeed, never to be questioned. It is of more importance to say that all questions of property, and all claims capable of being presented in a pecuniary form, are held to be appropriate for the civil courts, *and for them exclusively.* In the last and most important case in the Supreme Court—the case too in which the claims of the Church have been admitted to their greatest extent*—the judgment points out that any claim on its part to include within its territory what is in its own nature outside would simply be disregarded. ‘If the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church should undertake to try one of its members for murder, or punish him with death or imprisonment, its sentence would be of no validity in a civil court or anywhere else. Or if it should, at the instance of one of its members, entertain jurisdiction as between him and another member as to their individual right to property, real or personal, the right in no sense depending on ecclesiastical questions, its decision would be utterly disregarded by any civil court where it might be ‘set up.’ Nor is it the property rights of individuals alone that are protected. ‘Religious organisations come before us in the same attitude as other voluntary associations for benevolent or charitable purposes, and their rights of property or of contract are equally under the protection of the law, and the actions of

their members subject to its restraints.’ It is quite true that, as here hinted, rights of property very often depend on ecclesiastical questions, and we shall see in detail how far the law, in deciding property matters, gives effect to these ecclesiastical transactions. But that is a subsequent question for the civil court. Its first ruling is to claim all pecuniary questions and questions of property as *exclusively* for its own decision. It is for it to settle them, and it is for it to judge how far justice requires that, in order to settle them aright, cognisance should be taken of any Church transactions or relations. The whole world of men’s lives, liberties, and goods, and especially that vast province of it which embraces Church property and Church endowments, is claimed by the State as under its complete and absolute control.

3. *But in order to decide purely civil questions of person, goods, and estate, the law necessarily deals with innumerable religious questions and Church relations.* It is the merest dream to suppose that disendowment, or disestablishment, or any similar process of severance, can prevent courts of law (unless they are prepared to perpetrate gross injustice) from taking continual cognisance of religious opinions, and of the existence and relations and dealings of the Church and of all its organic parts. Take, in the first place, questions of property. If a body of men have wrongful possession of a church, or of a sum of money, on the pretence (for example) that they are the religious body to which the money or the building was given, their opponents have no way of redressing the wrong and of vindicating their own rights except by appealing to the civil tribunals of the country. And these civil tribunals have no means of doing justice except by investigating into the differences of doctrine, discipline, or practice which are thus brought before them. To the litigants these may be religious differences. To the judge they are mere matters of fact bearing on a question of civil right. But neither the Church litigating nor the judge deciding can evade their coming up for judgment on the ground that this is not a civil corporation, but a Church, and a Church which has no recognition from the State in the exclusive form of establishment. If it is a Church, and a Church *tolerated* by the State, questions of property in which it has an interest will necessarily arise, and these will fall to be decided by the State and by the law. Now there are no bounds to the magnitude and variety of the questions which may, or rather must, thus arise, even in the case of a Church not

* *Watson v. Jones.* Wallace’s Reports, vol. xii. pp. 788 and 714.

established, with respect to its property. Whatever the form of the Church—Episcopal or Presbyterian, Hierarchical or Congregational—it must carry on its work by means of contributions or endowments of some kind, and in so far as it possesses these it necessarily comes into contact with the whole civil law of the country. And the legal questions that relate directly to the property of Churches are only a part of those which we find in American law, and which indeed we must find always, even where there is no establishment. The places filled by the ministers and officials of a voluntary Church have a certain pecuniary value, and the attainment or forfeiture of any of these is a matter about which there will be a constant tendency, rightly or wrongly, to appeal to the civil tribunals. Nor is the question one only as to a Church's offices of rule or honour. The mere attaining and retention of a place in its membership is a matter on which a high value will probably be set; and as this is a thing in which all Churches theoretically reserve their own right to judge, according to their own rules, and is yet a matter in which individual character and feelings may be largely involved, we see at once that important questions may be raised. In most jurisprudences, actions of damages or actions for reparation are competent to those who have been injured in their character and feelings. A man recovers a hundred pounds of damages who has been slandered to an extent which the jury estimates at that sum, just as he recovers a hundred pounds of which another has injuriously dispossessed him. Consequently, the whole actions of a Church, in so far as they bear on individuals, are capable of pecuniary estimation, and *may* come under the cognisance of the civil tribunals of the country. The law has to do—at least the law *may* have to do—with the whole working of a Christian Church, as well as with its whole property, and this even in its native state of non-establishment. American law, as we have seen, refuses to deal with Church questions *directly*; it abandons them to the Church, and refuses to review them when presented to it separately and in themselves. That is nothing extraordinary. All jurisprudences either hold that principle already, or are rapidly coming to adopt it. The real question is, how does American law deal with religious and Church questions which are brought before it indirectly—as a *means* to the determination of a question of property or money?

4. *Where such civil question (of property or money) turns upon an express trust, American law inquires for itself into the fulfil-*

ment of the conditions of that trust, whether these be religious or ecclesiastical, to the uttermost; and it enforces the trust to the effect of settling the question of property, but to that effect only.

This is, as Judge Strong rightly puts it, 'an apparent, though not a real exception' to the general rule that the civil law will not interfere with Church organization or with questions of religious faith. Such disputes are not properly or primarily Church questions. They are questions of property or civil right, and can only come into court as such. And even after they have come into court, the court refuses to *interfere* with either the faith or the organization of the members. But it may insist on inquiring into them to the uttermost, and it may be necessary for it to do so. If a man chooses to make a Church or its officials his trustees for certain expressed purposes, and leaves money to them for these purposes, the Church may decline to receive the money, but if it accepts it, the law will see that it applies it only to the purposes prescribed. All this is a question not properly of ecclesiastical law, but of trust law, and there never has been any doubt about it in America, where the trust is unequivocal. The two cases in which it has come there to be of most importance, are stated by Mr. Strong as those of Church order and Church faith respectively. Under the former head, property may be conveyed to a church under the expressed condition that it remain Presbyterian or Episcopalian, or that it remain in connection with a certain Presbyterian or Episcopalian body. 'In such a case, when controversies arise within the Church respecting the ownership or control of property thus conveyed, and a division takes place, courts of law will inquire which party or which division adheres to the form of Church government, or acknowledges the Church connection designated in the conveyance, and will adjudge the right to that party.' So too in the parallel case of faith or doctrine. Where property is held by a Church for the maintenance or propagation of a particular faith, the courts must settle any question as to the possession of that property. And they will do it, in case of competing claims, by inquiring 'what the doctrines were to the maintenance and propagation of which the Church property was devoted, and whether there has been a departure from those doctrines by those who claim a right to the property.' In both cases inquiry is necessary into what may turn out to be very abstract and recondite ecclesiastical or theological questions, and the view taken of these by

the civil judge will determine the destination of the property. But it will determine no more. The judge in America never interferes to keep the Church right, or to keep it or any of its members to what he holds to be their proper Church order or Church faith. If that order or faith were made a condition of the trust by the founder, then the court in protecting the trust or charity inquires into the actings or position of contending trustees, 'not for the purpose of determining whether they are right or wrong, but to enable the court to discover which of the contending parties' is to be preferred to the property of which it is the guardian. All that can happen to the Church is to be stripped of what it conceives to be its property, but what the civil law (whose jurisdiction in the matter all American Churches, with the exception of that of Rome, seem to acknowledge) holds to be given to it only in trust. All this, in the case of a trust unequivocally expressed, is clear law in America, and in such cases there seems to be very little difference between the law of England and of the United States. The case which all jurisprudences are beginning to find more difficult is that which immediately follows.

5. Where property is held by a Church generally, or for Church purposes, unspecified, and *not on an express trust* for the maintenance of certain doctrines or government, *American law presumes in questions as to that property that the decision of the Church is right.*

This is by far the most common and the most important case in which the law comes into serious collision with Churches. Of the great amount of property and money held by or for Churches throughout the world, on other tenures than that of establishment by the State, much the greater part is made over to them without any stipulation of conditions, or any specification of trust. They hold it simply as Churches, for Church purposes; or their officials or individual members hold it as trustees in the same general way. Now, suppose that the Church changes its doctrine, or the expression of its doctrine, as almost all Churches have done; or suppose it to some extent changes its Church order, organisation, or discipline, as has happened with equal frequency. Shall it continue to hold the property? In the majority of such cases of change the Church is not unanimous. There is a minority which declines to approve, or perhaps to acquiesce in, the change, and they are apt to bring the question of property to the civil courts. Now here, as in the former case, the first thing to be ob-

served is that the question of property is wholly for those courts. American law seems quite clear as to its jurisdiction on this, even when in exercising that jurisdiction it goes farthest in confirming, without inquiry, the previous ruling of the Church. The civil question of property is wholly for the civil law; but it is an excessively difficult one. Take it as a question of the intention of the donor or testator. Are we to presume that he intended the Church to have no power of varying, however slightly, the formulas of practice or of faith which it held at the date of his death? Or are we to hold that he contemplated it should have the power of reversing its religious beliefs, and wholly revolutionising its Church tendency? Both alternatives are extremely improbable, and yet it is almost impossible to lay down a general rule between them. In England the general rule, initiated by Lord Eldon, has been in favour of holding the doctrines and practice professed by the Church at the time of the testator's death to be implied conditions of his bequest, and binding on the Church in future. In the United States, on the other hand, the leaning of the law is very decidedly in favour of the Church and Church freedom; and it is considerably with-in the truth to say, as we have done above, that the burden of proof in questions of property is generally thrown upon those who question its decisions. In dealing with so perplexing a question, the independence of the states, and the fact that American law is not one, but twenty-fold, contributes its share to the difficulty. Thus, in questions of Church property, the Pennsylvania State Court has twice given opinions (by the same judge, however) in favour of enforcing the original Church connection and Church faith as common law conditions of Church property, but the report states that the law of New York is contrary to these decisions.*

* Roster's Appeal, 8 Ann. Rep. 275 (9 Penn. St. 462). We append the Reporter's Note, stating the law in Pennsylvania, and showing the conflict of view acknowledged at that date (1871):—

'To the same effect is Schnorr's appeal, 5 Ann. Rep. 415. The holders of the legal title to Church property are regarded in a court of equity as holding it in trust for the maintenance of the faith and worship of the founders of the organisation, and any diversion of it to another use is so far a breach of trust as to demand the interposition of the court. *Harmon v. Dreher*, 1 Speers Eg. 87; *Kuiskern v. Lutheran Church*, 1 Sandf. Ch. 439; *Attorney-General v. Pearson*, 3 Merw. 353; *Baker v. Fales*, 16 Mass. 48; *Stebbins v. Jenkins*, 10 Pick. 172; *Watson v. Jones*, 1 Zab. 652. This is the case afterwards appealed to the United States Court.

'A different rule prevails in New York, not

One judge founded his judgment in favour of *not* enforcing such implied conditions on 'the guarantee of freedom to religion,' and on the 'very nature of all intellectual and spiritual life,' which includes both growth and decay. Judge Sharswood retorts that civil courts 'must be guided by plainer principles than those to be found in the nature of intellectual and spiritual life. The constitutional guarantee of religious freedom has nothing to do with the property. It does not guarantee the privilege of stealing churches, or perverting truths, or defeating the will of a donor.' And in this energetic statement Judge Strong earnestly concurs in these lectures, adding as 'undeniable,' that when the deed 'indicates that it was the intention of the grantor or deviser that the beneficial use of the property should vest in a Church having a specified form of government, or connection, or form of worship, or holding certain doctrines, courts of law will institute all the inquiries necessary to determine who were the real beneficiaries intended, and prevent the diversion of the property to any other uses? Yet the words which immediately follow * make it quite doubtful whether this ambiguous summing up relates to all bequests to Churches having a government or holding a faith at the date of the deed, or only to those cases where the faith or government are referred to in the bequest, and thus indicated as to be permanent attributes of the body which he favours, and so conditions of the bequest. This latter view would throw back the case into the category of express trust already dealt with, on which (as the Supreme Court has recently declared) † there is no doubt at all. There is, indeed, a certain vagueness in all Judge Strong's treatment

Petty v. Took, 21 N. Y. 267, it was held that the trustees and a majority of the society could change from Congregationalists to Presbyterians, and retain possession of the Church property against those who adhered to the faith of the founders of the Church and society. See also *Ram v. The Prussian, &c.*, German Sox. 36 N. Y. 161, *Bunnell* 44 Barb. 282; *Robertson v. Ballions*, U. N. Y. 243.

* 'Of course, what I have said has no application to a case where the property is held by a Church, or religious society, with no specific trust attached to it, or with no other than that is for a religious use generally.'—P. 60.

† 'It hardly admits of a rational doubt that an individual or an association of individuals may dedicate property by way of trust to the purpose of sustaining, supporting, and propagating definite religious doctrines or principles, provided that in doing so they violate no law of morality, and give to the instrument by which their purpose is evidenced the formalities which the laws require.' *Watson v. Jones*, 13 Wallace's Rep. 723.

of this matter, which, while it no doubt reflects the unsettled state of the law throughout the Union on the point, seems also to show a shrinking from the important decision of it, which we are about to notice, by the Supreme Court of the United States, of which he is a member. The decision, of course, is not binding on the state courts, although it professes to express the views which preponderate in them, and is in itself 'entitled to the highest respect. All, therefore, that it is safe to say absolutely with regard to the States as a whole, is that where there is no express trust they invariably presume in favour of the decision of the Church.

6. *But the Supreme Court of the United States* has also decided that where there is no express trust as to the property, the law will not only presume that the decision of the Church (by its majorities or judicatories) is right, but will hold that decision as *conclusive* between the parties, and will regulate the civil question of property accordingly.

By far the most important decision in the whole ecclesiastical law of America is that given by the Supreme Court of the States in the case of *Watson v. Jones*, decided in the year 1872.* The opinion of the whole bench, which consists of eight members, was enounced in the speech of one judge, and two of his colleagues declined to express agreement with it, chiefly on the ground that the case had come before them informally. Yet the decision was given with great deliberation and solemnity, and upon a review of American law in all the states for a century.

'The novelty of the questions presented to this court for the first time their intrinsic importance and far-reaching influence, and the knowledge that the schism in which the case originated has divided the Presbyterian Churches throughout Kentucky and Missouri, have seemed to us to justify the careful and laborious examination and discussion which we have made of the principles which should govern the case. For the same reasons we have held it under advisement for a year.'

In thus stating for the first time the principles of American law as to Church property, the Supreme Court begins with the case of express trust, and points out that of course the courts will there protect the property according to the conditions. But then comes the case of a Church (and for the sake of simplicity a particular Church or independent congregation is taken as the

* Reported in vol. xiii. of Wallace's Supreme Court Reports, p. 679.

leading instance) holding property, 'either by way of purchase or donation, with no other specific trust attached to it in the hands of the Church than that it is for the use of that congregation as a religious society.'

'In such cases, where there is a schism which leads to a separation into distinct and conflicting bodies, the rights of such bodies to the use of the property must be determined by the ordinary principles which govern voluntary associations. If the principle of government in such cases is that the majority rules, then the numerical majority of members must control the right to the use of the property. If there be within the congregation officers in whom are vested the powers of such control, then those who adhere to the acknowledged organism by which the body is governed are entitled to the use of the property. The minority, in choosing to separate themselves into a distinct body, and refusing to recognize the authority of the governing body, can claim no rights in the property from the fact that they had once been members of the Church or congregation.

'This ruling admits of no inquiry into the existing religious opinions of those who comprise the legal or regular organization, for if such was permitted, a very small minority, without any officers of the Church among them, might be found to be the only faithful supporters of the religious dogmas of the founders of the Church. There being no such trust imposed upon the property when purchased or given, the court will not imply one for the purpose of expelling from its use those who by regular succession and order constitute the Church, because they may have changed in some respect their views of religious truth.'

The rule thus laid down is a sweeping one. Where there is no religious trust expressed, the court will not imply one, and *will not inquire* into its existence, even when change of faith or doctrine is alleged. And this, *a fortiori*, is probably true of the case of change in Church order or worship or practice generally, which Churches have generally held as of less importance. In all such cases the Supreme Court proposes to accept the ruling of the congregation or its majority or constituted representatives as right, and confirms to them the possession of their property, no matter what deviations from former principles are alleged. But this is the case of a particular congregation. What of the more complicated case of a large Church or body consisting of many congregations, all gathered into a more or less strict unity by a common government? What of large Churches like the Roman Catholic, the Episcopal, the Presbyterian?

'The case before us is one of this class, growing out of a schism which has divided

the congregation and its officers and the presbytery and synod, and which appeals to the courts to determine the right to the use of the property so acquired. Here is no case of property devoted for ever by the instrument which conveyed it, or by any specific declaration of its owner, to the support of any special religious dogmas or any peculiar form of worship, but of property purchased for the use of a religious congregation, and so long as any existing religious congregation can be ascertained to be that congregation, or its regular and legitimate successor, it is entitled to the use of the property. In the case of an independent congregation we have pointed out how this identity or succession is to be ascertained, but in cases of this character we are bound to look at the fact that the local congregation is itself but a member of a much larger and more important religious organization, and is under its government and control, and is bound by its orders and judgments. There are in the Presbyterian system of ecclesiastical government, in regular succession, the presbytery over the session or local Church, the synod over the presbytery, and the general assembly over all. These are called, in the language of the Church organs, judicatories, and they entertain appeals from the decision of those below, and prescribe corrective measures in other cases.

'In this class of cases we think the rule of action which should govern in civil courts founded in a broad and sound view of the relations of Church and State under our system of laws, and supported by a preponderating weight of judicial authority, is, that whenever the questions of discipline or of faith, or ecclesiastical rule, custom or law, have been decided by the highest of these Church judicatories to which the matter has been carried, the legal tribunals must accept such decisions as final, and as binding on them in their application to the case before them.'

The principle in these two cases is obviously the same. In the latter, the solidarity of the whole Church is assumed (rather rashly, perhaps, for there may be all *degrees* of interdependence and unity), and the whole body is held to be legally one Church, as in the former case the congregation was the Church. But in both, the Supreme Court in dealing with the purely civil question of property declines to inquire into any allegation that the congregation or the body has varied from its old position and principles.

7. *The principle on which the Supreme Court in such cases regulates questions even of property according to the decisions of the Church, is that the Church is not only the best judge, but the only proper judge, of Church matters, and that there is a separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction.*

The English courts, the judgment goes on to remark, have never clearly recognised

this. They have tended not only to ask, What is the ruling judicatory of this Church? but, What are its proper doctrines, and which party holds them? This latter question, the American court maintains, should be left to the Church itself, and accepted by the civil court from the ecclesiastical judicatories, as soon as it recognises that the Church possesses such organs. And the reason is traced in the following powerful passage to the general constitutional laws.

'In this country the full and free right to entertain any religious belief, to practice any religious principle, and to teach any religious doctrine which does not violate the laws of morality and property, and which does not infringe personal rights, is conceded to all. The law knows no heresy, and is committed to the support of no dogma, the establishment of no sect. The right to organise voluntary religious associations to assist in the expression and dissemination of any religious doctrine, and to create tribunals for the decision of controverted questions of faith within the association, and for the ecclesiastical government of all the individual members, congregations, and officers within the general association, is unquestioned. All who unite themselves to such a body do so with an implied consent to this government, and are bound to submit to it. But it would be a vain consent, and would lead to the total subversion of such religious bodies, if any one aggrieved by one of their decisions could appeal to the secular courts and have them reversed. It is of the essence of religious unions, and of their right to establish tribunals for the decision of questions arising among themselves, that those decisions should be binding in all cases of ecclesiastical cognizance, subject only to such appeals as the organism itself provides for.

'Nor do we see that justice would be likely to be promoted by submitting those decisions to review in the ordinary judicial tribunals. Each of these large influential bodies (to mention no others, let reference be had to the Protestant Episcopal, the Methodist Episcopal, and the Presbyterian Churches) has a body of constitutional and ecclesiastical law of its own, to be found in their written organic laws, their books of discipline, in their collections of precedents, in their usage and customs, which as to each constitute a system of ecclesiastical law and religious faith that tasks the ablest minds to become familiar with. It is not to be supposed that the judges of the civil courts can be as competent in the ecclesiastical law and religious faith of all these bodies as the ablest men in each are in reference to their own. It would therefore be an appeal from the more learned tribunal in the law which should decide the case, to one which is less so.'

Now let it be remembered that it was in deciding a question of property—of the

property and use of a church-building in Louisville, in Kentucky—that the Supreme Court thus refused to inquire further into the ecclesiastical question. The civil matter laid before them was proper for their decision, and they did decide it. But they decided it simply according to the previous ecclesiastical ruling, because it was admitted that on the Church question the question of property hinged, and because the courts hold that on the Church question the Church ruling should be final and authoritative. There are several reasons suggested in this as well as other judgments (and especially in the passage last quoted) for such a general rule. One is that, as we have just seen, they hold the Church judicatory better furnished and trained for the decision of Church questions, and therefore a better tribunal. This may be a good reason in expediency for the civil court inquiring into the opinion of the Church judicatories, or even for their making a general rule of conforming to it, but it hardly explains why they hold themselves bound to do so. The reason for this last might perhaps be found sufficiently in the theory of arbitration or contract between the parties. All proper Church questions have long ago, by the consent of the members and the very constitution of the body, been submitted to an ecclesiastical tribunal. And if it is once admitted by the parties who are members of the Church that the property depends upon the decision of the Church question, that is nearly equivalent to an admission that they had already referred even the property question to ecclesiastical arbitrators. And the court will enforce the award, and will not permit a disappointed suitor in the Church to appeal against the decision which he invited, because in this particular case the decision happens to have money consequences. If Cains and Titius refer a thing to Cato, the court will not rejudge Cato's judgment. And if they refer it to a Church; or a bishop, or general assembly, the principle is the same. But while this explanation might in most cases be sufficient, it is not the American theory. Arbitration is a part of private law, founded on the private agreement of the parties. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction is in America clearly part of public law, and it is continually acknowledged (as in the case we are dealing with) as a matter which the courts admit and understand, without any special averments or proof by the parties.

8. *The two jurisdictions work together on the quasi-international principle of COMITY.*

The strongest proof of the assertion we have just made, that American law acknowl-

edges a real ecclesiastical jurisdiction outside of itself, lies in the fact that the difficulties found in dealing with that jurisdiction are the same as those found in dealing with foreign jurisdictions generally. Thus American law acknowledges that French law has its own jurisdiction. But how far and to what effects French decisions may be pleaded as conclusive in American courts, is a question which requires careful distinctions, and on which the conclusions arrived at have sometimes varied. It is what is called a question of *comity*. And this has been also precisely the case with the ecclesiastical question: it has been treated by the civil law as a matter of comity.

For example, the law of one country never intrudes into another to determine for the latter a question of its citizenship. But as to the citizenship or membership of the Church? Judge Strong says, as to 'amotion' or expulsion:—

'The law recognises the right of every Church to determine finally who are and who are not its members. Herein is a marked difference between Churches and other organisations. In regard to members of private corporations generally, such as benevolent, beneficial, or literary societies, as well as those which are pecuniary, rights to membership are matters of legal cognisance, and there is a remedy provided for irregular amotion. Such corporations may be compelled to restore to membership one who has been expelled without regular trial according to the established forms of the corporate organisation, and indeed those forms must be strictly complied with, or a court of law will interfere. It will review the proceeding, and insist upon its perfect regularity. But a Church is allowed to determine for itself, construing its own organic rules, whether a member has been cut off, and no civil court will inquire whether the amotion was regularly made, or issue a mandamus to compel a restoration. It accepts the decision of Church courts upon questions of membership as not subject to civil law review, at least, such is the general rule.'

The hesitating words at the close of this paragraph are probably caused by the recollection of a distinction which illustrates in the strongest way the point with which we are dealing. American law acknowledges the jurisdiction of French courts, and accordingly holds their judgments conclusive on a point within their jurisdiction, *e.g.*, on an internal question of French citizenship or domicile in a French town; and no allegation of irregularity, however gross, in the mode in which the judgment was arrived at, would persuade the American court to re-judge that question, or even take it up to look at it. It simply belongs to another

jurisdiction, and the French decision is taken as conclusive so long as it is merely a French question. Exactly so, the civil courts in America never interfere to set right a Church decision as to Church membership, however far wrong the Church has gone either in substance or in form. It is not their region, and they hold they have no power to touch it. But suppose that the French decision comes up as incidental to an undoubtedly American matter, a bill to be paid in America, or an estate to be inherited there? In such a case the action as to the bill or the estate falls to be decided in the American courts, and there has always been great difficulty on the international question—how far, in deciding it, the courts are to accept the foreign decision, say, as to the signature of the bill or the status of the heir. Are they to take it as certainly right and conclusive, and simply apply it in America? or are they merely to presume that it is a true finding until the contrary is proved? or are they bound to accept it as a true judgment on the merits of the case, and entitled to refuse it only if it has been irregularly or informally obtained? or are they to hold mere regularity, or form, an incident of jurisdiction, and exclusively therefore for the French court? and are they only to reject its decision if it can be shown to be *ultra vires*, and outside the authority or constitution of the bench which professed to utter it? All these views arise in dealing with foreign judgments as incidental to home questions.* And precisely the same class of questions arises in dealing with Church questions. The courts will never meddle with Church administration directly, and will never simply review Church judgments. But if a civil question—a question of money or property—arises, that is exclusively competent for the civil courts; and yet in dealing with it they may be confronted with a previous Church judgment deciding the very point on which the civil question turns. We have already seen the leaning on this matter of the law generally, and especially of the Supreme Court. But it comes out even more clearly on this matter of Church membership or office.

1. The courts will never on any pretext review *directly* or reverse a Church decision as to membership or office.

2. The courts will not review it even *indirectly* (*i.e.*, as a means to deciding a civil question which turns upon it) where it is

* The last edition of Story's 'Conflict of Laws' indicates the progress of legal opinion in America in dealing with them.

only alleged that it is a false or wrong decision. That was a matter for the Church court, and there is no appeal from it to the civil court, which on the contrary enforces the purely civil results of such a decision.

3. Neither, thirdly, will the courts review the Church decision even for their own purposes, or *indirectly*, where it is merely alleged that the decision was irregularly or informally arrived at. Questions of Church form have been repeatedly held to be questions for the Church, and if its decisions are final, even when their substantial justice is questioned, much more ought they to be conclusive on mere points of procedure.

But questions of irregularity are often of another nature than mere matters of form or procedure. A decision from the courts of Rouen, produced in New York, may be said to be irregular because of questions of procedure pleaded before the French judge, proper for his decision, and overruled by him. But they may be irregular in a more serious sense, because the judge had no jurisdiction, or the decision was *ultra vires*; because the defender was a German, and not properly subject to the court; or because the action, though against a Frenchman, was competent only in the Palais de Justice of Paris, and not in the provincial town. Suppose again that it could be shown that the judgment, though regular in form and in jurisdiction, was procured by bribery or conspiracy, and that clear evidence of this were attainable. These objections would be very serious—some of them would certainly be fatal—to any French judgment founded upon as conclusive in an American court. Now it speaks volumes for the independence and success of the American Church system, that it is only in cases such as these that any serious question arises about Church acts in the civil courts. These courts hold Church acts and judgments as conclusive even for civil results, when they are merely alleged to be wrong and false judgments, or to be informal: the only case of doubt is where they are alleged to be unconstitutional. This probably covers also the case where damages are asked on the ground of an act which the plaintiff offers to show was done by way of malice or conspiracy, and under the *cloak* of Church authority. And even on this question the leaning is towards the Church. Judge Strong in his lectures declines to give an opinion upon it. He lays down the general proposition that 'whenever questions of discipline, of faith, of Church rule, of membership, or of office, have been decided by the Church in its own modes of decision, civil law tribunals accept the deci-

sions as final, and apply them as made.' And then he states as a present pending question in America, 'Can a civil court inquire and determine for itself whether a Church judicatory was properly constituted in accordance with the established order of the Church organisation, and can it disregard its decisions, if, in its opinion, the judicatory appears not to have been thus constituted?' This was very nearly the special question raised in the leading Supreme Court case from which we have already quoted so much; and in that case the court, finding that the General Assembly, as the supreme judicatory, had sustained its own jurisdiction and that of an inferior court in a complicated question of Presbyterian order, membership, and office, refused to review that decision. And the same had been decided, in the case of the Episcopal Church in America, in the well-known Illinois case of *Chase v. Cheney*.*

In both cases considerable difficulty had been found in coming to the conclusion, and distinctions of much importance were laid down by the judgment of the United States court, in which Justice Strong seemed to acquiesce. The mere assertion of its own jurisdiction by a Church court will not, as we have already seen (p. 422), prevent the law from reviewing it if the Church pretends to deal with a wholly uneclesiastical matter. But if on the other hand the constitutional question, or question of jurisdiction, is one which turns on ecclesiastical documents, usages, or considerations, the last finding of American law is that such a question is for the Church itself, and that the civil court will ordinarily not question the jurisdiction even for civil purposes. The question is a large and difficult one, and one which every jurisprudence should avoid rashly foreclosing. But the form in which it is taken up in America is the best illustration of the twofold principle of the civil law of the United States, which first claims for itself exclusive jurisdiction in all civil matters, and then goes on to inquire how far it can admit for civil results the judgments given under that separate jurisdiction of the Church which it also acknowledges.

We have confined ourselves to the *principles* of American law in relation to the Church, omitting its peculiar forms and institutions. But every law begets these in its own likeness, and there is one institution in America, that of the *Religious Society*, of so much importance that it must not be passed over. The Religious Society is a

civil body, sanctioned and generally incorporated by the law, in order to hold the Church property and represent the local Church for civil purposes. It is thus interposed between the Church or spiritual body and the civil law. 'The Church,' says Mr. Strong, 'is generally a distinct organisation within the Religious Society,' and it is only with the latter that the law takes to do. When the Society is incorporated 'it is governed by the law, precisely as other corporations are.' It is not an ecclesiastical corporation in the sense of the English law, and its members, not being regarded as spiritual persons, are regulated by the civil law. The *ecclesia* or kernel inside is, on the other hand, governed by its own officers and its own laws, and has its own jurisdiction, and is thus so far saved from interference. Yet, as our previous review has shown us, the civil law is forced in innumerable ways to acknowledge the existence of the Church proper, and to define its relations to it, at least negatively. No device can wholly prevent that, in any age or in any country. But this scheme of the Religious Society (to the detail of which Mr. Tyler's book is largely devoted) has doubtless had an important part in the practical working out of the American principle of separation and independence. In particular it may account for the marvellous rarity of the seeming collisions which have been recorded between the energetic Church life of the States and the civil law. Seeming collisions, we call them; for real collision can scarcely exist where the Church concedes all civil questions to the State, and where the State refuses to interfere internally with the Church.

We see no reason to doubt that this hundred years of transatlantic jurisprudence has solved the problem which lies before Europe. In the United States the State has been during the century separate from the Church and independent of it; and yet the legal position of the Church, as disclosed in the records of the law, is one of extraordinary energy, dignity, and independence. And recent events of all kinds have conspired to direct attention to the great precedent. The new Italian legislation, in its contrast especially to that of its German allies, has shown a skilful and resolute endeavour to separate the spheres of the civil and ecclesiastical. The Guibord case, also an American one (for we have to apologise to our Canadian friends for complying too much with the usurpation by the United States of the more extended geographical

name), brought nearly the whole English press to the conclusion that every jurisprudence must work out the same distinction, and that we in England (shall we say it, even in the Privy Council?) are only on the threshold of the question. And in America the President's manifesto has made the ecclesiastical question one of the questions of the hour. But it comes up in such a form as to show the extraordinary success in the past of a system of which all parties (but one) approve, and for the perpetuation of which the soldier-president only desired additional securities. The extent to which the Roman Catholic Church in America has got real property into its own hands, has alarmed some people who do not trouble themselves about acquisitions by other bodies. They are all restricted in many of the States by laws which (while, as we have seen, refusing to interfere with internal Church matters) forbid the holding of property by religious societies to more than a limited extent—by what are virtually indeed laws of mortmain applied equally to all communions. But a more serious danger has recently appeared. The same body, originally strongly opposed to the common school system of America, has in some of the large towns, in exchange for the Irish political vote, received municipal grants and exemptions to a very large and increasing extent for its churches and denominational schools. And the question is raised whether the constitution of the United States, which seems to forbid this sort of religious endowment, should not be so amended or applied as absolutely to prevent it. We express no opinion upon the necessity of such a movement at present. But it is significant that after a hundred years' experience of powerful and expanding Church life in the Republic, the only measure proposed with regard even to the most aggressive and insatiable of all communions should be in the lines of the original American constitution. No one there proposes, like Prince Bismarck, to interfere with the internal and ecclesiastical arrangements of the Church, however revolutionary these may be. But no one proposes, on the other hand, to withdraw from the civil law its control of all Church property and funds. These matters, infinitely commingled in fact, are separated by the principle of the constitution. That principle is a recognition of religion as a matter not to be interfered with by the civil power; and the jurisprudence founded upon it has worked out more successfully than any other in the world's history the problem of the severance of the civil and ecclesiastical spheres.

ART. VI.—*The Turks in Europe.*

- (1.) *Lectures on the History of the Turks in its relation to Christianity.* By the Author of 'Loss and Gain.' Dublin and London. 1854.
- (2.) *Tracts for the Present Crisis.* By Sir ARTHUR HALLAM ELTON, Bart. Bristol. 1854-1856.

IN some things the world has changed a good deal within the last twenty years, and for the most part it has changed for the better. To take a few of the most obvious instances, slavery has been swept away from the great American commonwealth; Italy has become united and free; France has cast forth alike her tyrant and her tyranny; Hungary has changed her tyrant into her king; Germany stands forth again as the Germany of Saxon and Frankish Cæsars; from Ireland we have ourselves swept away the last traces of those evil days when the native of the land was a bondman on his own soil. With regard to any of these countries, the language which we used twenty years ago would be almost as much out of place as the language which we might have used two hundred years ago. But there is one corner of Europe where all that was said twenty years ago may be said over again with perfect truth. There is one land in discussing whose affairs now there is nothing else to be done but to set forth the same truths which we set forth twenty years ago, to answer the same fallacies which we answered twenty years ago. The Turk still reigns in the New Rome, as he reigned twenty years ago; and, as he was a Turk twenty years ago, he remains a Turk still. That is to say, he remains, as he was twenty years ago, corrupt, bloody, and faithless: if there is any change, it is simply that he is more corrupt, more bloody, and more faithless than he was twenty years ago. Twenty years ago he ruled as a barbarian invader over Christian nations longing to cast off his yoke; he rules over them as a barbarian invader still. If there is any change, it is only that his yoke is heavier still than it was then, and that his victims have yet more fully made up their minds to cast it off. Twenty years ago the Turk was lavish of beautiful promises, and slack of performing them. If there is any change, it is that he is yet more lavish in promising, yet more slack in performing—that, in short, that astounding gift of lying which distinguishes the modern Ottoman has, during the last twenty years, gone through several stages of its growth. In all this there is nothing wonderful. If the power of the Turk was to endure for twenty years longer, it is quite certain that the

Turk would spend those twenty years, not in making his power better, but in making it worse. Whether the power of the Turk will last another twenty years we can none of us tell; but this at least we may say with certainty, that if it does last, it will be yet worse at the end of the twenty years than it is now. It is hard to conceive anything worse than the Turkish doings in Bulgaria at this moment. Yet Turkish capacity of evil is so boundless, that, with a new lease of twenty years, something worse may be found out to wreak on the victims of twenty years hence. But let us at least hope that twenty years hence there may be a change in one point. Twenty years hence England may once more have an Englishman as her leader. Let us hope that that Englishman, whoever he may be, may be one with whom the names of truth and right shall not have lost their meaning; that he may be one who, if the blood of innocent victims shall again cry for vengeance, will neither with brazen shamelessness deny the true tale of horror, nor yet find in the story of their sufferings a matter for fiendish mockery.

The position of the Turk then, his change from bad to worse, is in no way wonderful; what is wonderful is the position of his European advocates. It is wonderful that the events of the last twenty years have not opened the eyes even of diplomatists and Foreign Secretaries. No doubt they have difficulties in the way of seeing things which do not stand in the way of other men. Other men have at most to learn; diplomatists and Foreign Secretaries have to unlearn. Brought up in a circle of vicious traditions, accustomed to look only to the narrow range of courts and governments and to shut their eyes to the wider field of nations—schooled to the endless repetition of insincere compliments and of formulæ which, if they ever had any meaning, have lost their meaning long ago—for them it must indeed be hard to look facts in the face. Their whole life is spent in dealing, not facts but with fictions; it is a life of conventional assumptions and assertions which have nothing answering to them in the world of either past or present. When Lord Derby lamented or wondered or something of the kind that the Christian subjects of the Porte had got into a way of listening to foreign intriguers instead of bringing their complaints before 'their own government,' the simplicity of the saying may be taken as some guaranty of its sincerity. Lord Derby had had so often to repeat conventional phrases about 'the Ottoman Government,' he had so often heard and uttered commonplaces about the benevolent

intentions of that 'government,' about its desire to treat all its subjects as alike its children, that he may at least have really come to think that those commonplaces had some meaning. He may really have come to think that the Christians of Bulgaria or Bosnia could appeal 'to their own government,' in the sense in which an Englishman or Frenchman can appeal to his own government. He may really have come to think that the system of organized brigandage which is conventionally called the Ottoman Government was something to which the victims of that brigandage could appeal. He perhaps did not understand that the word 'government,' or even the word 'misgovernment,' is out of place as applied to the dominion of the Turk in Europe. His diplomatic experience had never taught him that the thing which he held up to the people of south-eastern Europe as 'their own government,' is, in their eyes as it is in fact, not a 'government' to be appealed to, but a brutal system of foreign oppression to be shaken off. He perhaps really did not understand that the men of the enslaved Slavonic or Hellenic lands do not look on sympathizers from the free Slavonic or Hellenic lands as 'foreign intriguers,' but as men of their own blood, ready to help them in rising to their own level. To the man of Bosnia or Herzegovina, the man of Servia or Montenegro is not a foreigner, but a brother; to him the so-called 'government' of the Turk is not 'his own government,' but simply a brutal gang of foreign oppressors. Words are not merely arbitrary sounds; by association at least they have distinct meanings; and the constant use of them in meanings different from those which they naturally convey may lead to real and serious mistakes in fact. A man whose calling unluckily makes him spend a great deal of time in speaking of the Ottoman intruders of Europe as a 'government,' in treating them with the courtesies which are held to be due to a government, may easily fall into the great practical mistake of thinking that they really are a government, and not simply the most powerful, and, until lately, the best organized of all gangs of brigands. A man whom conventionality obliges to talk in a way so contrary to the facts of the case may at last come really to shut his eyes to the facts; he may come really to fancy that the so-called Ottoman Government is something to which its so-called subjects could appeal for a redress of their wrongs.

Some allowance must therefore be made for men whom the constant habit of using conventional language may at last have made really incapable of seeing the facts of

the case. But it is wonderful that any Englishman, brought up with the natural feelings of an Englishman, and not blinded by the traditions of diplomacy, should fail to see the facts of the case, when the facts of the case are so simple. Yet a considerable, though certainly a diminishing, number of Englishmen still go on, in defiance of an enlarged experience of twenty years, making the same confusions, uttering the same fallacies, as they did twenty years ago. Even twenty years ago, experience ought to have taught them better; still twenty years ago, some allowance might be made. The Turk was then something new; few people had heard much about him; dealings with him had something strange and romantic about them; so the Turk became the fashion. There was indeed the experience of six hundred years to show that he was an irreclaimable savage, incapable of reform, incapable of adopting the civilization, the feelings, the first political principles, of Europeans. But the experience of six hundred years is a long experience, an experience too long for people who are in a hurry and who have just got hold of a new toy. The Turk might in past times have been all that was bad; now he was going to be all that was good. Those who relied on the experience of six hundred years warned the votaries of the new idol that the Turk never could reform, and that all his promises of reform were necessarily worthless. Such warnings were of course not hearkened to. Twenty years of experience of their own has convinced some, but it has not convinced all. The Turk has shown himself to be, not what the zealots of the future said that he would be, but what those who had read the experience of the past knew that he must be. But there still are men, there still are Englishmen, who, in defiance of all experience and of all reason, still support the cause of the Turk, who still assert that the rule of the Turk in Europe ought to be preserved.

It is because the state of the controversy now is exactly the same as it was twenty years back, because the fallacies that have to be answered and the arguments with which we have to answer them are so exactly the same as they were then, that we have put at the head of this article, instead of anything new, instead of any books or pamphlets or papers of the present year, the names of writings twenty years old, which are now perhaps nearly forgotten. Any writing of Dr. Newman, of whatever date, will always find some who remember it and some who read it. But we can hardly think that his Lectures on the Turks are among those of his writings which have made any deep im-

pression on the public mind, or which are likely to be remembered beyond the circle of his immediate admirers. Nor can we say that their actual intrinsic value is such as to preserve them. All that Dr. Newman writes is of course powerfully and beautifully put; the feeblest work of so great a thinker and scholar is on a level with the strongest work of ordinary men. But it is clear that, in dealing with Turkish history, Dr. Newman was dealing with as subject to which he had never given his whole mind, and on which he therefore could not put forth his whole strength. And of course Dr. Newman's view is warped by his theological position. The votary of the Papacy must be unfair to the Orthodox Church in the East, exactly as he must be unfair to any Protestant body in the West. Yet the book is worth reading; it is specially worth reading now. It is always well to see how any subject, even a subject taken up as a kind of by-play, appears when dealt with by such a hand as Dr. Newman's. Even he who is most familiar with the details of the subject will always learn something from the natural insight of such a man. If he does not learn any new facts, he is sure to find some familiar facts put in a new and instructive light. But our point is that whatever is true and valuable in Dr. Newman's book is exactly as true and valuable now as it was twenty years back. That is to say, the case is altered in nothing, except that what was demonstrably true then has been made more certain still by the experience of twenty years. So, among the probably quite forgotten collection of tracts which we have placed second on our list, if we put aside a few allusions to the passing events of twenty years since, every word is as true now as it was then. The fallacies which had to be refuted then are the same which have to be refuted now; the same vain trust in Turkish reforms, the same silly fear of Russia, the same strange belief that the interest of England is somehow involved in keeping up the foulest tyranny on earth, have all to be answered now just as they had to be answered then, and to be answered by exactly the same arguments. Everything that is not in itself essentially temporary, everything which bears on the main questions at issue, is as true now as it was then. Many of the tracts in Sir Arthur Elton's series might be put forth again now, and no one would know that they were twenty years old. They would seem to be nothing but the obvious and natural answer to the last fallacy of the day, put forth by what the 'Spectator' calls the 'Mahometan press of London.' The only difference is

that what was true then has been shown by twenty years' experience to be yet truer now. There is indeed another difference, that we trust there are more minds now than there were then to whom such obvious truths seem to be obvious truths. But as long as Turkish rule still has its advocates, above all, as long as it has its advocates among those who are the virtual rulers of England, so long must the controversy go on. The old fallacies must be again refuted; the old truths must be again brought forth and set in order. We must be content to explain yet again, for the thousandth time if need be, who the Turk in Europe is, how he came there, how he has behaved himself since he came. We must, in short, explain yet again what is the meaning of those wretched conventionalities of diplomacy, that talk about the 'Ottoman Government,' the 'sovereign rights of the Sultan,' the 'independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire,' with which the votaries of barbarism and oppression still continue to insult the understandings of mankind.

Let us here stop for a moment and think what the rule of the Turk in Europe really is. It is, in plain words, the rule of an alien horde encamped on a soil which is not their own. This saying has been said over and over again, and no saying is more true. It is just because it is so true that it is specially displeasing to the votaries of the Turk and his doings. Whenever it is said, it is at once, as a matter of course, sneered at as a 'rhetorical statement,' a 'rhetorical exaggeration,' and the like. It is sneered at simply because it cannot be answered. It is called a rhetorical statement, a rhetorical exaggeration, because to attempt to get rid of its force by calling it some such name is the only way of evading the fact that it is literally and historically true. To say that the Turks in Europe are an alien horde, a gang of foreign invaders, is no rhetorical statement at all; it is the very words of truth and soberness. When we say that the Turks in Europe are an alien horde encamped on a soil which is not their own, instead of indulging in a rhetorical exaggeration, we are using words which will bear to be examined with all the strictness of a mathematical definition. It is not merely because it was as conquerors that they entered into the land in which they dwell. That is most likely true of every nation; it is certainly true of every Aryan nation in Europe. The difference between the Turkish conquest and all other conquests is, as has been shown a hundred times, that in all other cases the process of conquest has long ago

ceased; and its results alone remain; while in the case of the Turk the process of conquest is, after so many ages, still going on just as at first. That is to say, all conquerors are an alien horde, or an alien something, when they first come in; but they cease to be aliens when they are naturalized, when they really become the people of the land or part of that people. The Turks have never been naturalized; they have never become the people of the land or part of it. To take old and well-worn illustrations, all the inhabitants of England, all the inhabitants of France, look on each other as countrymen. They have for ages forgotten that there was a time when there was in each land a distinction of conquerors and conquered. But, in the land which is falsely called Turkey, all the inhabitants do not look on each other as countrymen; the distinction of conqueror and conquered is, after four or five hundred years, as broadly drawn as ever. Between the Turk and the Greek, the Turk and the Slave, the Turk and the Bulgarian, there is no feeling of common country, no feeling of common loyalty or common citizenship; there is only the abiding mutual fear and mutual hatred which must ever reign between the master and the slave. The Turk is no more at home in Europe now than he was when he first crossed the Bosphorus. The process of conquest, the process of invasion, still goes on. That is to say, not as a flourish of rhetoric, but as the most literal description of an historical fact, the Turks in Europe are still an alien horde, encamped on a soil which is not their own.

Let us now run briefly through the chief periods of Turkish history, and trace out the chief characteristic features which distinguish their settlement in Europe from the other conquests to which most of the existing powers of Europe owe their origin.

What then are the Turks, the Turks of modern European politics, the destroyers of the Eastern Roman Empire and of the neighbouring Christian kingdoms? The Ottoman or Osmanli is of course only one out of many branches of that great Turkish race which is probably the most widely extended race in the world. In point of blood he is, beyond doubt, the least pure of all the branches of that race. He has passed through so many lands to reach his present European encampment—home we may not call it—he has so largely recruited his ranks by renegades and tribute-children; his princes and great men have been so constantly the children of mothers of every stock of East and West, that, as far as the

domain of the physiologist is concerned, the modern Ottoman is hardly to be looked on as a Turk at all. If we could go into the pedigrees of the men who stormed the New Rome, we should find that, as far as physical descent went, they were Greek and Slave rather than Turkish. The Ottomans are in truth an artificial caste, military and official, bearing rule, not only over Christians, but over other Mahometans, including among them crowds of Turks of purer blood than themselves. They were, in their origin, not so much a nation or a tribe as a company of warriors gathered round the banners of a single chief. But, for the purposes of history, they must take their place as one—the last and the greatest—of the many Turkish dynasties which grew into greatness out of the decay of the Bagdad Caliphate. The Turk has played towards the Saracen essentially the same part which the Teuton played towards the Roman of the West, which the Slave played less perfectly towards the Roman of the East. In a phrase which cannot be too often repeated, he was half conqueror, half disciple. The Turks crossed the Oxus, as the Teutons crossed the Rhine, in every possible character, as slaves, as mercenaries, as avowed enemies. But in whatever character they passed within the Saracenic frontier, they were alike brought within the range of Saracenic influence. As the Teuton adopted the Christianity of Rome, so the Turk adopted the Mahometanism of Bagdad. As Gothic and Frankish kings, practically independent sovereigns, were proud to reign by a nominal commission from the successor of Augustus, so Turkish princes, growing from Emirs into Sultans, were proud to reign by a nominal commission from the successor of Mahomet. As the Teuton, sometimes keeping, sometimes forgetting, his own tongue, adopted Latin as the tongue of religion and literature, so the Turk, for the most part keeping his own tongue, adopted Arabic as the tongue of religion and literature. The parallel is almost exact, except so far as it is modified by the one great fact which distinguishes Eastern and Western history. In Western Europe the powers of the Cæsars and the powers of the Pontiff were lodged in different hands, while within the bounds of the Caliphate the powers of Cæsar and Pontiff alike were united in the hands of the successor of the Prophet. When the Frank Charles was declared the successor of the last Constantine whom the Old Rome acknowledged, it was a transfer of the temporal sword from one temporal hand to another. When the Ottoman Selim was declared the successor of the last nominal

Abbasside at Cairo, it was placing the spiritual sword in a hand which had long and firmly grasped the temporal sword. Otherwise the parallel is nearly exact. The Slave in Eastern Europe has in the like sort been to the Eastern Roman half conqueror, half disciple; but he has never taken his place in the same way in which the Teuton has taken the place of the Western Roman, in which the Turk has taken the place of the Saracen. The Frank and the Turk have alike reigned in New Rome, but the Slave never; at least, he has never reigned there under his own name. It is true that the greatest of Byzantine dynasties was really of Slavonic blood, but it was not as men of Slavonic blood that they made their way to the throne of Constantine. The Macedonian Basil, perhaps Justinian himself, came of the same blood as Stephen Dushan and Czerny George. But to become Emperors of the Romans they had to lay aside all trace of their true nationality; while in the West it was a Frankish king, who never cast away his Frankish name and speech, who exchanged the style of Patrician of the Romans for that of their Emperor.

The Turk then was to the Eastern Saracen what the Teuton was to the Western Roman, except so far as the parallel is modified by the separation of the spiritual and temporal powers in Christendom, and their union in the same hands in Islam. But we must not forget that the purely ethnical difference between the Saracen and the Turk was far wider than the ethnical difference between the Teuton and the Roman. The Teuton and the Roman were, after all, kinsfolk of one common stock, speaking dialects of one common language. Between the Arab and the Turk there was no such real, though invisible tie. The Semitic Arab, speaking an inflexional tongue, might also pass as one of the same group with the inflexional Aryan, as compared with the agglutinative Turk. And yet, while we recognize the vast gap between Saracen and Turk—while we see in the wretched beings who now profane the titles of the Caliphate, unworthy successors indeed of Abou-Bekr and Omar and Othman and Ali—while we see in their rule of blood and falsehood a falling off indeed from the stern righteousness of the first days of Islam—we still see that, practically and historically, Saracen and Turk form one whole, as opposed to the nations of Christian Europe. To drive out the Saracen from Granada was to deprive Spain of its most industrious and most skilful inhabitants; to drive out the Turk from Constantinople will be to free Rumania from a wasting horde, who destroy everything, but produce nothing.

Still, in spite of this, we see that the civilized Arab of Western Europe, the barbarous Turk of Eastern Europe, still form part of one whole as compared with the general body of the nations of Christian Europe. Whence then this difference? It comes from one simple cause, but that cause will be still better understood if we look at yet another set of phenomena which the history of south-eastern Europe supplies us with.

The Ottoman Turks, as we have just seen, are physically a very mixed race. We may say for certain that, among the ruling classes in the great days of their empire, the prevailing blood was not Turkish. But they are practically Turks all the same. They neither assimilated the conquered nations, nor were assimilated by them: they simply admitted vast numbers of recruits, one by one, into their own ranks. The alien horde remained none the less an alien horde because many natives, one by one, were incorporated with that horde. For all historical purposes the Ottoman Turk is a Turk, no less than Ghaznevid or Seljuk. The stock is Turanian, though both Semitic and Aryan shoots have been grafted on it. But it must be remembered that the Ottoman Turks are not the only Turanian, perhaps not the only Turkish, settlers in Europe. From the days of Attila onward, a crowd of nations have passed to and fro through the lands north of Hæmus, whose exact ethnical relations it is for professed ethnologists to settle, but who are marked off in history as being neither Aryan or Semitic, and who may for our purpose be lumped together under the general name of Turanian. Most of them have passed away. They are recorded, some of them are famous, in the pages of past history, but the modern map knows them not. In two cases, on the other hand, Turanian invaders have made permanent settlements, and have given their names to important portions of European soil. First came the great settlement of the Bulgarians. It may sound strange to some in our day, when the Bulgarian victim is sending up his bitter wail against his Turkish oppressor, and his bitter curse still against the English abettors of his oppressor, to hear that the original Bulgarian was in truth a kinsman of the Turk, that he came into Europe as a barbarian conqueror, as the most dangerous foe of the Eastern Rome, as an enemy at whose name the Christians of the East trembled then, as they now tremble at the name of the Ottoman. For several centuries wars with the Bulgarian invader form almost the staple of Byzantium history. After a warfare long

and terrible almost beyond example, the greatest of the later Emperors, the second Basil, won for himself that name of Slayer of the Bulgarians which men of our own day have won in a far other cause and with a far other meaning. For ages past these once terrible Bulgarians have been the most peaceful and industrious of the nations of Eastern Europe, a Christian people speaking a Slavonic tongue, a people whose fault is a certain apathy which makes them slower than their neighbours to rise against oppression. Here then is one settlement of a people akin to the Turks, but from whom all traces of Turkish kindred have passed away for ages. The modern Bulgarian is a Slave; for all practical purposes the Bulgarians form one member of that group of Slavonic nations of whom the Servians and Russians are other members. That is to say, the original Bulgarians came under the operation of the law which so often turns the conqueror into a disciple. The Turanian conquerors, doubtless far smaller in numbers than their Slavonic subjects, adopted their religion and language and were gradually absorbed by them. The change is indeed wonderful, from the ancient Bulgarian, the most terrible of all the enemies of the Eastern Roman, to the modern Bulgarian, the most enduring, the most oppressed, the most bitterly wronged, of all the victims of the Turk.

To the north of the Bulgarian lies another and rather later Turanian settlement, whose history has been in some respects different. This is the settlement of the Magyars or Hungarians. Ethnologists tell us that this famous people are Finnish rather than Turkish; but in the eyes of the Byzantine writers they were distinctly and distinctively Turks. Their name is *Τούρκοι*, their land is *Τουρκία*. It is startling to find in Byzantine geography *Τουρκία* bounded to the west by *Φραγγία*; but it is only the names that have changed, not the boundary. For the *Turkey* and *France* of Constantine Porphyrogennêtos read *Hungary* and *Germany*—Germany, of course, in a sense which takes in the Austrian archduchy—and hardly any change is needed on the modern map. The Magyars then, the Turks of the Imperial geographer, are, like the Bulgarians, a Turanian settlement in Aryan Europe, and, like the Bulgarians, they, once the dread of Western Europe as well as Eastern, have changed into a Christian nation, forming part of the general European commonwealth. But, unlike the Bulgarians, the Magyars have kept their Turanian tongue; and, unlike the Bulgarians, they have attached themselves rather

to Western than to Eastern Europe. Their Christianity is that of the Western, not of the Eastern Church; they once paid allegiance to the Western Empire; their crown was worn by a long succession of Western Cæsars. The Magyars thus remain in a measure isolated, parted off from their Slavonic subjects and neighbours, and this isolation has been a most important and unhappy fact in the history of Eastern Europe. Were all Hungary Orthodox and Slavonic, many of the difficulties of the present moment would vanish. Still the Magyars have become thoroughly part of European Christendom; they may be aliens on their own soil, but they are not aliens in Europe generally. Their position is something intermediate between that of the Bulgarians, wholly merged in the mass of their Slavonic subjects and neighbours, and that of the third swarm of Turanian invaders who made their way, some ages later, into south-eastern Europe.

This third swarm, we need hardly say, were the Ottoman Turks. They first made their way into Europe in the fourteenth century, and, before the end of the fifteenth, they had swallowed up all that was left of the Eastern Roman Empire—which by that time had become a purely Greek state—together with many other of the neighbouring kingdoms, principalities, and colonies, Greek, Slave, and Frank. These new invaders came into Europe by quite another path from that which had led the Bulgarians and the Magyars to the borders of the Empire. The highway of all earlier Turanian invaders had been through the lands north of the Euxine and the Danube. Swarm after swarm passed through the land which had been Trajan's Dacia, leaving it as a standing miracle that a land so often traversed by invaders of every race and speech should to this day keep its Roman speech and its Roman name. The new Turanian swarm came in the wake of invaders of another class, Aryan and Semitic. They followed the path of the Persian and the Saracen, the path of those into whose place they had stepped as the champions of the East against the West in that long struggle which has gone on from the days of Cæsus to our own. Already masters of Asia Minor, they stretched out their hands, like Xerxes or Mithridates, to grasp at Europe also. And by dint of repeated incursions, as plunderers, as mercenaries, at last as conquerors, they seized a large part of its fairest regions with a firm grasp. Before the end of the fourteenth century the continuous territory of the Empire reached but a few miles from Constantinople. The outly-

ing possessions which were still kept in Peloponnêsos and in Chalkidikê were far greater than that corner of Thrace to which, in the words of Gibbon, the Roman world was now confined. The invasion of Timour gave the seemingly doomed Empire a breathing-space. It is not the least wonderful feature in the wonderful tale of Ottoman progress that, after the crushing blow of Angora, the fragments of the shivered Turkish dominion could come together again, that the successors of Bajazet could grasp again the sword which he had dropped, and could march on again to uninterrupted conquest. The fifteenth century beheld the conquest of the Empires of Constantinople and Trebizond, the wiping out of Greek independence everywhere, the wiping out of Servian independence everywhere, save on the unconquered heights of the Black Mountain. The sixteenth century saw a vast accession of Asiatic power; Syria and Egypt became possessions of the Ottoman Sultan, and, along with Egypt, he won or bought or extorted the right to bear himself as Caliph of the Prophet and Commander of the Faithful. The sixteenth century carried the Ottoman dominion deep into the heart of Hungary, and a pasha ruled at Buda as well as at Sofia and at Belgrade. It is hard measure indeed when the Magyar grudges to his Slavonic neighbour the deliverance which was won for himself by Slavonic swords, when Buda, freed from her pasha by Sobieski, regrets that pashas have passed away from Belgrade, and strives to keep them from passing away from Sofia and Mostar. In the same generation which made the Magyar the rayah of his Ottoman fellow, Rhodes was wrested from its Knights, and St. Mark lost his realm of Cyprus. But the war which gave Cyprus to the Turk also taught him at Lepanto that he was not invincible. From that day to this, there have been Turkish conquests here and there. Besides less famous lands, Crete was won, and has been kept to our own day. Yet, on the whole, the Turkish power has steadily gone back. The Turk has been driven from Hungary; he has been driven from Servia; he has been driven from Greece. For a while every lessening of the area of Islam, every widening of the area of Christendom, every rood of ground won from Asiatic barbarism to European civilization, was hailed as a triumph for Europe and for Christendom. But for some years past a strange doctrine has grown up among us; we are taught that, whenever Islam falls back and Christendom advances, it is a blow dealt to the world's happiness. We are taught that west of the Hadriatic we may look with

sympathy on struggling nations; that there freedom is, as Herodotus taught us, a noble thing, and bondage a thing to be accursed of all men. But we are taught that on the eastern shores of that mystic gulf another rule must reign. There it is bondage which is the holy thing, and freedom the evil plant which is to be trodden down wherever its baleful leaves dare to show themselves. A nation may rise against a yoke which simply offends its national instincts; it may not rise against a yoke which not only crushes every national instinct, but weighs the victim down in a bondage which denies him the common rights of human beings. The Pole may rise against the whips of Russia; the Lombard may rise against the whips of Austria; but for the Greek, the Slave, the Bulgarian, to rise against the scorpions of the Turk, is denounced as a deadly sin in every Foreign Office in Europe. In the West freedom and nationality may be cherished; in the East such dreams are forbidden. There the victim has nothing to do but to lie still, and feel how great is his privilege when the diplomatic wisdom of Europe offers him tip as a whole burnt-offering on the altar of the sovereign rights of the Sultan or of the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

A man who, ignorant of the facts, should hear for the first time of this singular creed of diplomatists and of those who listen to diplomatists, might be tempted to ask some questions which might sound not a little strange in our ears. He might be tempted to ask whether the rule of the third stream of Turanian invaders, namely the Ottoman Turks, had always shown itself the very model of government, whether it had been specially just, specially liberal, specially beneficent, above all governments. On no other theory could such a man explain the doctrine that this particular power had exercised such a magic over the diplomatic mind that it was deemed a service to humanity to hinder the area of its power from being anywhere lessened. Yet it might strike such a man as in some sort an inconsistency that, while so many diplomatists have bidden other nations to sit quiet and enjoy the blessings of Ottoman rule, no diplomatist on record has ever proposed to extend the blessings of Ottoman rule to his own nation—that no diplomatist has ever, in his zeal for the welfare of mankind, proposed to annex his own country to the Ottoman Empire—that none has even proposed that the government of his own country should be reconstructed after the model of the government of the Ottoman Empire. It might seem after all that what the diplomatists of Western Eu-

rope think good enough for Greeks, Slaves, and Bulgarians, would not seem to them good enough for their own or for any other Western country. Still, a power which has something about it which is able to upset all general rules, which makes men act and talk in a different way when it is concerned from the way in which they act and talk at all other times, is at least a curious subject for inquiry. Besides the deep historic interest of the examination, it must be practically well worth our while to know what is and has been the real nature of this power of which diplomatists are so tender, a power on behalf of whose preservation they display an amount of zeal which they never display on behalf of any other power in the world.

Now the one characteristic of Ottoman rule in Europe, that which distinguishes the third of the existing Turanian settlements, not only from the conquests and movements of the Aryan nations of Europe among themselves, but from the two older Turanian settlements, may be summed up in a few words. It is summed up in the phrases which we have already used and discussed, that, after four or five hundred years of conquest, the process of conquest still goes on—that the Turk is as much a stranger, as much an invader, as he ever was—that, in short, the Ottoman lords of south-eastern Europe are an alien horde encamped on soil which belongs to other men. The ruling race is still as distinct from the subject races as it was on the day when the first Ottoman crossed the Hellespont. There was then, and there is now, a ruling caste, in the interests of which all government—to give it that name of courtesy—is carried on; there was then, and there is now, a subject class, differing in blood and speech in different parts of the Ottoman dominions, but who are everywhere dealt with as the subjects and inferiors of that ruling caste. For that ruling caste all power, rank, and honour is reserved, except so far as it may be convenient to the ruler to set one class of his subjects to keep another class in order. The ruling class is armed and free, so far as any man can be said to be free under a despotism; the subject class is unarmed and in bondage, in the cruellest of bondage, bondage in their own land. The ruling class keeps the administration of so-called justice in its own hands; in most cases the very witness of men of the subject class is refused. The bondman has to get justice how he can from his master, in the most grievous cases of wrong, the life, property, or family honour. It is therefore not wonderful if, as a rule, the ruling class deal

with the subject class as they think good, or if the subject class find it hopeless to seek redress for the bitterest of wrongs. In short, the state of things which came in with the Ottoman conquest of south-eastern Europe, and which has lasted ever since within the range of the Ottoman dominion, is one that has no parallel elsewhere in Europe. It might indeed be possible to find cases in which particular classes of men in Western Europe, whether marked out by race, by rank, or by religion, have been subjected to oppression as grievous as that which is endured by the subject races under Ottoman dominion. But it would be quite impossible to find anywhere in Western Europe such a system of oppression, such a system of sacrificing the rights of one class to the will of another, maintained, as a matter of principle, for so long a time, and aggravated in practice during every century of its existence. Western Europe has plenty of blots on its history; but for a long time past the state of things in Western Europe has on the whole been getting better and better, while the state of things in Eastern Europe has been getting worse and worse. Whenever the condition of any land under Ottoman rule has been improved, it has been improved by removing it, wholly or in part, beyond the reach of Ottoman rule. In every land which is left under the direct rule of Turk, things never change for the better, but they often change for the worse. In the early days of Ottoman dominion the subject races had some chance. Out of the wonderful succession of great princes who built up the fabric of Ottoman power, not a few practised a justice of the Eastern type, and were not disposed to carry oppression further than was needed to maintain their power. In after days came the rule of the pashas, worse than the personal rule of the great Sultans, but still not so bad as the rule of the corrupt centralized court of Constantinople in our own day. But, while under the direct dominion of the Turk, bad has ever been growing into worse, other portions of Turkish territory have either wholly cast off the yoke, or have been raised to that tributary relation which secures full internal independence. The lands so set free have at once felt the benefits of freedom, and have at once outstripped the lands left under barbarian rule. Yet this dominion, which blights everything which it touches, under which progress is impossible, which can be improved only in the sense of being improved off the face of the earth, is the cherished idol of modern diplomatists. Leaving them to enjoy their adoration of their hideous fetish, let us look for the historical

causes of a state of things which has no parallel in the rest of Europe.

Why is the government of the "Sublime Porte" so exceptionally bad as in truth not to be government at all? Why is it that, while all other governments in Europe, however bad, can reform, this one cannot reform? Why is it that, among all the conquests that have been made in Europe, the Ottoman conquest is the only one in which the process of invasion is still going on after five hundred years? Why is it that, among so many cases in which a foreign dynasty or a whole foreign nation has established itself among a conquered people, the settlement of the Ottomans is the only one in which the distinction between conquerors and conquered remains as broadly drawn now as it was on the first day of the invasion? Why has the Turk neither assimilated his subjects to himself, nor been himself assimilated by them? Why did he not, like the once no less terrible Bulgarian, gradually lose himself in the greater mass of the people of the land? Why did he not at least remain in the position of the Magyar among his Slavonic neighbours? There the distinction between the conqueror and the conquered has been unusually abiding; the line between Magyar and Slave is still sharply drawn; the national feelings of the Slave not uncommonly revolt against Magyar supremacy. Still the difference is wide indeed between Magyar supremacy and Turkish oppression. Whatever the Slave of the kingdom of Hungary has to complain of, it is certain that it would be a blissful change for the Slave of the Ottoman Empire if he could be promoted to his position. Why then is this wide distinction which marks off the Ottoman conquest, the abiding Ottoman occupation, of the Greek and Slavonic lands of south-eastern Europe from any other recorded conquest and occupation in any other part of Europe? What distinguishes it from the conquest of the Frank in Gaul, of the Norman in England, of the Bulgarian in the lands on the Danube? The cause of the difference is a very simple one; it is no other than this, that the Ottoman Turk entered Europe as professors of the Mahometan religion. As its professors, they were also its champions, its armed missionaries, bound to offer to men of every other faith no alternative but that which was offered by the first armed missionaries of Islam, Koran, tribute, or sword. Here is the key to the whole difference. Other conquests have been made by Pagans over Christians, by Christians over Pagans, by Christians of one Church over Christians of another. The results of conquests in these various cases have

been widely different. They have ranged from the utter extermination of the conquered to the fusion of conquerors and conquered into an united people, from which all traces of old enmity, of old difference, have been wiped out. The results have been different in different cases, because the circumstances have been different in different cases. The Pagan Bulgarian embraced the religion of his Christian subjects and neighbours; the Mahometan Turk has never done so. The Mahometan Turk had doubtless made a far nearer approach to religious truth than the Pagan Bulgarian had made; but for that very reason the Pagan Bulgarian was better able to embrace a higher form of truth. When he had once embraced Christianity, there was nothing to hinder him from becoming one people with his Christian brethren around him. With the Mahometan Turk this could not be. In the case of a Mahometan conquest of a people of another faith, there can be but one result, and that is the result which might be seen in the Ottoman dominions five hundred years ago, and which may be seen unchanged, or changed only for the worse, in the Ottoman dominions now.

We feel that on this subject we can speak freely. No one can charge us with intolerance, with unwillingness to acknowledge whatever there is of good in the Prophet of Islam and in his creed. We feel that we have done justice to Mahomet himself and to the earlier and nobler among his followers.* We have indeed little more to do now than to take up the thread of our argument where we dropped it four years and a half ago. Our main position then was that Islam, the greatest of reforms in the age and country where it was first preached, has been the greatest hindrance to reform in the general history of the world. Because Mahomet put forth certain civil precepts, which, for Arabia in the seventh century, were admirable, he has condemned all the nations which accept his teaching to lag behind the social and political state of their Christian neighbours. Because he reformed the institutions of polygamy and slavery as he found them among his own people, he has made the institutions of polygamy and slavery abiding among every people that has embraced his law. Worst of all, by giving the command to fight for his faith, by decreeing that the man of every other faith can stand to the true believer in no relation but that of enemy or tributary, he has opened the way for endless deeds of horror,

* See the article 'Mahomet' in the 'The British Quarterly Review,' January, 1872.

for long ages of foul oppression, at which himself and his immediate followers would have stood aghast. The soul of the Prophet himself, the soul of Abou-Bekr the Righteous, even the more fiery soul of Khaled the Sword of God,—we believe that we might go on to say the souls of Sultans like the great Amurath and the great Sulciman,—would have revolted at this year's doings in Bulgaria no less than the soul of every Christian man beyond the dull walls of embassies and Foreign Offices revolts at them. We can conceive the prophet of Arabia saying to his degenerate followers: 'I bade you fight for the faith that I taught you; I promised Paradise to the man who died fighting for that faith; but I never bade you slay the helpless and unresisting; still less did I bid you do those deeds of torture, of unutterable wrong and outrage, which you never learned to do either from my teaching or from my example.' The Prophet might so speak, and in good faith. The worst deed of Mahomet's life, when he approved the judgment of slaughter on seven hundred captives taken in arms, seems a trifle beside one day of modern Turkish wickedness among the old men, the women, the sucking babes of hapless Bulgaria. But when Mahomet had once laid down as an eternal principle that his faith was to be propagated by the sword, when he had once laid down the principle that the man of any other faith than his own was to be dealt with as an enemy who could redeem his life only by the payment of tribute, he opened the way for all that has come of that teaching. When it is once laid down that men of other creeds can be removed out of the class of enemies only to take their place in the class of subjects, it is hard indeed to keep political inferiority from growing into habitual personal oppression, and it is hard to keep habitual personal oppression from growing, in any moment of general excitement, into those deeds of fiendish wickedness with which Europe is now ringing.

The relation which is to be fixed between the Mahometan ruler and his non-Mahometan subjects is clearly laid down in the Koran, and it was wrought into the form of something like a code at the surrender of Jerusalem to Omar. It briefly comes to this: The infidel who submits to tribute, that is, who purchases his life by the payment of tribute, purchases with it the right to his property and to the free exercise of his religion. But he purchases them only on a variety of degrading conditions, which stamps him for ever as one of an inferior race. The Mahometans are established as the ruling order: the non-Mahometans,

whether Christians or men of any other faith, are established as a subject order. This condition does not in itself involve personal oppression, but it does involve both corporate and personal degradation, and it opens the door to irregular oppression of any kind. In itself it is not persecution, but contemptuous toleration. If the letter of the law is strictly kept to, persecution, strictly so called, is as much shut out as real religious equality. But it is plain that, where the law prescribes contemptuous toleration, its practical working is much more likely to depart from that standard in the direction of persecution than in the direction of religious equality. In the long history of Islam it would not be impossible to find cases in which Christians, or men of other non-Mahometan creeds, have fared better at the hands of Mahometan rulers than the letter of the capitulation of Omar prescribed. But the vast mass of departures from its standard have naturally been the other way. It needs a very thoughtful and a very high-minded man to keep himself within the strict letter of such a law as this. It must, in such a case, be hard to check every temptation to deal somewhat worse than the law prescribes towards men whom the law itself brands as objects of contempt and abhorrence, as men who have simply saved their lives by submitting to live on degrading terms. Such high-minded and thoughtful men have been found among Mahometans; they have been found even among Ottoman Turks; they have been found even among Turkish doctors of the Mahometan law. In fact, it is among the better members of this last class that we may fairly look for such men. They know the letter of their own law, and it is their duty to check any departure from it, whether on one side or on the other. It should never be forgotten that, during the Greek War of Independence, a Sheikh-ul-Islam was deposed by Sultan Mahmud, another doctor of the law was murdered by the Turkish mob at Smyrna, because they steadily refused to sanction massacres of unarmed Christians, which were distinct sins against the teaching of the Prophet. It is one of the signs of the way in which Turkish matters get worse and worse, that we have heard nothing of any such noble spirits as these during the present struggle. But if men like these represent the best teaching of the Mahometan law, the deeds which they vainly strove to hinder show what Mahometan practice is always likely to come to. The delicate distinctions between right and wrong which they can draw in their closets are not likely to be thought of either

by a self-willed despot or by a fanatic mob. The practical condition of the non-Mahometan subjects of Mahometan powers has therefore, as a rule, been worse than that which is prescribed by the letter of the Mahometan law. The stern righteousness of the first Caliphs really enforced the conditions which they had themselves made; and under the real Saracen powers, both of East and West, the condition of the Christians seems always to have been tolerable, at least by comparison with what it has become in other lands and other times. It would be too much to say that every Caliph, either of Bagdad or Cordova, strictly carried out the capitulation of Omar. There were occasional outbursts of fanaticism; there was once or twice something which might be called a persecution; but there was nothing like the systematic horrors of Ottoman rule. It was with the coming of the Turk that the iron really entered into the soul of the Christians of the East. A people in every way inferior to the Saracen took his place, and the world at once felt the difference. With the coming even of the earlier and better Turkish dynasties, Christendom at once felt that Eastern Christians, that Western pilgrims, were brought under a new and heavier yoke. The crusade which had not been preached against the Saracen was at once preached against the Turk. The conquest of Asia by the Seljuk Turks marks one stage in the downward course; the passage of the Ottomans into Europe marks another; the change from the great Sultans to the small ones makes a third; the utter corruption of modern Turkish administration makes a fourth. All these mark the successive steps from Omar, stern and rude but just and faithful, to the abject beings who now degrade his titles, and to the instruments of brutal cruelty, of foul sensuality, of shameless perfidy, who now act in their name. It is indeed a change from Jerusalem surrendering to the good faith of Omar to Bulgaria laid waste by the brutality of Achmet Aga. But the downward course is one which is inherent in the system. That bad should change to worse is the inevitable law of human things.

Herein lies the difference between the dominion of the Ottoman and all cases of ordinary misgovernment. Ordinary misgovernment may be reformed; the foul fabric of Ottoman tyranny cannot be reformed; there is nothing to do but sweep it away. It is a fallacy so transparent that one is almost ashamed to answer it, when Mahometan advocates insult our common sense by giving us as a parallel to Turkish doings with Eastern Christendom the fact that

Jews and Christian heretics have often suffered grievously at the hands of Christian powers in Western Europe. The fact is undoubted; but it proves the exact opposite of that which Lord Derby and his friends try to make it prove. We freely allow that there have been times in Western Europe, times in England, when the professors of forms of Christianity other than the dominant one would have gained by going to live in Turkey. There has never been any law in Turkey by which the Christian, simply as a Christian, was liable to be burned at the stake or cut up alive on the scaffold. Turkey never saw an inquisition or an *auto-da-fe*. But what then? There have been times when the Protestant, the Roman Catholic, the Unitarian, in those countries where those forms of Christianity were severally persecuted, would have bettered his lot by becoming a rayah of the Turk. Would he better his lot by doing so now? The plain fact is that, throughout Western Europe, the condition of the Nonconformist—to use the most general of all words—has been getting better and better, while the condition of the Eastern Christian has been getting worse and worse. The Protestant of Mary's day, the Papist of Elizabeth's day, would certainly have found the yoke of Sultan Suleiman lighter than the yoke of either of those two Christian Queens. But is there any country in Western Europe, even among those where some remains of old intolerance is still left, where the Nonconformist would gain by making the same exchange now? That is to say, the worst Christian government can reform, while the Mahometan government of south-eastern Europe cannot reform. It may make endless promises of reform; it has made endless promises of reform; but it never has fulfilled any of its promises; it never can fulfil any of its promises. What some of us knew twenty years ago, all of us except professed diplomats know how. We all know that promises of reform in the mouth of a Turk go for nothing. We know that Tanzimats and Hats and Irades are all so many names for waste paper. It is so, because it must be so. The utmost stretch of reform that any Mahometan ruler could offer even in theory would be a return to the capitulation of Omar. And could the rule of the second Caliph be at this moment established in Bulgaria, the change would be a blessed one. But even the terms of the capitulation of Omar would condemn the Christian to a state of political and social degradation against which, in any land west of the Hadriatic, he would be thought justified in rising in arms at any moment.

And it is absolutely certain that, after so long a time of unrestrained licence in oppression, a race like the Ottoman Turks, in whom habits of cruelty, lust, and faithlessness have become a second nature, will never come back to the comparatively tolerable state of things which existed under the first Caliphs, even to that which existed under the early Sultans. It is absolutely certain that, as long as Ottoman rule is allowed to survive, whatever may be the law, the practice will always be much worse than the law. But the common run of Turkish promises does not run in the direction of Omar's capitulation. It runs in the direction of perfect equality between Mussulman and Christian. It is this which makes Turkish promises so specially worthless and deceptive. The Mahometan ruler promises to do what he cannot do consistently with his duty as a Mahometan ruler. If he really obeys the precepts of his own faith, he is bound to give to his tributary subjects that protection which at present he does not give them; but, on the other hand, he is equally bound not to put them on a level with the true believers. A really good Mahometan, a man honestly following his own law, men such as those who suffered for their righteousness fifty years back, would protest with an honest heart against the foul deeds of his fellow-Mussulmans in Bulgaria. But he would protest with an equally honest heart against the endless promises which the Turk makes so easily about putting Mussulmans and Christians on terms of real equality. The thing cannot be done. Any measures for giving Christians real protection as tributaries would of course offend the worst class of Mussulmans, those who look on Christians simply as materials for their vile passions. But any measures for establishing real equality of religions would equally offend the best class of Mussulmans, those who would be ready to grant to the Christian tributary all that the law of the Prophet allows, but who would refuse to grant him anything more. Real equality between Mussulman and non-Mussulman is a thing which never can be under any Mahometan government. It is because it is known to be impossible that it is so recklessly promised. When the other day the Porte—whatever may be just now meant by the Porte—put forth a proclamation to say that it looked on all its subjects as alike its children, we hardly needed Bulgarian massacres as a comment. Even without their light, we knew exactly what it was worth. It was a lie on the face of it.

The plain simple truth is that a Christian government can establish perfect equality among its subjects of all religions, but that

a Mahometan government cannot. And the reason is equally plain and simple. The Koran lays down certain civil precepts to which every faithful Mussulman must conform. One of those precepts prescribes the relations between the true believer and the infidel. The infidel is to be allowed toleration up to a certain point, but not beyond that point. Therefore real and full religious equality can never be granted under any Mahometan government. The gospel, on the other hand, lays down no civil precepts; it simply lays down moral principles, to which it is the business of Christian nations to make their public dealings conform. The gospel therefore gives no rule for the treatment of men of different religions under a Christian government. Christian governments therefore, in all times and places, have dealt with this question as in each particular time and place it seemed right in their eyes. Some have dealt with non-Christians, or with Christians of other sects than the dominant one, in a way far worse than the rules laid down by the Koran for the treatment of the unbeliever. Others have dealt with them far better. Christian governments have treated Christians of other sects worse than any Mahometan power—any Mahometan power at least earlier than the days of Murad the Drunkard—has treated its Christian subjects. But those Christian governments were not following out the principles of the gospel; they were sinning against them. As the principles of the gospel have been better understood, Christian governments have come nearer and nearer towards the establishment of real equality among their subjects of all religions. But no Mahometan government which really obeys the precepts of the Koran can grant real religious equality. It is bound to grant contemptuous toleration; but it is bound not to grant anything beyond.

Of all the transparent fallacies which ever were put forth, the most transparent surely was when Lord Derby argued that, because Christian, Mussulman, and Hindoo can live on equal terms under the English government of India, therefore Christian and Mussulman can live on equal terms under the Turkish government of south-eastern Europe. The saying is worthy of being embalmed as a specimen of the helpless talk of a diplomatist driven into a corner, as a specimen of the desperate things that men will say when they are bound to say something, and feel that they have nothing to say. But a question lies beyond, which is not likely to have come into Lord Derby's own head, and which may not as yet have been pressed upon him from without. Our Indi-

an government does—at all events it strives to do—equal justice to Christian, Mussulman, Parsee, and Hindoo. But many who know India well say that in this very equal justice there is a source of danger. They say that the Mussulman deems himself wronged because he is put on a level with men of other creeds, and is not allowed to lord it over them. And there is another question, whether Mussulmans and men of other religions can live together on equal terms under any but a despotic government. A strong and just despotism may keep all sects from harming one another; it does not at all follow that Christians and Mussulmans could act together in the working of a constitutional government. Experience shows that Christians of all sects, Jews, and, we must add, men of no creed at all, can act together for political purposes. But then none of these classes of men hold that they have a divine right to lord it over all the other classes; none of them deem that they are wronged if they are hindered from exercising that divine right. A Cabinet or a Parliament, many of whose members deemed that they were defrauded of a right because the rest of their colleagues were their equals in the eye of the law, would be something that Europe has not yet seen.

Above all things, no one should be led astray by the rumours which we ever and anon hear, that there is a constitutional party in Turkey. This does not mean a party which is anxious to give equal rights to all the people of the land, or to have public affairs ruled by an assembly representing all the people of the land. It simply means a constitution the benefits of which shall be extended to Mussulmans only. It means something like the Parliament of Scotland in the days of the penal laws against Covenanters; something like the Parliament of Ireland in the days of penal laws against Papists. Now this would be the worst case of all. The Grand Turk as he is is not so bad as this. The despotism of one man pressing equally on all alike is a less evil than the rule of a dominant sect over other sects. In a Mussulman despotism there is always a chance, just now certainly a very faint chance, of a good and wise Sultan. From an exclusively Mussulman Parliament the Christian tributary would have no hope at all.

What then is the practical conclusion? If the 'Eastern Question' is not to be 'eternal'—to quote the silly sneer of the man whose feeble diplomacy is going far to make it eternal—an end must be put to that evil thing, the power of the Turk in Europe. Now then of course will come the oft-

repeated taunt, If the Turk goes, what will you put in his place? The doings of the Turk himself might supply us with one answer. When the lowest depth has been reached, any change must be a gain. Whatever is put in the place of the Turk must be better than the Turk. But we may go somewhat deeper into matters than this. Experience teaches that a very long-sighted policy often overreaches itself, that an elaborate scheme drawn up beforehand will most likely never be carried into effect. It teaches that it is better to do the immediate duty of the moment, and to leave events to shape themselves. To put the doctrine in a shape which may be a little puzzling to diplomats, it is sometimes the highest wisdom to act in faith. When William the Silent set forth for the deliverance of the Netherlands, he had not the articles of confederation of the Seven United Provinces ready drawn up in his pocket. If he had waited till he had such a scheme ready, and till he felt absolutely certain that his scheme would work, he would never have set forth at all. It is in the process of getting rid of the Turk that we shall best find out what is to be put in his place. But everything tends to show that something in the shape of a federal union among the lands to be delivered, a federal union whose centre shall be at the New Rome, is destined to take the place of the foul fabric of oppression which is doomed of God and man. The lands which have risen against their oppressors, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Crete, must be forever set free from his yoke. So to set them free is the duty of the great powers of Europe; is the only atonement which they can make for their deep sin of many years in bolstering up the dominion of embodied evil. Let them do this by peaceful means, if it can be done; if not, a new Lepanto, a new Navarino, must teach the barbarian that his hour is come. All terms of peace are simply frivolous, the peace which they would make would be no peace, as long as a single rood of Slavonic or Bulgarian soil remains in the grasp of the oppressor. How far the presence of the barbarian is to be endured on the throne of the Cæsars, how far the rites of Islam are to be endured beneath the dome of St. Sophia, will be even then a weighty question. But a difference may be drawn between the lands which have risen and the lands which have not. From all lands north of the Balkan, from the practically Bulgarian lands to the south of it, the Turk must go, or all negotiations for peace will be mere mockery. If he can be made to go from the soil of Europe altogether, so much the better.

And here we have yet to answer one more of the oft-repeated cavils of the advocates of evil. A certain class of writers, to whom the five hundred years' oppression of Christian nations has seemed a light matter, have suddenly displayed a wonderful care for the interests of the Mussulmans of Bosnia. Such zeal is perhaps a sign that the fact that there are Mussulmans in Bosnia was a newly-found piece of knowledge. To us who are twenty year-old stagers in this controversy the fact has always been familiar, and some of us had thought of the remedy long before the special champions of Bosnian Mahometanism had thought or heard of the matter. We wish, if possible, to have no class of men oppressed, be they Christian or Mussulman, majority or minority. There may certainly be some fear lest the Christian majority of Bosnia might, if they had the power in their hands, return in kind some small portion of the wrongs which they have so long endured at the hands of the Mussulman minority. We do not say that it would be so; but it might be so, and it might be well to avoid the possibility. Long before this special zeal for Bosnian oligarchy broke forth, it had been proposed from the other side to secure this end by the annexation of Bosnia to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. If it is feared that a prince of Bosnia, or a prince of Servia and Bosnia, could not secure toleration for the Mussulman minority, the Apostolic King at least could do so. This may not be in itself the best solution of the difficulty, and it is a solution which is likely to be made impossible by Magyar jealousy of any extension of the Slavonic element in the Austro-Hungarian dominions. But here is the fact, that it was not an advocate of the Turk, but an advocate of the insurgents, who first thought of taking care for the Mussulmans of Bosnia. If all such schemes fail, if there is no means of protecting both classes, if somebody must be oppressed, then surely the greatest happiness of the greatest number demands that the smaller number should be oppressed rather than the greater; the equal justice of things demands that, if oppression cannot be put an end to, the oppressor and the oppressed should, after so many ages, change places.

While we write, rumours of wars, rumours of peace, still pass through the air, with all the speed with which the electric flash can carry them. We ask, daily and hourly, what is the last news from Alexinatz? Has right or has wrong the upper hand in the strife waged around those well-contested balwarks? What news is there from the land where the heroes of the Black

Mountain stand victorious on the soil which their yataghans have won back from the oppressor of their brethren? The dullest diplomatist in Europe can hardly demand that the yoke of the barbarian shall be again pressed by so-called terms of peace on the land from which the noblest warfare of modern times has driven him. And will Europe, will Russia, allow Servia, even if her glorious struggle has been less successful than we once hoped for, to be placed in a worse case than she was, when she cast the die for all that is worth living for, for a man or for a people? And Bulgaria, her groans go up to demand at the throne of heaven's justice that the wretches who have defiled her soil with deeds, such as one hardly deemed that the very Turk could do, shall never again be handed over to the tender mercies of her old oppressors. All of us know now, some of us have long known, what is meant by the 'independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire.' We know now what the 'sovereign rights of the Sultan' are, and how they are exercised. Diplomacy will be in vain, peace will be a mockery, if those evil names, Turk and Porte and Sultan, are ever heard again on Slavonic or Bulgarian soil. All this will be a new light to the blinded eyes, the puzzled brains, of the men who unhappily direct the policy of England in the Embassy at Constantinople and in the Foreign Office in London. But the heart of the English people is sound; the truth has at last reached their ears; a voice is going up to which even the dull wonderment of a Derby and the more active mischief of a Beaconsfield must at last pay some heed. From north and south and east and west, from hill and dale, from town and village, the cry must go up, as it has begun to go up, that we will not be partakers in other men's sins, that we will not endure the Turk as our ally, or the friends of the Turk as our rulers.

E. A. F.

ART. VII.—*Daniel Deronda.*

Daniel Deronda. By GEORGE ELIOT. William Blackwood and Sons.

THE question, What is to be the deliberate judgment of her own age on the writings of George Eliot? is one that demands its answer each day with more urgency. It is not one of mere literary interest. The problems whose solutions she attempts lie at the very foundation of our social life; and

we cannot but feel, as we read, that the interest her books excite is not merely such as might be stirred by a work of artistic finish, by an effort of literary skill, but one which pierces to the very joints and marrow of the life we live. It is little to the purpose to compare George Eliot with English novelists of our own or of an earlier day; the points of contact are so few that such a comparison would consist of little but that least valuable of statistical enumerations, a list of contrasts. But one feature the works of George Eliot possess to a degree which no other English writer of fiction has attained, and this is the far-reaching and yet penetrating ethical influence which her studies of society have achieved. Other writers have caught, with more or less quickness of receptivity, the various shifting phases of the life around them, and have transferred these, more or less instinct with vitality, to their pages. There are others who have crowded into supreme moments of thrilling emotion or nervous action, greater brilliancy of romance; but to this writer of our own age belongs a power, possessed by no other writer of English fiction, of analysing and assorting the maxims of our social code. Great as is the literary skill of George Eliot, it is ever subordinate to this studied ethical and psychological analysis.

It is inevitable that with a writer who affects us thus, one of our first efforts should be to try, as far as we may, to catch something of her point of view, and to trace out her ethical system. Be it said, however, that the salient features of her weakness lie in both her strength and her ethical system. This above all things, that so to speak, of her views, if we prefer duty, are every human nature and of human end, independent where predominantly presters she creates of the individual character, this or that character. Other writers reproduce faithfully from character copied more or less duty or of human real life, and their views of shaped by their own destiny are liable to be the lot of the ever-present sympathy with ated. With characters they have thus created, we are ever impressed with the ethical system as something independent of the characters are handled on the stage. The feeling and are not so much living creations, taneity of acting with the fortuitous spontaneity of ordinary humanity—they constantly tend to become subordinated to the special view of life, to act as illustrative of a is undoubted system or theory. The former method but the latter presents a better field for the subtle of psychological analysis, and it is

here that the strength of his genius lies.

The very construction of George Eliot's novels, then, forces on us the question, What is the view of human life which underlies them all? The very key-note of her teaching is struck in the lines printed before the title-page of each volume of 'Daniel Deronda.'

'Let thy chief terror be of thine own soul:
'There, 'mid the throng of hurrying desires
That trample o'er the dead to seize their spoil,
Lurks vengeance, footless, irresistible
As exhalations laden with slow death,
And o'er the fairest troop of captured joys
Breathes pallid pestilence.'

To parallel the passionate fear of unguided human nature that these words express, we should have to go back to the utterances of the Hebrew Masters. 'The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked,' is only another phase of the same feeling—a feeling which has underlain the practical, as well as the professed, asceticism of all ages. No Puritan could trust less to the outcome of undisciplined human nature than does George Eliot; but the melancholy which this distrust inspires in George Eliot is a melancholy unrelieved by the robust religious ecstasy which invigorates the Puritan. The tragedy of untamed human nature forging for itself an indissoluble bond of triple brass in its undying crimes and their self-brought retribution, as it rushes in the flood-tide of its 'hurrying desires,' is the most intense of all tragedies: it is the chief lesson by which George Eliot would purge our passions. Not the most cursory reader can be insensible to the increased insistence on this theme, to the reiteration of this sort of monotone of melancholy in the later novels. There is a wide interval between the gentle soothing of the self-inflicted pangs of passion in Catarina, the tender chastening of young pride in 'Janet's Repentance,' or even the intense inward struggle by which Maggie Tulliver is aided to rise beyond and above the mere thought of self; and, on the other hand, the serpent-like crawling selfishness which transforms the gay unthinking Tito into the hardened, callous profligate; the red-hot iron of remorse for passion indulged that eats into the very soul of Harold Transome's mother; the creeping paralysis that overspreads the whole soul of Lydgate after he has once compromised with his own baser self; and the unutterable sadness of the downfall of Gwendolen Harleth and her exulting hopes. The same truth that is taught in these lines that are the motto to 'Daniel Deron-

da,' is there we have slight difference of expression; in the lines which head one of the chapters of 'Felix Holt.'

'It is a good and soothfast saw,
Half-roasted never will be raw;
No dough is dried once more to meal,
No crock new-shapen by the wheel;
You can't turn curds to milk again,
Nor Now, by wishing, back to Then;
And having tasted stolen honey,
You can't buy innocence for money.'

It is the same teaching, only in different words; and there is hardly a page of 'Daniel Deronda' in which a good action does not appear as an obedience to the warning, or a bad one as an illustration of the truth. In this book, more perhaps than in any other, the very essence of the author's creed of humanity is pushed to its utmost. There is much less of the easy play of humour which we found in its predecessors, much less in the way of by-play to the main action. The digressions, the scraps of psychological analysis, the action of the minor characters, seem all to contribute some additional force to the enunciation of the central truth which the novel is to teach, and to be useful only as they do so.

It is inevitable that this compression of moral purpose should detract something from the literary perfection of the book. We can readily accept digressions and disquisitions interspersed through a novel which lie apart from the main action, and in which the author's fancy seems to rest for a moment in its onward flow, and to gather into a quiet pool in whose depths it can stay for a time before it resumes the main stream of the action. But disquisition becomes more irksome when it is made to serve like the chorus in a Greek tragedy, when it must interpret action for us, and show us the point from which we must view that action. All George Eliot's novels have been weighted by such pregnant disquisitions, and have suffered from the overstrain which they thus throw upon the reader—an overstrain which not only burdens the feeble intelligence of the careless, but which forces even the most attentive to bestow their attention just where they should not, and so mars the proportions of the story. But if the fault has been present in the previous novels, it is undeniable that it is more than ever predominant in this. The disquisitions do not stand as reliefs to the main action—they do not widen or deepen the meaning of that action—they are really in many cases mere explanations of what otherwise would baffle us in the bias of a character or in the conception of it by the author. Thus, without a dozen or more pages of

studied disquisition at the beginning of Book vi., on the relations between strict reasoning and ideal enthusiasm, we could neither understand the view which we are to take of Deronda's character at the most momentous crisis of his life, nor would his action be explicable to us judged from any ordinary rules of human conduct. We require the explanation, but yet we grumble at its necessity. To make the improbable in action appear natural (taking a reference suggested by the motto which heads the chapter) is beyond the reach of mediocrity. By skilful argument it is demonstrable; by only the very excess of genius is it made to appear spontaneous and inevitable. George Eliot was not likely to rest in the impotence of mediocrity; but the question will still arise, Does she not trust more than the highest art would to the demonstrations of argumentative disquisition?

In proportion as the functions of the chorus in tragedy are increased, the drama becomes the more independent of scenic effect and even of development in action. Perhaps something of the same effect is seen in the overstrain of that disquisition which serves as a chorus in fiction. As it is increased the enhancements of situation and of circumstance are neglected; and this is a neglect which an occasional display of power of such a kind by George Eliot has taught us all the more to regret. For the most part she seems to disdain the use of scenic accessories, as if they were in some degree a concession made to sensationalism. It is rarely that we have the thread of the action vibrating, as it does so often in Scott's novels, under the shock of some momentous crisis; rarely even that we have such a moment of dramatic force as the appearance of Rawdon Crawley before Lord Steyne and Becky Sharp; but the few exceptions are of surpassing power. Nothing is grander in its way than the high-wrought moment of dramatic intensity when Esther Lyon gives her evidence at the trial of Felix Holt. The background of surrounding circumstance was never drawn with more telling effect than in the yachting tour of Grandcourt and Gwendolen in 'Daniel Deronda.'

'The weather was fine, and they were coasting southward, where even the rain-furrowed, heat-cracked clay becomes gem-like with purple shadows, and where one may float between blue and blue in an open-eyed dream that the world has done with sorrow. But what can still that hunger of the heart which sickens the eye for beauty, and makes sweet-scented ease an oppression?'

But for the most part this is a sort of effect which George Eliot utterly ignores. The

subtle tragedy of human fate, which seems to make bare its innermost working before her, may pass for her as well in a village bar-room or a Belgravian drawing-room as beneath the majestic distance of the stars: the words in whose utterance it thrills may be spoken as well amid the trivialities of a summer tour as in the hurried moment of the dramatic crisis of a life. The setting of her characters appears to be hardly more noticed by George Eliot than (to borrow one of her own comparisons) we heed the passages that lead to a court of justice. It is we who suffer most from wanting the dramatic support that her untiring insight despises.

There is another characteristic of George Eliot's creations which perhaps helps to mar for us the truth and effectiveness which they unquestionably possess. To many that may hardly seem a defect which is due to refusing any concession to the weakness of common sympathy or the narrowness of common experience. But is there not perceptible, especially in the later novels, an undue lack of any appeal to our ordinary sympathies or our ordinary experience, a lack which seems to keep the characters from being entirely natural? The earlier types—Silas Marner, Adam Bede, Maggie Tulliver—had all of them something that made them kin to us in sympathy, that made them recognisable, if not amongst the actualities, at least amongst the possibilities of our experience. We had not to school ourselves against being provoked with them, we had not to argue ourselves into sympathizing with them. But is there not a lurking feeling of this kind in the mind of many a reader of the later novels, however unworthy he may feel it, in the light of the preachings of George Eliot? And even when he has got quit of this feeling, when he has learned to admire and hate, for the most part, with the author, does there not remain a something in the better characters, which he cannot help disliking, something which seems to penetrate into their whole being and to give its leaven to all their phases; and at the same time a disposition to make a little more allowance for deficiencies in other characters which the author appears to hold unpardonable? Is there not an uneasy doubt, even in our admiration of her heroes, whether we disagree with our author's estimate of what is high in human nature, or revolt at an uncomfortable realism in her way of describing it? Take for instance the character of Felix Holt. We recognise—perhaps with a little shame for not recognising it more quickly—the massive simplicity of his character, his strong

earnestness, his uncompromising sinking of self: but to the very end can we overlook, or can we tell ourselves that we would be more in the right if we did overlook, the vein of coarseness and irreverence in his nature, the blustering obtuseness of some of his faculties, the unmanly bullying into which not a little of his teaching of Esther Lyon degenerates, and which we learn to dislike all the more when it is seen side by side with the equal nobility of purpose and infinitely greater tenderness and insight of Rufus Lyon, the dissenting minister? Or take Dorothea, in 'Middlemarch.' Are we to accept her strained self-consciousness, her blind trust in her own guiding, her rigidity in judging others, as contributing traits in her unquestionable nobility of character? or are we to take them as the necessary drawbacks of a heroine? To the last we remain uncertain whether we are meant to suffuse the (to us) darker colours over the whole, and take them as an enhancement of its beauty, or to look on them as the darker specks which a realistic art would paint in the sun. We have no desire to claim for the low tone of common taste engendered by the ordinary novel the dignity of an opinion or the force of a criticism on novels such as those of George Eliot; but we have a suspicion that the small offshoot of truth which may be found even amid the rank growth of many-tongued popular opinion, on what lies above and beyond it, has its root in some such feeling as this.

But the peculiarities, hardly, or at least with much reservation, to be called defects, which we have noted, must not serve to obscure for us the brilliancy of George Eliot's genius. In criticising 'Daniel Deronda,' as in dealing with her works generally, we must be understood to use the ordinary epithets of admiration in a totally different sense from that which they must bear in the critiques of the current fiction of the day. In the strictest sense of the word her books are English classics. More perhaps than any other contemporary writings are they penetrated with the pulsations of the keenest and most living thought of our time. To any ordinary novel, the criticisms suggested by a novel of George Eliot are utterly inapplicable, because the sphere in which the ordinary novelist moves is a distinctly lower one, the problems on which he touches belong to a narrower range. His characters are as children beside the grown men and women of George Eliot. The lives he pictures for us are as flimsy play beside the deep-rooted earnestness of work that gives reality to George Eliot's conceptions. The random inconsequence of his views of life

are, to hers, like the noisy scintillations of a firework beside the cold and clear steadfastness of a moonlight night. It is with this understanding that we would speak of the author's latest work, 'Daniel Deronda.'

It is little more than a truism to say that in this, as in George Eliot's other works, the chief, almost the entire interest, centres in the development of the individual characters. She never pays much attention to her plots, but here the subordination of plot to character-drawing is carried to an extreme. With one peculiarity, however. The failing here is not so much in the construction, as in the working out of the plot. The opportunities of the original conception seem to be thrown away. At the end of the eighth book we are left with the threads of the story broken off abruptly. Will Gwendolen learn to adjust herself to the new view of duty which she sees so dimly yet, but after whose rest she strives with such an overpowering eagerness? What will be the issue of Deronda's new crusade—not on the future of the Jews (that would be too much to ask), but on his own character? Will he be steadfast to the enthusiasm in which his whole being has rushed for the time? and what balance will be kept between the enthusiasm bequeathed him by Mordecai and the love to which that enthusiasm was as the complement? What of Rex Gascoigne, and the continuance of his rather premature 'sense of the irrevocableness of his lot'? Surely his is too fine a character to be dismissed with the stunted incompleteness of a stage accessory. Of Hans Meyrick we cannot profess any ardent desire to know much more; but his flimsy witticisms and affectations have surely occupied us too long to end in nothing but smoke. Even of Mrs. Glasher we seem to miss some tidings, to tell us of the effect of her son's changed prospects on that life whose slow withering has been drawn for us with so skilful and so painstaking a hand.

With a completed plot, then, we must be content to dispense, but in the subtlety of character-drawing we seem scarcely to notice the want. The chief place we should be inclined to give to the character of Gwendolen Harleth, the spoilt child of Book i. We know her first (in the order of her years, not in that of the book) as the petted daughter of a widow, over whom and whose daughters by a second marriage Gwendolen exercises a capricious but unquestioned tyranny. It is a tyranny which all are disposed to forgive, and to acquiesce in as a part of the order of things, which seems to lack something in completeness so long as the supremacy of a young lady so

fitted for an advantageous pose in life is not fully established. Like most wilful people, she has another fault, seldom disjoined from wilfulness—she is thoroughly selfish. Besides herself, she cares for perhaps one other person in the world, and that is her mother; but the affection is not strong enough to prevent Gwendolen's refusing one night to sacrifice a very little of her own warm ease to do something to soothe the pain of that mother when she needed tending. And like most selfish people, she is also cruel: not naturally or thoughtlessly, but from a sort of selfishness that appeared to herself to be 'a peculiar sensitiveness which was a mark of her general superiority,' as when she strangled her sister's canary bird in a fit of exasperation at its shrill singing. Still she was not remorseless: 'the thought of that felonious murder often made her wince,' to relieve the wincing she made a show of penance, but she 'made her penances easy,' and she disliked their humiliation. So, by the very force of this dislike, she had gained 'a self-control by which she guarded herself from penitential humiliation.'

Her training had not been a good one. She had passed in her early years a shifting life in one or another foreign town. She had wanted that silent teaching which is thus beautifully described:—

'A human life, I think, should be well rooted in some spot of a native land, where it may get the love of tender kinship for the face of earth, for the labours men go forth to, for the sounds and accents that haunt it, for whatever will give that early home a familiar unmistakable difference amidst the future widening of knowledge: a spot where the definiteness of early memories may be wrought with affection, and kindly acquaintance with all neighbours, even to the dogs and donkeys, may spread, not by sentimental effort and reflection, but as a sweet habit of the blood. At five years old mortals are not prepared to be citizens of the world, to be stimulated by abstract nouns, to soar above preference into impartiality; and that prejudice in favour of milk with which we blindly begin, is a type of the way body and soul must get nourished at least for a time. The best introduction to astronomy is to think of the mighty heavens as a little lot of stars belonging to one's own homestead. But this blessed persistence in which affection can take root had been wanting in Gwendolen's life.'

But this was not all that happened untowardly for poor Gwendolen's moral training. Treated by others 'as if she had been a princess in exile,' with a humble adoration, she found no corrective to the triumph of self-satisfaction. With plain looks, an

uneasy and self-conscious sense of disadvantages, and an unsprightly temper, selfishness like that of Gwendolen might either have changed to morbid and brooding discontent, or become injured by hard discipline to accept the inevitable denial of the self-gratification which it would have indulged to the full had it been able. But with Gwendolen, the ever-present homage rendered to her beauty, her energetic animal force, the charm of her presence, combined to fortify her in the deliberate choice of a selfish aim, and in the certainty that she could realize that aim. What wonder then that it should be as she herself tells us? 'I am determined to be happy. . . . I have made up my mind not to let other people interfere with me as they have done.' 'Gwendolen will not rest without having the world at her feet,' is the verdict of her surroundings, as uttered by Miss Merry, the meek governess. What wonder that, with the smell of such incense ever in her nostrils, she should feel herself 'well equipped for the mastery of life'? What wonder that she should have 'a hazy largeness about her on the heights of her young self-exultation'? The secret of her influence George Eliot explains to us in a few terse phrases of the kind that make us wonder at the expressive force which language can be made to bear. What can be more suggestive than the 'certain unusualness about her, a decision of will which made itself felt in her graceful movements and clear unhesitating tones, so that if she came into a room on a rainy day, when everybody else was flaccid, and the use of things in general was not apparent to them, there seemed to be a sudden sufficient reason for keeping up the forms of life'? Her 'spontaneous sense of capability' was not disturbed by any misgivings as to her own ignorance: in what was unknown to her she only felt 'no interest because it was stupid,' and her ignorance was at least saved from 'any painful sense of limpness.'

No prison walls could have enclosed this young life with sterner necessity than this triple bond of ignorance and selfishness and self-exultation. She intended to win a foremost place in life, and it took no long time till apparently her will had been triumphant. Henleigh Grandcourt, the heir to innumerable estates, to, at least a baronetcy and to possibly a peerage, appears on the scene only to fall a victim to that 'unusualness' of charm which she possessed. It is here that the irony of the drama opens, in the unthinking heedlessness that prompts the girl to play with her fate, and to accept the love of Grandcourt as a flattering, well-bred

homage, with as little of real feeling as if she had been acting a part that was expected from her on the stage. The sudden awakening out of this heedlessness, by the snake in the grass that rises with the revelation of Grandcourt's previous entanglements, brings the first lesson to Gwendolen. 'The fierceness of maidenhood' that is in her is kindled into anger, just as her selfish aims are frustrated, by the revelation: she breaks away like a startled deer, but the lesson only changes the colour of her selfishness, without uprooting it. She found abroad 'a new excitement in gambling, and in imagining herself an empress of luck.' Her experiences had given her only 'a vague impression that in this confused world it signified nothing what any one did so that they amused themselves.' Ignorant selfishness had thus passed in Gwendolen into what was even worse, ignorant and shallow cynicism. But before she returned home she had come under a new influence—the most powerful over all her life for good—which was to give to all experience henceforward a new meaning. She had seen, and though no words had passed, she had been taught by, Deronda. Under that influence selfish error and sin was not made as yet more impossible to her, but that remorse which had ever risen readily in her nature was redoubled in rapidity and in force. Gwendolen had turned her back on what had been an ugly stumble in the mid-career of her triumph, but she came home not only to find the place of the triumph empty, but the hard pressure of degrading conditions in its room. The snakes have gathered round the wheels of the triumphal chariot; but after all, untaught selfishness may well prefer the triumph, even with its canker, to the drudgery of humdrum servitude from which it has been in life-long revolt. The place in the triumph is still vacant; it is again offered, with added grace in the offering; and Gwendolen chooses, once and for all, for ill. Once the choice is made, remorse is soon kindled. The feverish excitement which would hide away the dark spot in her knowledge is roughly startled into facing the stern fact of irreparable wrong-doing; and before the night had closed upon his wedding-day, Grandcourt had found 'that in some form or other the furies had crossed his threshold.' But Gwendolen has to feel not merely remorse for wrong done, she has also to learn the new experience of a fancied triumph that is only gilded misery. The snakes that had twined about the wheels rear their heads and close in upon her whole vision. Her life is a dumb protest against an iron tyranny that seems to

shut her in, helpless in her misery, from an overhanging dread of a vague indefinite worse that seems possible. And now, what had the girlish thoughtlessness of a few months before become?

'Poor Gwendolen was conscious of an uneasy, transforming process—all the old nature shaken to its depths, its hopes spoiled, its pleasures perturbed, but still showing wholeness and strength in the will to reassert itself. After every new shock of humiliation she tried to adjust herself and seize her old supports—proud concealment, trust in new excitements that would make life go by without much thinking; trust in some deed of reparation to nullify her self-blame and shield her from a vague, ever-visiting dread of some horrible calamity; trust in the hardening effect of use and wont that would make her indifferent to her miseries.

'Yes—miseries. This beautiful, healthy young creature, with her two and twenty years and her gratified ambition, no longer felt inclined to kiss her fortunate image in the glass: she looked at it with wonder that she could be so miserable. One belief which had accompanied her through her unmarried life as a self-cajoling superstition, encouraged by the subordination of every one about her—the belief in her own power of domination—was utterly gone. Already, in seven short weeks, which seemed half her life, her husband had gained a mastery which she could no more resist than she could have resisted the benumbing effect from the touch of a torpedo.'

It would hardly be possible to parallel in all fiction the powerful strokes in which the waste spread by bitter sorrow over Gwendolen's full joy of life is drawn. Her whole life is made to wear the aspect of a scorched and withered moor, in which the untrained and vigorous growth of furze and bracken has been blackened into gaunt and shrivelled charcoal by some devouring flame, and has left the features of the earth it covered naked to the view. The superstitious vein that lurked under Gwendolen's brilliant exterior, even in early days, now comes more fully into view. The love for her mother, which counted for so little before, now becomes a sense of craving for rest. Above all, the influence of Deronda, first established in that glance across the gaming-table which tamed Gwendolen's spirit after its first outburst of defiance, that influence now grows to be, as it were, the religion of poor Gwendolen's life. She has now learned enough of ill, she has her burden of remorse to bear; but a new dread is over her—lest she should become worse still. We see her acting her part as Grandcourt's bride to admiration, maintaining a cold exterior which veils the canker at her heart; we see her at

intervals ready to throw herself, even with all the reserve to which her position ties her, upon the one resource on which she has learned to lean. We recognise the one love which might have ripened her whole being to better things in the passionate defence of Deronda against the tooth of scandal, in the humble guise which her pride assumes before him; but we do not know till later all the terrifying promptings that gave intensity to her cry to him for help, that made her life with Grandcourt nothing but a mute despair. The iron that has entered into her soul first prompts the desire to be rid of her husband, even should it be by death; then tempts her to keep in her possession the weapon—'something my fingers longed for among the beautiful toys in the cabinet in my boudoir—small and sharp, like a long willow leaf in a silver sheath.' The evil temptation gathered strength. It grew with the terrible imprisonment of the yacht, when her husband comes to be to her 'like a dangerous serpent ornamentally coiled in her cabin.' It became to her an ever-present, over-mastering dread, and her one thought of possible rescue from it, her one struggle to resist it, comes as a suggestion from the memory of Deronda. When she is cramped up with Grandcourt in the sailing-boat, then the wishes she dreads shaped themselves 'like a cloud of demon faces.' In their midst she had but one resource, 'she clung to the thought of Deronda.' At last the end comes; she sees, not by her own act, 'her wish outside her;' the hated, dreaded husband remained as only the memory of a dead face, seen 'not by any one else—only by me—a dead face—I shall never get away from it.'

The words that reveal all this to us are uttered in confession to Deronda. The mention of the silver-sheathed dagger recalls the curiously similar episode about Tina, in 'Mr. Gilfil's Love Story,' where Gilfil finds the dagger as it drops from 'poor Tina's pocket, placed there in preparation for a crime for which she knew not her own incapacity. In Gwendolen's case the dominant wish had gone even further towards its own realisation, but still without incurring anything that Deronda (or the reader, who is bound to judge with Deronda) felt compelled to consider as a conscious or contributory guilt. But with that wish once in shape outside of her, poor Gwendolen's whole horizon changes. The floodgates of feeling are let loose. Remorse is no longer a pain dwelling with an overhanging dread; the dread has passed, and in its place there is only a settled melancholy abiding with her to the end. Remorse and the acts of

which it is the fruit are no longer living presences, they remain only the charred fragments that stand out upon the withered waste. But the very energy with which she renounces self, the very ardour with which she reaches after some regeneration of her nature, makes all the more imperious the need of refreshment and solace from one source. Deronda, and the higher life he had taught her to see at a distance, this was her religion. Her strength for long effort in the future, her guidance for the baffling difficulties that future must bring, can come from him and from him alone. At last a love was open to her to which love-making and marriage were as trivialities, the unheeded echoes from the possibilities of a past (not hers) out of which remorse and all that had caused it could be swept away. In her sight nothing now stands between them; and her anguish may freely prompt her to 'the unreflecting openness, nay, the importunate pleading with which she expressed her dependence on him,'—a dependence to criticise which in the light of conventionalities only seems to jar on us as a false note breaking in on a subtly-wrought harmony. 'If she cried towards him, what then? She cried as the child cries whose little feet have fallen backward—cried to be taken by the hand, lest she should lose herself.'

But poor Gwendolen had one more lesson yet to learn—the hardest of them all. Deronda's love was another's, and Gwendolen must struggle without his helping hand for the better life that he had shown her in the distance. The scene in which the revelation that is to part them comes to her is one of intensest pathos. In the first burst of bitter, passionate forsakenness, we seem to feel the old Gwendolen, of twelve months before, alive and speaking; but before they part she can bring herself to say:—

'You have been very good to me. I have deserved nothing. I will try—try to live. I shall think of you. What good have I been? Only harm. Don't let me be harm to you. It shall be the better for me.'

And that although the 'burthen of that difficult rectitude towards him was a weight her frame tottered under.' How the first months of her struggle fared for her, we may read in her own words—words that seem to carry a strange echo of the old desire to lead, of the old reference to self, although how mightily transformed!

'Do not think of me sorrowfully on your wedding-day. I have remembered your words, that I may live to be one of the best of women, who make others glad that they

were born. I do not yet see how that can be, but you know better than I. If it ever comes true, it will be because you helped me. I only thought of myself, and I made you grieve. It hurts me now to think of your grief. You must not grieve any more for me. It is better—it shall be better with me because I have known you.—GWENDOLEN GRANDCOURT.'

Next to Gwendolen as a finished study we should place the character of Grandcourt. It is far from being so complicated or so varied. It has no shifting phases, no processes, no development. In its fixity it is even statuesque. But what is most remarkable about the study is not only the unswerving rigidity, which stands so utterly in contrast with the ordinary conception of the polite villain in fiction, as a confused compound of incompatibilities—not only the powerful traits which make Grandcourt's a character that would wield a sway over other minds than that of the school-girl, to whom the gentlemanly reprobate is a person so full of charm: what gives the subtler colouring to the picture is the underlying irony by which the utter contemptibleness of his blind self-love is shown in contrast with the thin veneer of surface sway which that self-love is able to achieve. The influence of his calm exterior, of his fixity of purpose unmoved by a single wavering of sympathy or of kindness, of what we are compelled to call his freedom from common pettinesses or weaknesses—this would undoubtedly go a certain way to making him a leader among men. 'He had remarkable physical courage, and was proud of it, or rather he had a great contempt for the coarser, bulkier men who generally had less.' We can understand the feeling of Gwendolen, that to resist him 'was to act like a stupid animal unable to measure results.' We acquiesce in the verdict of the author that 'Grandcourt within his own sphere of interest showed some of the qualities which have entered into triumphal policy of the widest continental sort.' We understand how, 'if this white-handed man with the perpendicular profile had been sent to govern a difficult colony, he might have won reputation among his contemporaries.' But the superficial force of his character only serves to bring out its utter littleness in the face of wider issues and of higher aims. How despicable appears his blind self-adoration! 'He had all his life had reason to take a flattering view of his own attractiveness, and to place himself in fine antithesis to the men who, he saw at once, must be revolting to a woman of taste. He had no idea of a moral repulsion.' How poor is his inverted

conceit, which, affecting to despise, really craved for a circle of admirers before whom he might air his fancied superiority !

'It is true that Grandcourt went about with the sense that he did not care a languid curse for any one's admiration ; but this state of not caring, just as much as desire, required its related object—namely, a world of admiring or envying spectators ; for if you are fond of looking stonily at smiling persons, the persons must be there, and they must smile.'

And at last, just before his fancied sway is to be snapped so lightly, how much of tragic irony is there in his blindness to the seething rebellion that was all but bursting through his rule !

'His soul was garrisoned against presentiments and fears : he had the courage and confidence that belong to domination, and he was at that moment feeling perfectly satisfied that he held his wife with bit and bridle. By the time they had been married a year she would cease to be restive.'

Throughout the whole book there are few more skilful touches than those which draw the contrast between Grandcourt's importance in his own eyes and those of the circle round him, and the narrowness of the horizon, moral and mental, on which he looks out with those lizard eyes of his.

The character of Daniel Deronda, which to many—we should fancy also to the author—may seem the chief feature of the book, appears to us distinctly inferior, as a picture, to either of the two we have considered. Unlike them, he belongs to that class of George Eliot's creations which seem to lack naturalness, from the absence of an appeal to common sympathy. From first to last, we confess to missing in Daniel Deronda something of real vitality. He serves as the link between two distinct sides of the story—the fortunes of Gwendolen, and the enthusiasm for a restored Judaic nationality which gives an animating principle to Deronda, Mordecai, and Mirah. Perhaps it may be the unfamiliar region where this enthusiasm dwells that blunts us to some of the living force of Deronda's character ; but we seem to feel not only a difficulty in following him to this misty region of enthusiastic endeavour, but also some want of spontaneity and natural freedom of affection in his relation to the other surroundings of his life. He speaks with a certain modishness of age, and we find it more easy to sympathise with Gwendolen in her accepting him 'without the aid of sacred ceremony or a costume, as 'a priest,' than to recognise in him what she recognised, 'the same level of temptation with the higher motive present

as a fuller force,' and 'not a mere residue from weary experience.'

But this apparent shadowiness of motive, this lack of natural sympathy and young spontaneity in Deronda, must not blind us to the delicate drawing of his character. We must see each step by which that character is built up before we allow ourselves to doubt the efficacy of the motive to enthusiasm which comes to change his whole life. We have the boy, with his Jewish origin (and to inherited possibilities George Eliot attributes much) giving a certain bent to his disposition ; with large affections, that cling like ivy round what lies closest to him, and that make it at last a sort of wrench to learn the truth as to his parentage, which leaves his adopted father without blame, but at the same time breaks the natural bond between them, in which Deronda had before believed. His intelligence is wide and keen beyond his years ; at least we are bound to believe so on the author's word, though the paradox on Caliban, which is almost the only fragment of Deronda's conversation on ordinary topics vouchsafed to us, seems to repeat far more truly the nauseous flippancy characteristic of the youthful don than any of the utterances of young Clintock on the subject of croquet, which are represented as more typical of that species. He has been surrounded by all that could bring home the past to his imagination (what these surroundings were we learn in Gwendolen's visit to Topping Abbey, which had been Deronda's home), and his imagination is so ardent as to give to its pictures the force of reality. He has lived in painful uncertainty about his birth, and this uncertainty has created for him a dreary moral isolation, fenced only against bitterness or self-willed discontent. The isolation had only made the outgoing of his sympathy more quick, and his ready sympathy for the wronged had stirred in him a deep capacity for enthusiastic partisanship. The want of a duty marked out by birthright created for him no wayward sense of irresponsibility, but rather an inclination 'to complain that he was robbed of this half of birthright' in sharp duty. Over all these mingled traits there is the brooding irresolution that comes from lack of a strong incentive—the incentive of mere personal ambition being powerless for Deronda, and the incentive of necessity being absent. To such a nature there came the first powerful outgoing of sympathy in his rescue of Mirah, the poor Jewish songstress, from a self-sought death—a sympathy from which there is to Deronda but one step to love. But that love is shut away from

sight, partly as a thing impossible to his sense of honour as the girl's protector, partly because it would involve apparently a breach with the associations of her race, which have to Mirah the force of a religion. It is at this point in his life that Deronda meets Gwendolen, and then is formed between them the bond, at first hardly perceptible, which is to deepen, on Gwendolen's side, into intensity. To Deronda the bond becomes ever more sharply distinguished from one of love; and it wears the appearance of an episode to the wider range that is opening for him, to the revelation whose gradual unfolding seems to explain all the mysteries of his life, and to bring content to all his highest cravings. In Mordecai, the consumptive Jew, whose passion centres in the hope of a restored nationality for his race, there comes the first call to enthusiasm for Deronda. The call seems to be like an echo to the longings that his life and its surroundings have prompted, and he is prepared to answer it even before all its bearing on himself is seen. But when Mordecai's brotherhood to Mirah, opens a new relation between Deronda's knighthood and this possible enthusiasm, and still more when the revelation of his own Jewish birth gives to that enthusiasm the superadded force of an inherited duty, Deronda can hesitate no longer. Then it is that for Deronda, in the words of Coleridge that serve as a motto to the chapter wherein his love reveals itself to Mirah,—

‘All thoughts, all passions, all delights,
Whatever stirs this mortal frame,
All are but ministers of love,
And feed his sacred flame.’

The thoughts that have been working in him, and battling for an outlet in action, ‘the secret passionate longing never yet allowed to grow into a hope,’ the delight that Mirah's presence has been to him—all these come with a great rush into his life, and give it as little sense of wavering as there is in the ever-flowing volume of a mighty river. The setting in which we find Deronda's character may appear unnatural; we may grumble a little at the surface sheen of priggishness which it wears; we may feel a sense of mistiness or artificiality in the enthusiasm which comes to stir him; but there can be no doubt as to the grandeur of the moral foundations on which that character is built, as to the depth and subtlety of the analysis in which its development is traced.

Of the other characters in the book, two at least (those of Mordecai and of Mirah) would require more space than is left to us

for their full analysis. But, subtle as they are, fervid as is the poetry that breathes through the speeches of Mordecai, and fine as is the fibre of Mirah's nature, we are left by them, on the whole, unsatisfied. The picture of Mordecai, lonely but for the companionship of his passionate enthusiasm, pouring the utterances of his heart into the poems that he tries to print on the heedless tongue of the young Jacob Cohen; wandering to the bridge to watch the sunset, which was, he tells Deronda, ‘always what I loved best: it has sunk into me and dwelt with me—fading, slowly fading: it was my own decline: it paused—it waited, till at last it brought me my new life—my new self—who will live when this breath is all breathed out’—this picture is a piece of exquisite description, but does it give us a real man, and not rather an abstraction? With Mirah we have one piece of passionate human feeling when she suspects a tie of love between Gwendolen and Deronda, and when she found that the reliance which had lain darkly within her ‘was now burning itself into sight as disappointment and jealousy;’ when it was ‘as if her soul had been steeped in poisonous passion by forgotten dreams of deep sleep, and now flamed out in this unaccountable misery.’ But on the whole her nature seems, however finely strung, to have less even than Gwendolen's of that latent force and dignity which would make Deronda's love for her all that such love might have been, and not merely the product of chance contact, with a supposed accompaniment of union in aim and duty. After all, where, we may ask, is the identity between the Judaism of Mirah, who is fast bound to the little observances of her nation's religion and to a strict reverence for its customs, and the enthusiasm of Deronda, which is stirred by, and aims at, a more political ideal, in which such narrowing observances can have no part or share? Which was greater, that love should have its impulse checked and controlled in obedience to the exigencies of national kinship, or that its almighty power should have borne down all hindrances of race, and rendered a proud obedience to its own dictates, and to these alone? As before in ‘The Spanish Gipsy,’ so now in ‘Daniel Deronda,’ George Eliot has shown what is the answer she would give; but the answer of humanity in all ages may still be another.

The prominent characters in ‘Daniel Deronda’ are so full of meaning, that they perhaps render the byplay of incident or humour less full than in most of George Eliot's novels. Not that these are by any means meagre. The loves of Klesmer and Miss

Arrowpoint, and the useful utterances of the former against the arrogance of amateurs; the manly resolution of Rex Gascoigne; the toylike household of the Meyricks (who have more than a tinge of conceit and affectation in their oddities); the vigorous give-and-take of the artisans' discussion club at the 'Hand and Banner,'—all these are alive with marks of a genius to which it would not be easy to find many parallels out of George Eliot's own works. At these, however, we do no more than glance: their fuller acquaintance will come incidentally to those who go to this novel to seek, what they will there most assuredly find, a moral teaching which, within its own range, is of the very highest, and a spiritual insight which, within the possibilities of mere human vision, is of the very deepest.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY AND TRAVELS.

The History of the Norman Conquest of England, its Causes and its Results. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., Hon. D.C.L. and LL.D. Vol. V. *The Effects of the Norman Conquest.* Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

This substantial volume completes what, we think, may fairly be regarded as the greatest English historical work since 'The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.' With scholarship in his selected field equal to that of Gibbon in his, with industry as indefatigable, with a judgment equally sagacious, with a spirit surpassing his in its resolute fairness, with a more advanced historical method, and with a reproductive imagination which, if less imperial, is equally true and vivid, Dr. Freeman falls below Gibbon only in literary form. The stately eloquence, the compact and easy strength, and the artistic symmetry and balance of Gibbon's style are his own. We are not sure, however, that Dr. Freeman's style is not the easier reading and the better fitted for conveying information. To read much of Gibbon causes a kind of ache. Dr. Freeman's style is perfectly natural, it is direct, unlaboured, lucid, and accurate—a perfect medium for the expression of his thought. It does not often rise to eloquence in grand portraiture or laboured descriptions. The author never attempts fine writing; but his style has the great quality of conveying to us vivid representations of both characters and events. The only defect that we can recall is, that once or twice Dr. Freeman permits himself to lapse into the Cockneyism of omitting the sign of the infinitive. We shiver a little to

find such a scrupulous scholar using the idiom (p. 426), 'he can help determine.'

With Macaulay or Froude we should not think of comparing Dr. Freeman. His severe simplicity and measured fairness have nothing in common with the brilliant colouring of the one, or with the mystifying sophisms of the other. And yet Dr. Freeman is anything but unimpassioned; few men are capable of more ardent enthusiasms, as his noble efforts for Servia show. His admiration for Harold, and his sympathy with his misfortunes, are great and undisguised; but he does not permit these to bias his historical judgments. He is always solicitously, severely just. Suspicion of bias or of artificial colouring is impossible. We feel in every sentence the spirit of the historic conscience, the judicial fairness which inspires and rules him. We know no nearer approach to an impersonation of that genius of history which ultimately determines the true character of human events. After having read from beginning to end each of these five volumes as it appeared, and having sometimes, although with diffidence, ventured to doubt his conclusions, we have no impression stronger than that of the truth of his own manly and honest avowal: 'I can say in all honesty, I have laboured for truth; that I have never wilfully kept back any scrap of evidence, whether telling for or against my own conclusions; that I have given every reader of mine the means of coming, if he thinks good, to conclusions different from my own.' One valuable characteristic of Dr. Freeman's work is his careful analytical estimate of his authorities—the early chroniclers, official documents, and the Domesday-book:—of the last he has made noble use in the first chapter of this volume. Not only does he carefully determine the evidential value of each, but he endeavours, so far as it is possible, to make his readers sit with him in judgment. To modern authorities he makes but slight reference; only incidentally he explodes the fanciful theories of historians like Thierry. One exception, however, he makes—he has an almost unbounded admiration for Professor Stubbs, and renders him high and graceful homage as 'the master of English History.' To his labours Dr. Freeman makes very frequent reference. As an independent and equal scholar, however, he does not hesitate now and then to differ from him; as, for instance, in his judgment concerning the constitution of the Witenagemot.

Dr. Freeman's work will mark an epoch in the history of the period which it treats. Numerous as have been the works devoted to it by even eminent scholars, mythical and legendary elements have hitherto mingled with the history, and a hazy glamour has remained over its personages. Dr. Freeman has had the advantage of the labours of many investigators in bringing new materials to light: and with accomplished scholarship, and a true historical genius, he has submitted them to the tests of a very keen analysis, he has determined their true historical value,

brought into a clear light all that is ascertainable, and relegated to the domain of legend whatever will not bear historic verification. As the result, we have distinct portraits of personages hitherto more or less mythical. Harold, Godwine, William the Norman, and his successors—Rufus especially—Lanfranc, Anselm, and many others, who are set in as clear light as can be hoped for, and one that is nearly achromatic. Taking the work as a whole it is a noble monument of the historical genius of our age—the latest embodiment of its improved methods, and the best. It is conceived in the true spirit of philosophy, pursued with ample learning, indefatigable industry, and scrupulous conscientiousness. It is admirably arranged, symmetrically proportioned, fluent and harmonious in style, liberal and humane in feeling, and, throughout, sustains without flagging the interest of the reader.

Dr. Freeman and the English people are to be congratulated on this distinct and notable contribution to our historical literature. It is one of the few works that produce upon you the impression that nothing more can or needs be said. It expresses judgments that you feel to be final. The methods of history are so far advanced, and the sources of early information have been so explored and sifted, that we can scarcely conceive of anything to be added which will materially affect the information given and the conclusions reached in the discerning judgments of this work.

We have spoken thus of the general character of the work because the peculiar character of this volume almost disables more special reference to it; it is a series of deductions from the history proper, a summing up of the results of the Norman Conquest in every department of our national life—in blood, social life, laws and institutions, political life and relations, literature, language, architecture, and particular institutions. These are examined in such detail, and with such delicate and subtle tracings of evidence, that in a short notice like this it is impossible to specify, and difficult to characterise. Such historical notices as there are of the events of the reigns of William's successors—first of the three Norman kings, Rufus, Henry I., and Stephen, and afterwards of the Angevin dynasty, down to Edward I., are allusive rather than narrative, and are simply intended to illustrate the results which are traced.

In the previous volumes the historian has told us what occurred; in this the constitutional and philosophical teacher carefully demonstrates the effects which these events produced upon the actual life of the nation. At the same time we have even here masterly crayon sketches, first and chiefly of the strong-headed, profane Rufus—the Esau of our Norman history—and then of the weak and mischievous Stephen, as well as of the two greater Henrys. These inspire the hope that, after due rest, Dr. Freeman will resume the pen which he has dropped, and do for this period of our history, down to Edward I.

at least, what he has done in so masterly a manner for its former period. It is the reward of all good service to be called to higher service still.

The great point of Dr. Freeman's volume is to demonstrate that, unlike all other conquests recorded in history, the conquest of William left the continuity of our national life unbroken. It was a confluent only, causing the stream of national life to flow with greater volume and vigour. 'William's conquest of England had a character of its own, different from any other recorded conquest, and it has had results different from the results which have followed from any other recorded conquest. It gave us a foreign infusion into our blood, our laws, and our language; but in so doing it aroused the old national spirit to fresh life, and made the conquered people fellow-workers with their conquerors.' So fully did William adopt our national laws and customs, that after a generation or two the distinction between Briton and Norman was lost in the common designation—Englishmen. In this continuity of national life, replenished with fresh elements, introduced into new and broader relations with the nations of Europe, and maintained to the present time, Dr. Freeman justly finds some of our greatest blessings, and some of the reasons of our stability and distinction among other peoples. Our modern parliaments are developed in unbroken sequence through the great council from the Witenagemot. The fundamental institutions of our national polity are rooted in the traditions of a thousand years; no conquest or revolution, as in France for example, has ever broken the thread of our constitutional life. The patient and interesting way in which details of these are developed by the large scholarship and keen sagacity of Dr. Freeman will give this volume a great value to all students of constitutional history.

To follow him into any of these details is impracticable, although we had marked many points for comment; such as his careful induction of evidence from Domesday, his masterly exposition of the relations of the feudal system to William's rule, his examination of the ecclesiastical relations of the crown, especially of its ecclesiastical supremacy—maintained by the two Williams, compromised by Stephen, and surrendered by John—the questions of tithe, patronage, &c.—interesting just now in their relation to present controversies—his remarks on trial by jury, and his account of the influence of the Conquest upon language, literature, and architecture. In the latter Dr. Freeman finds almost the only exceptions to his satisfaction. A purist in language, he protests against the hybrids which Norman-French introduced, 'the greatest infusion of foreign words and foreign idioms which any European tongue ever received from a foreign source;' in which, notwithstanding his large admissions, he hardly carries our sympathies on either philosophical or utilitarian grounds. 'This abiding corruption of our language,' he says,

'I believe to have been the one result of the Norman conquest which has been purely evil.' His indignation at the introduction into our literature of the Arthurian legends as 'a worse than crop of foreign fables,' and as, in contrast with the Homeric myths, presenting no true picture of life, but simply befooling history, seems a little in excess. It is scarcely a sufficient test of worthlessness that 'they prove nothing and teach nothing,' which is true of many things that we should be sorry to lose out of the domain of imagination. Let them be relegated with other primitive myths and legends to their own proper domain; even to those who believed them they were probably the highest form of history possible.

But we must simply refer our readers to Dr. Freeman's subtle and suggestive treatment of these and scores of other matter. His work from beginning to end is full of scholarly research, sagacious interpretation, and vigorous thought. Dr. Freeman forms strong opinions and maintains them strongly. He would be of little value as a historian if he did not. On many points other authorities may reach conclusions differing from his, and they may be right and he wrong. But in the entire circle of our historical literature no man will be found who is more scrupulously fair, even to those from whom he differs most, or whose strength of conviction will inspire more respect.

Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church.

By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Third Series. From the Captivity to the Christian Era. John Murray.

'From the Captivity to the Christian Era.'

—The breadth and magnificence of the stage upon which Dr. Stanley has now had to bring the *dramatis personæ* of his chronicle have admirably suited the bent of his mind and the character of his studies. Here, more than elsewhere, he sees the Jewish Church and nation in vital contact with the various contemporary influences of the outside world. He revels in the task of showing how Babylon and Susa, Alexandria and Antioch, Athens and Rome, tell upon the fortunes, the ideas, and the institutions of Israel. He enjoys in this portion of his history the immense advantage derivable from bringing the great figures of Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus and Xerxes, Zoroaster and Socrates, Alexander and Pompey, upon the scene; and his mode of weaving the tough threads of Jewish nationality with the flexible and gorgeous materials of Oriental life, is, notwithstanding all the efforts of recent historians in the same direction, almost *sui generis*.

Readers familiar with the first and second series of these captivating lectures, and who have made themselves acquainted with the conclusions of the modern critical school of historical research, will form a tolerably accurate prevision of the special merits and weaknesses of the volume before us. They will

anticipate a brilliant series of pictures, a vivid lifelike representation of the great events, of the decisive movements, of the heroic leaders, and of the chequered destiny of the Hebrew race for more than five hundred years. They will expect their accomplished guide—to use Dean Stanley's own words—'to ease the overloaded narrative of incidents which burden the memory without feeding the mind; to disentangle the main thread of the story from unmeaning episodes; to give the most important conclusions without repeating the arguments' of Ewald, Jost, Herzfeld, Kuenen, Derembourg, and others. They will, moreover, expect our author to pursue in his own felicitous manner the method of analogy and parallel, until for almost every event and feature of the Jewish history we find either its modern equivalent or its archaeological double. These expectations will not be disappointed. One advantage of the method adopted is that picturesque form is given to the results of the critical school. The barren wilderness, which had been stripped by them of all sublime and supernatural association, seen as a strip of arid sand through which no fountain gushed, and over which no pillar of cloud had ever passed, under Dean Stanley's hand begins to blossom again with flowers of fancy and becomes vocal with song. The disadvantage is, that without arguing the case, our author has endorsed or assumed the critical and rationalistic view of the authorship and character of the sacred books. This he has often done, as though no other view was rational or possible. Many of the positions to which this school is pledged, and which were only doubtfully suggested in former writings, are here taken for granted. Thus the authorship of Isaiah xl-lxvi. is regarded as settled in favour of an 'unknown Evangelical prophet' of the Captivity. The book of Daniel is referred to the times of the Maccabees. The integrity of Zechariah is regarded as hopelessly impeached. Psalm xlv. is now unhesitatingly made the epithalamium of Ahab and Jezebel. The cx. Psalm is referred to the royal pontificate of Jonathan, the brother of Judas Maccabæus. The assumption is quietly made that prophecy in the sense of genuine prediction is little better than a heathen delusion. Our author makes frequently wise, but often undesirable, comparison of canonical with Deutero-canonical authorities, and continuously compares Hebrew prophets or leaders with the religious teachers, or military and political chiefs, of other climes and after days. The care with which every Messianic text is referred to contemporary history, and with which every ceremony that pointed the Jewish Church forward to the sacrifice of Calvary is placed on the level of the heathen expiations, and is denied any higher place in the development of the kingdom of God than similar functions in other nations, and the crusade against the superhuman element inherent in the literature or history of the Hebrew people leave one at the end of this interesting volume very much in

the condition of spectators and visitors to the stately and picturesque ruin of that which they once had fondly believed to be a national defence. Dean Stanley does not, as we have said, work out his proofs of these positions, but he puts into vivid and most attractive form the limited, human, transitory significance of the later Psalms and prophecies, and he thinks it not unnatural that the New Testament writers should have made religious use of them; but with this species of interpretation the heart of the book is gone. He is quite right in assuring us that the great question for which Nehemiah sorrowed, or that for which the Maccabees fought, was a few hundred years later looked at as unimportant by the teachers of the race; but he makes no reference to the principle upon which the temple ritual and the rite of circumcision ceased to have permanent interest for mankind. The temple and the Sabbath, the priesthood and the throne, the rite of circumcision, and the solemnities of the Passover and the Day of Atonement were, as we take it, organically and intrinsically related to the functions of the Christ. They combined to create and foment the need which He alone could satisfy. They were the prophetic shadows of the coming reality. They were the scaffolding by which the spiritual temple was erected. Hence, though once of inestimable value, they were 'fulfilled' and disposed of.

Arnold and Maurice were accustomed to teach that there was one grand distinction between the religions of the world and the religion of the Bible. In the former, said they, we have numerous and affecting illustrations of the fact that man has been seeking after God, 'feeling after him, if happily he might find him.' The Bible, on the other hand, is unique in this, that it alone contains the authoritative record of the search and seeking which God made for man. Dean Stanley seems to obliterate even this distinction between the history of Israel and that of other national and religious developments. To him all are alike feeling after God. In all alike God is finding man. The marvellously interesting chapter on Socrates is part of the general scheme, of levelling up to the Biblical-rank the teaching and prophetic career of all great and good men.

It should be admitted that numerous hints of the most felicitous kind are made in the progress of the argument, for the volume is undoubtedly more of an 'argument' than a history. Thus referring to the silence of Josephus concerning Jesus Christ, Dean Stanley shows that it is far less wonderful than the silence of Thucydides with reference to the splendid and influential position of Socrates.

When Dean Stanley passes out of the region of canonical Scripture and history he lays very just emphasis upon the immense importance of the period and of the literature which intervene between this and the New Testament, and he traces the extent to which Hellenic culture and Oriental ideas affected the Hebrew mind. He rightly assures us that

great as was the influence of Zoroaster upon the peoples subject to the Persian rule, there are no traces of *dualism* in the sacred writings, but rather a repudiation of it. He brilliantly characterises the wisdom of the son of Sirach as 'the recommendation of the theology of Palestine to Alexandria,' and the wisdom of Solomon as 'the recommendation of the theology of Alexandria to Palestine.' Most ingeniously does our author show the way in which the study of the Apocrypha has contributed to free thought, by inducing the habit of criticism, and suggesting the idea of gradations of excellence in the sacred writings. His estimate of the several books, too, is penetrating and suggestive.

The sketch of the history is very rapid, and hurries on through the career of Alexander, and the conflicts of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, to the persecutions under Antiochus and the rise and fall of the Asmonean dynasty, to the brilliant and blotted reign of the magnificent and terrible Herod. But the portion of the volume which will be read with profoundest interest is, we think, the description of Babylon and its fall. For the first time has it been possible to produce an accurate and yet dramatic representation of this tremendous event, and the Dean has put forth his great powers upon the work. Throughout, we are more struck with the masterly grasp of somewhat limited material, than with any great extent of reading devoted to the numerous themes upon which he has dilated. Conspicuous, however, above all pictorial representation and graphic portraiture, above rationalistic interpretations of specific details, and vehement and dubious efforts to break the bondage of literalism, is the lofty spirit of the man, and the generous and sympathetic treatment afforded by him to all fellow-workers in the great field. He never wearies in uttering his genial optimism, his preference of the lay to the clerical element in human affairs, his belief in statesmen rather than in Rabbis or priests, in spiritual religion rather than in local sanctities or sacramental exclusiveness.

We can scarcely close so brief a notice as this without referring to the pathetic dedication to 'a beloved memory,' and the author's 'humble prayer that the aim of the volume may not be altogether unworthy of her sustaining love, her inspiring courage, and her never-failing faith in the enlargement of the Church and the triumph of all truth.' The great affliction of the Dean is one which not only his sympathetic, but his most critical readers are compelled by the personality which invests his work, however widely they differ from him, to ask the privilege of sharing.

The Reformation in the Time of Calvin. By the Rev. J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, D.D. Translated by WILLIAM L. R. CATES, Editor of the 'Dictionary of General Biography.' Vol. VII. Longmans and Co.

This volume of Dr. D'Aubigné's work, as much as any of the former ones, is open to the

salient objection of too greatly heroising Calvin. Events are looked at too much as they bear on the carrying forward of his peculiar concerns and interests; but this needs to be said, that Dr. D'Aubigné is thoroughly honest, and does not try to beguile any reader into sympathy with his master by underhand treatment of facts or documents. He professedly on his title-page, as in the book, makes Calvin the centre of the Reformation work, and if he tries to account for certain determinations somewhat over-favourably, he, at all events, recites the facts with such a measure of impartiality as does him credit. The truth is, D'Aubigné, picturesque, graphic, devoted to effective recital as he is, does yet in relation to Calvin show himself a historical philosopher eager to gain for himself a coherent and sufficing *rationale* of Calvin's own thoughts and attitudes in relation to certain events. He gives us the inner as well as the outer life—a task in which we could hardly have expected him to be so successful as he really is, more especially in this volume, the first portion of which is taken up with a discussion of Calvin's work after his famous recall to Geneva from Strasbourg. On this point the editor says, not without foundation: 'Calvin committed some faults. Who disputes this? But he did not commit these faults with deliberate intention. He must have yielded to motives which he thought good, and, were it only in the blindness of passion, must have justified his actions to his conscience. In the main it is this self-justification on Calvin's part which M. Merle D'Aubigné has succeeded better than any one else in making known to us. He has depicted for us a living Calvin; he has revealed to us his inmost thoughts. . . . If this view is correct, has not the author solved one of the hardest problems of history—to present the true physiognomy of characters, and to show them as they were; under the outward aspects of facts to discover and depict the minds of men?' The sketch of John Tausen, the Danish Reformer, is admirable—full of D'Aubigné's most graceful touches; next to that in interest is the section on Gustavus Vasa and the brothers Olaf and Laurence; but surpassing even these, for interest, we have found the outline of the career of the great John à Lasco, or Alasco, as D'Aubigné gives it, who may be named the Polish Reformer, though his influence passed far beyond any such geographical limit, penetrating into England itself—to which à Lasco came, and where for a time he ministered. It is just now interesting to read of the protection by the Turks of the Reformers in Hungary; this was owing first to a kind of contemptuous indifference to the Christianity of the conquered country, and next to the fact that Romanism with its idolatry was far more repugnant to the mind of Islam than Protestantism; at any rate it is odd to find the Reformation protected by the ægis of the Sultan. The volume closes with an account of the persecution of Charles V. in the Netherlands, which was of almost unparalleled

atrocities, and becomes a Book of Martyrs. On the whole this translation of [this seventh volume, in spite of the reappearance of some of the faults that marked the former ones, quite maintains the high position which they have so justly secured.

The Ancient Regime. By H. A. TAINÉ, D.C.L. Oxon., Author of 'A History of English Literature,' &c. Translated by JOHN DURAND. Daldy, Isbister, and Co.

M. Taine, in his brilliant sketch of pre-revolutionary France, has not sufficiently illustrated his own favourite doctrines. He presents us with a thesis and with a succession of word pictures; but the thesis is a truism, and the pictures are disconnected and incomplete. His thesis is this—that the French Revolution was really due to the maintenance of the Forms of institutions, while the Spirit had wholly fled. His pictures are disconnected and inefficient because he has not done, as a scientific historian who boasts that he conducts himself as a naturalist, ought to do; he has not exhaustively examined and taken note of all the salient conditions and of the relations which they produced, modifying the growth of individual character, and so much else. He first tells us of the privileged classes, how they had ceased to maintain the traditions of their caste, while enjoying all its luxuries. The clergy in the sixth and seventh centuries were the saving health of France, and opposed military oppression and petty tyranny; but in their upper ranks they had gradually become mere courtiers, opposed in spirit to the working orders of their own profession, the faithful labouring curés of the parishes. They resisted the Reformation; they betrayed their country to Rome; they allied themselves with the faction of the League; they consented to the Dragonnades and the horrors of the Cévennes; and, to the last days of their power, they systematically persecuted the Huguenots. The clergy retained their lands, their wealth, and feudal state, but they had isolated themselves from the inevitable movement. In the Middle Ages, too, the nobles of France had formed a military order. They were the administrators of a kind of rude, ready justice, and were the faithful protectors of the classes under them. But towards the end of the Bourbon reigns they had become a set of fawning courtiers, an unpopular caste, who saw the lower orders ground down by tyranny and taxes, and never dreamt of aiding them. They were absentees, wits, drawing-room men; so given up to a code of manners that, as was exemplified in the Revolution, they would not have offered resistance even to personal violence,—a very suggestive circumstance. The same transformation had taken place with royalty. The early kings boasted that they were in themselves the State, and if they were often arbitrary they showed how they could sacrifice themselves and undergo severe efforts for the safety and the power of their country. From the time of Louis XIV. the arbitrariness was perpetuated and inten-

sified, but was dissociated wholly from bravery and strong personal character; till at length in Louis XVI.—well-meaning, weak, contemptible—royalty had become stupid, selfish, empty, given up to court entertainment and sport merely. M. Taine makes us smile, but gravely, by some quotations from the king's diaries. Those who were really able to pay taxes were exempted; to those who did not need offices, and were unequal to their duties, offices were given; while the poor peasant was robbed of half the products of his bits of land, and was so unable to keep it in cultivation—not to speak of redeeming more—that a quarter of the whole land of the country was literally waste. M. Taine then devotes himself to a consideration of the Revolutionary spirit, rather over-estimating, as it seems to us, the effect of the teachings of Rousseau and his school. Pretty much the same doctrines had been proclaimed by eloquent men in England, but with little or no result, because they found no prepared soil in the minds of the people, though there can be no doubt that the peculiar position into which France put herself with respect to the war in America in the interest of Democracy, had its own effect. M. Taine incidentally notes the former point; but he does not sufficiently seek out the reasons of it; and America remains unmentioned. But did not France, along with the harvest of other influences, 'reap the reward of her interference, in the revolution which sprang up on her own soil, from the principles of liberty which she so eagerly fostered in America for the sake of opposition to Great Britain?' This is not without some reason, and suggests a point at which M. Taine might have glanced. But a more serious omission still is that M. Taine hardly concerns himself as he should have done with the condition of the lower middle class and labouring people of the towns—the very people that above all were interested in extending the friendly relations of class with class, which had been so completely set at nought by the court and by all those who had been brought within its influence. One point to which some consideration might have been given is the effect produced on the various classes of society in France by the steady draining away into other countries of the flower of the industrial and commercial population through the Huguenot persecutions. What other countries gained France lost—communities, peaceful, law-respecting, disposed to industry, and apt to extend commerce. England, Holland, Germany, and other countries were enriched by the life-blood of France, which was driven forth by the excesses and the cruelties of its privileged classes. This omission, considering that M. Taine has dealt so fully with the peasant class, is the more to be regretted in that there can be no doubt that the one corrective that remained for France lay in the power of the middle classes of the towns. Sacrificing that, all hope passed from her save through the fiery pathway of revolution. M. Taine has written with great picturesque-

ness, and with fine appreciation of certain elements in the pre-revolutionary life of France. He has depicted its drawing-room life with more than his usual charm and wealth of picture and anecdote. But he has allowed himself to regard certain phases and manifestations too much in an isolated aspect; and the reader who really wishes to gain a complete and philosophic view of the great French Revolution and its causes must still have recourse to De Tocqueville, who in much will supplement and fill up M. Taine's outline. Future instalments of his work may, however, do much to supply what we have desiderated, though we hold that certain things which we have pointed out should have been here discussed.

Mr. Durand has done his work of translation well, on the whole, but now and then he shows some lack of that nice appreciation of phrase and epithet which is so essential to success in translating a writer like Taine; once or twice he falls into absolute error, and is now and again indifferent to M. Taine's excessive regard for the semicolon.

English History in the Fourteenth Century.

By CHARLES H. PEARSON, late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Rivingtons.

This is one of a series of 'Historical Handbooks,' edited by Mr. Oscar Browning, and published by the Messrs. Rivingtons. As the title indicates, it deals with a section of English history, and one of the most important of its earlier sections—the fourteenth century—which we agree with the author has an especial completeness of its own, and includes both some of the most glorious and some of the most repugnant incidents and characters in our island's story. Mr. Pearson has told his tale with lucidity, and has given us a manual which will prove specially useful to the young. There are historical questions discussed in its pages as to which there will always be differences of opinion, and on not a few points we are unable to see 'eye to eye' with the author. But the work has been carefully prepared, is written in a fairly interesting style, is well fitted to engage the attention of the young, for whom it is chiefly designed, and is a worthy member of an excellent historical series. We have no doubt this latest addition to the series will be found one of the most valuable of the number.

A History of the Councils of the Church, from the Original Documents. By the Right Rev. C. J. HEFELE, D.D., Bishop of Rottenburg, formerly Professor of Theology, Tübingen. Vol. II. A.D. 326-429. Translated from the German, with the Author's approbation, and edited by HENRY NUTCOMBE OXENHAM, M.A., late Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

The second volume of this great historical work has been translated, with the author's approbation, by Mr. Oxenham, whose theological and ecclesiastical position has been

tolerably defined by his numerous contributions to modern literature, and his well-understood sympathy with Liberal Catholicism. It carries forward the record of the Councils of the Church from the close of the first Council of Nicæa, through the entire career of Athanasius, the Synods of Antioch, Cæsarea, Tyre, and Alexandria. It gives great space to the Synods of Sardica and the Eusebian Synod of Philippopolis, discusses the question of the œcumenical character of the former, and decides in the negative. The author throughout aims at historical proof of the share taken by the Roman See in moderating between conflicting elements in the Church, and of the divine and indefensible right of Rome to pre-eminence. He has, however, discussed with great patience and learning, and balancing of authorities and documents, the question which modern Vaticanism makes one of prime importance to the Romanist, viz., whether Pope Liberius can in his official position be said to have abjured the orthodox faith. Hefele's judicial conclusion is that, 'without doubt Liberius, yielding to force and sinking under many years of confinement and exile, signed the so-called Sirmian Formula, that is, the collection of older formulas of faith accepted at the third Sirmian Synod of 358. He did not do this without scruples, for the semi-Arian character and origin of these formulas were not unknown to him; but as they contained no direct or express rejection of the orthodox faith, and as it was represented to him that the Nicene Homœousios formed a cloak for Sabellianism and Photinism, he allowed himself to be persuaded to accept the third Sirmian confession. But he, by so doing, only renounced the letter of the Nicene faith, not the orthodox faith itself,' &c. Hefele doubts the genuineness of the fragments of Hilary which contain the most damning proofs of the conduct of Liberius, and in this respect differs from Tillemont, Natalis Alexander, J. H. Newman, and M. Renouf. Part of M. Renouf's criticism of Hefele is given in an Appendix by Mr. Oxenham. But even on the showing of Hefele, the fall of Liberius is an indelible blot on the scutcheon of Papal infallibility. The general workmanship of this work is most careful and scholarly, and the treatment of the Second Council and numerous Synods most lucid and even interesting to the general reader.

The History of Napoleon the First. By P. LANFREY. Vol. III. Macmillan and Co.

A charge against M. Lanfrey, which has been reiterated in several quarters, is that he writes with a strong bias against Napoleon. But if history be the final verdict which justice pronounces on nations and individuals, we do not see, if facts sustain him, why a verdict of strong reprobation on the part of a historian should be more inconsistent with justice than the unfavourable summing up of a judge to whom the guilt of a prisoner is indubitably demonstrated. The difficulty is to imagine the suppression of the strongest

moral indignation at his colossal crimes. If Napoleon does not deserve severer reprobation than almost any man with whom history makes us acquainted, moral distinctions lose their validity, and crime is graduated by station and success. Beyond all reasonable doubt, Napoleon was the greatest liar, the most treacherous diplomatist, the most unscrupulous politician, the most ruthless tyrant, and the most reckless of bloodshed and murder of any ruler in modern history. We have read this volume with this criticism of the author constantly present to us, and we deliberately say that—making more than due allowance for those necessities which are the tyrant's plea, and which are sometimes held, if on no other ground, yet on that of exceptional temptations, to justify exceptional morality—he makes no statement and passes no judgment for which he does not patiently adduce detailed and abundant evidence; nor have we once felt that the depth and strength of his moral detestation is in any degree in excess, more frequently it has seemed inadequate to this man's enormous crimes against human society. History would be worthless if it did not gibbet the author of the Russian expedition, the treacherous appropriator of Portugal and Spain, and the unscrupulous tyrant of Holland. After the venal homage which too many have paid to Napoleon's successful acquisition of unequalled power, it is an unspeakable satisfaction to find a Frenchman sternly bringing his falsehood, treachery, and tyranny to the tests of ordinary moral principles, and estimating at its true worth the meretricious and treacherous glory which these purchased. 'Let us,' he says, 'abandon the discreditable sophisms which have too long served as an excuse for crimes of which we can only prevent a repetition by representing them in all their frightful reality.' It will be many generations before the evils which Napoleon wrought for France will be remedied.

The present volume opens with the Russian expedition of 1807 and the disastrous battle of Eylau. The foreign contingent of his army in this great northern invasion was nearly a hundred thousand men. In this way his political errors not only drained France even of its boys, to its lasting injury, but demoralised his army by introducing into it troops of so many inimical nationalities.

It is a signal instance of his dread of intellect, even while he strove vainly to create a great intellectual epoch—a body of illustrious men whose genius should shed lustre upon his empire—that, in the midst of his anxieties and disasters, he fulminates in a letter to Cambacérès against Madame de Staël, and exiles her afresh to Geneva. 'Genius, by all means, but to be kept within proper limits: he dreaded nothing more than ideas. 'My secret thought is to gather together men who will write, not philosophical history, nor religious history, but the history of facts.'

The unprincipled and treacherous treaty of Tilsit followed the disasters in the North. Here, as throughout this volume, Alexander

of Russia figures somewhat ignominiously as the selfish and somewhat obsequious ally of Napoleon.

Then follows a detailed account, taken from despatches and letters, most patiently put together, of the seizure of Portugal and Spain; the latter by causing Ferdinand, the son of Charles, to intrigue against his father, by inveigling both into France, and then compelling them as prisoners abdicate the throne—perhaps the meanest, most indefensible, and most mendacious event in all history; so atrocious, that it proved the beginning of the end by arousing a patriotic feeling in Spain almost without parallel in its universality and intensity. 'Never in modern days,' says our author, 'had any conquest been accompanied by such revolting and hideous features.' He acquired Spain and her colonies for ten millions a year, and made Spain provide the money.

Next follows the history of the ignominious loss of Portugal and the expulsion of Soult by Wellington in the short and brilliant campaign of the Douro. M. Lanfrey does full justice to the great qualities of Wellington in a brilliant passage (p. 479), too long to quote, and which to abbreviate would spoil. He delineates the military genius and the moral elevation of Napoleon's great antagonist, claiming for his genius, in which brilliancy and prudence were equally evinced, a series of successes, from Vimiero to Waterloo, that has no example in history. The deposition of the Pope from his temporal power, the battle of Wagram, the second occupation of Vienna, the divorce of Josephine, and the Continental system of blockade, are all fully described with that combination of analytical method and philosophical judgment which bids fair to make M. Lanfrey's work a classical authority for the history of the Napoleonic period.

The death of the translator of the former volumes has deprived us of her excellent rendering of Lanfrey into English. We are not told who has done the present volume; but it reads smoothly, and is lucid and spirited.

Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor.

With Portraits, and a View of Mr. Ticknor's Study. In Two Volumes. Sampson Low and Co.

Mr. George Ticknor will always be known by his 'History of Spanish Literature,' a work which was marked by conscientious study, elegance, and complete self-command. He wrote, besides, during his long and busy life much of distinct value, but with that work his name will remain most closely identified. He had the honour of being one of the first who, in a set and serious fashion, endeavoured to carry into American letters the taste and the finished perfection of English literature in the last century. To him, together with Washington Irving, it is largely due that liberal interests in European history and literature are at this day so active and extended in America, so that even we our-

selves might in some respects take example from the Americans. Professors Longfellow and Lowell are even now treading pleasantly in the paths which these pioneers may be said to have cleared and set open. Mr. Ticknor had many of the qualifications for a historian—he was literally untiring in industry, he was gifted with a retentive memory, and had very considerable powers of arrangement; but it is hardly too much to say that he had little imagination, little of that finer dramatic sympathy which enables a man by some subtle indefinable process of instinct to pass from bewildering details to the innermost heart and secret of things. In truth, he was sober, clear, and somewhat cold; but always correct, thorough, and self-respecting. These diaries show that his devotion to culture was sincere, and equal to the severest self-denials; that he was not only observant, but could discriminate traits and adapt himself admirably to the temperaments and the moods of the many great men with whom he came in contact. There is, indeed, a plasticity, a ready submergence of personal claims on his part which, associated as it is with certain other qualities in his larger works, is somewhat surprising; proving that his character was richer, more varied, and efficient than his books would lead one to infer. We are not sure that this impression might not have been deepened by wise editorial excisions in some parts of these volumes; notwithstanding, they form most pleasant reading, rich in anecdote, portrait, and picture. Of none of the distinguished persons whom Ticknor met can it be said that he did not carry away a most lively, and, what is more unusual, a most faithful impression; and it is simple justice to him to say that his charitable constructions often did his observations good service. He was born in 1791, and after graduating at Dartmouth (of which he does not speak highly) began the study of law, which he found so uncongenial that, after passing for the bar, he deserted it for the sake of literature. He travelled in the United States, studied German, and in 1815 came to Europe, with the idea of finishing his education, and doubtless with some faint hope also of laying the foundation of a great literary career. He brought with him good introductions, found an *entrée* into the best society, got on familiar terms with such distinguished personages as Byron, Brougham, Sydney Smith, Sir Walter Scott, Playfair, Mackenzie, Southey, Wordsworth, Hazlitt, Lamb, and Sir James Mackintosh; and amongst foreigners we find in these diaries many references to such notabilities as Goethe, Humboldt, Bunsen, Thorwaldsen, Niebuhr, Talleyrand, Schlegel, Madame de Staël, with many others, from which it will be seen that they can have no lack of interest. Having made good use of his time in studying languages and literatures, Ticknor, in his twenty-eighth year, was quite ready to assume the Chair of French and Spanish literature at Harvard University, which had some time before been offered him. The editors of

these diaries say well that there would have been small ground for surprise if, after a period so crowded with interests from sources in which America had no share, Mr. Ticknor had felt something like depression at the prospect of the comparative barrenness of life, as regards æsthetic pursuits, in the Western World. But 'they are able to tell us' that he manifested no such feeling. The object of his residence abroad had been to prepare himself for a career of useful activity at home, and he came back full of ardour to use his various gifts and acquisitions for the benefit of the community to which he belonged. There was nothing in him of the trifler or *dilettante*. He devoted himself thoroughly to the work of his Chair and to the improvement of the American universities; a good part of the diaries being occupied with an account of these earlier years of his professorship. In 1835, after an occupancy of fifteen years, he resigned his Chair in order to return to Europe. He had now formed the idea of writing the 'History of Spanish Literature,' and residence in Europe became necessary for this. Once again his diaries abound with references that should be particularly interesting to English readers. He was occupied with this work for fully ten years, and it was published in 1849, destined to secure the highest position, not merely as a clear and faithful account of Spanish literature, but as depicting vividly the social condition of the Peninsula; in which aspect it is perhaps the most valuable, both as regards what it conveys to us of fact and its revelations of the writer's mind. The next great work to which he devoted himself was the union of the Boston libraries and their reorganisation, he himself making many valuable additions to them.

These diaries, as we have said, show him as larger, broader, and more sympathetic than the critic would probably gather from his great work. He never indulges in cynical remarks or commits innuendo to his secret pages. He loved to get the best in his fellows—to find the true point of contact with them. And his presence must have been at once imposing and conciliatory. Byron especially he seems to have favourably impressed at first sight, and to have drawn from him something like frank confessions:—as in this paragraph, which embodies something about 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.'

'I called on Lord Byron to-day, with an introduction from Mr. Gifford. Here, again, my anticipations were mistaken. Instead of being deformed, as I had heard, he is remarkably well built, with the exception of his feet. Instead of having a thin and rather sharp and anxious face, as he has in his pictures, it is round, open, and smiling; his eyes are light, and not black; his air easy and careless, not forward and striking; and I found his manners affable and gentle, the tones of his voice low and conciliating, his conversation gay, pleasant, and interesting

in an uncommon degree. I stayed with him about an hour and a half, during which the conversation wandered over many subjects. He talked, of course, a great deal about America; wanted to know what was the state of our literature, how many universities we had, whether we had many poets whom we much valued, and whether we looked upon Barlow as our Homer. He certainly feels a considerable interest in America, and says he intends to visit the United States; but I doubt whether it will not be indefinitely postponed, like his proposed visit to Persia. I answered to all this as if I had spoken to a countryman, and then turned the conversation to his own poems, and particularly to his "English Bards," which he has so effectually suppressed, that a copy is not easily to be found. He said he wrote it when he was very young and very angry: "which," he added, "were the only circumstances under which a man would write such a satire." When he returned to England, he said, Lord Holland, who treated him with very great kindness, and Rogers, who was his friend, asked him to print no more of it, and therefore he had suppressed it. Since then, he said he had become acquainted with the persons he had satirized, and whom he then knew only by their books—was now the friend of Moore, the correspondent of Jeffrey, and intimate with the Wordsworth school, and had a hearty liking for them all—especially as they did not refuse to know one who had so much abused them.'

This is his portrait of Mrs. Siddons, whom he met at Lord Byron's:—

'She is now, I suppose, sixty years old, and has one of the finest and most spirited countenances, and one of the most dignified and commanding persons, I ever beheld. Her portraits are very faithful as to her general air and outline; but no art can express or imitate the dignity of her manner or the intelligent illumination of her face. Her conversation corresponded well with her person. It is rather stately, but not, I think, affected; and, though accompanied by considerable gesture, not really overacted. She gave a lively description of the horrible ugliness and deformity of David the painter; told us some of her adventures in France a year ago; and, in speaking of Bonaparte, repeated some powerful lines from "Venice Preserved," which gave me some intimations of her powers of acting. She formed a singular feature by Lady Byron, who sat by her side, all grace and delicacy, and this showed Mrs. Siddons' masculine powers in the stronger light of comparison and contrast. Her daughter, who was with her, is the handsomest lady I have seen in England. She is about twenty.'

The sketches of Sir Humphrey Davy, of Godwin, Wordsworth, Hazlitt, of the gatherings of the wits of that day, and of Edinburgh society, then so brilliant, are all done with the same flavour of shrewd observation, calm composure, and mild sympathy. For these the reader must himself go to these de-

lightful volumes. We have only space to present Mr. Ticknor's miniature portrait of Goethe in age:—

'We sent our letters to Goethe this morning, and he returned for answer the message that he would be happy to see us at eleven o'clock. We went punctually, and he was ready to receive us. He is something above the middle size, large but not gross, with grey hair, a dark, ruddy complexion, and full, rich, black eyes, which, though dimmed by age, are still very expressive. His whole countenance is old; and though his features are quiet and composed, they bear decided traces of the tumult of early feeling and passion. Taken together, his person is not only respectable, but imposing. In his manners he is simple. He received us without ceremony, but with care and elegance, and made no German compliments. . . . He lives now, in his old age, in unconsoled solitude; sees almost nobody, and rarely goes out. His enjoyment of life seems gone, his inclination for exertion gone, and nothing remains to him, that I can see, but a very few years of cold and unsatisfied retirement.'

Mr. Ticknor has left in these diaries a most faithful and genial record of himself, by which he will perhaps be more widely remembered than even by his more ambitious writings. For throughout it shows him kindly, amiable, and desirous to receive and to impart the best impressions. Since Crabb Robinson's Diary we have not had a richer treat of the kind.

Journal of Commodore Goodenough during his last Command as Senior Officer on the Australian Station, 1873-1875. Edited, with a Memoir, by his Widow. With Maps, &c. Henry S. King and Co.

The almost simultaneous appearance of five or six memoirs of men such as Macaulay, McLeod, Margary, and Goodenough, men widely differing in character and pursuit, but all exhibiting something approaching to the moral heroic, inspires one with great faith in human nature. Perhaps the most valuable lesson to be gathered from the lives of the two more obscure men is a lesson of the noble way in which men thoroughly good will discharge the common duties of life, and of the influence which they will quietly gather thereby. Goodenough and Margary have a good deal in common, except that the piety of the former was developed earlier in his history and was somewhat more pronounced. His life, moreover, was fifteen or sixteen years longer, and his excellences therefore became more mature. Thoroughly and instinctively pure and upright, he was also manly and independent. He fearlessly maintained his honest convictions, and at the same time was singularly genial and considerate, and also utterly unselfish and sympathetic. He was a brotherly man, full of the courage which his profession demands, and of the high qualities which make a naval or military commander trusted and loved by his men. Severe and uncompromising in exacting duty and maintaining

discipline, he was yet considerate of the interests and comforts of his men in the highest degree, and never spared himself in what he required of them.

He was the son of the Dean of Wells, and was born in 1830. He was named after his godfather, Sir James Graham, then First Lord of the Admiralty, which almost from his birth determined his profession. His father, who had been Head Master of Westminster School, directed his early education. At nine years old he went to Westminster School, and at fourteen entered the navy, his first ship being the *Collingwood*, an old two-decker, on a cruise to the Pacific. Modest, assiduous, and clever, he took the lead wherever he was. His manhood was simply the fulfilment of the promise of his boyhood. He advanced from one grade of his profession to another. In 1851 he obtained his lieutenant's commission. He went to most parts of the world, and was engaged in the bombardment of Sveaborg in 1855. He was present also at the taking of Canton. He was appointed acting commander while in the China seas: then he obtained a command in the Channel squadron. Always intent upon his profession and upon the welfare of his men, he became not only a most accomplished seaman, but one of the most popular officers in the service. It will be remembered how active a part he took in the relief of the French peasants during the Franco-Prussian war. He was appointed naval *attaché* in 1871, and visited several of the capitals of Europe. In 1873 he was appointed commander of the Australian station, and did assiduous and noble work in promoting the interests of the natives of the South Sea Islands. He and Mr. Layard arranged the annexation of the Fijis. He worked heartily with missionaries wherever he found them, and sacrificed his life in seeking to serve the natives of Santa Cruz. Like Bishop Patterson, he was fatally wounded by the poisoned arrows of the irritated natives. A nobler life or a more heroic death it would be difficult to imagine. His last days, when tetanus set in and death became certain, were perfect in their religious beauty, their unselfishness, pious resignation, and consideration for his men. 'If,' said he, expressing his desire to take leave of the men, 'if I can only turn one soul to the love of God, if it were the youngest boy in the ship, I must do it.' Perhaps when they hear it from the lips of a dying man they will believe it. The narrative of this interview is affecting even to tears. Christians may well boast, and England may well be proud, of the saintly and manly virtues of Commodore Goodenough.

Anglican Church Portraits. By J. G. ROGERS, B.A. James Clarke and Co.

The series of sketches from which those in the present volume are selected attracted much attention and some inquiry concerning their possible authorship when they appeared in the 'Congregationalist.' Most men of adequate knowledge felt pretty sure that only

one man among Nonconformists had the various knowledge, not to say sympathies, which they exhibit. Mr. Rogers has the courage of his convictions, and has here avowed himself their author. They are very able. Breadth of sympathy and conspicuous fairness of judgment distinguish them. They are the free and fearless judgments by a Christian man and minister of men whose official position renders it fitting and necessary that the world should know the kind of men by whom the National Establishment is ruled. Mr. Rogers pries into no matters that do not concern the public; he panders to no morbid curiosity. He finds certain men occupying high positions, in virtue of which their opinions and doings are supposed to have more than intrinsic weight, and he seeks to give us their measure and quality. It is a public service for which so far any competent man might qualify himself, and for which, when done so fairly and so well as it is done here, we all should be thankful. As a Nonconformist, Mr. Rogers naturally looks to the effect upon the men of the obligations and restraints of their position. His conclusion is, and it will be disputed by few, that, without any exception, the position of dignitaries of the National Establishment is prejudicial not only to the simplicity of a man's character but to the free and honest embodiment of it. It cannot be otherwise. But it is very melancholy to see, in ministers of Christ especially, how often and how terribly 'I dare not' overpowers 'I would'—the personal goodness of a bishop, for example, inducing him to recognise ministers of other Churches in private, and episcopal expediency compelling him to repudiate them in all public acts. We do not refer to the right or wrong of conviction, but to the temporising, not to say cowardly, way of dealing with convictions, which can hardly be of little importance. The tide is so strong that a bishop must swim with it. Men like the late Bishop Thirlwall are rare exceptions indeed; and he was placed out of the way at St. David's. Another point upon which Mr. Rogers is justly severe is the almost venal appointment to the highest offices of utterly, or at any rate comparatively, incompetent men. He instances the Bishop of Chichester, who certainly will not do honour to Mr. Gladstone's appointment; and is specially severe on the Bishop of London, who might have done credit to a rectory, and who is religiously a most estimable man, but who, in respect of ability, is utterly incompetent for the important office he fills. The appointment of bishops in the English Church is often a mystery as inscrutable as it is an exhibition as discreditable as the election of an American President. It is difficult even for imagination to realise what the simple minister of the gospel has come to be in the Anglican Church.

Eastern Persia. An Account of the Journeys of the Persian Boundary Commission, 1870-72. Two Vols. Macmillan and Co.

These two volumes contain a mass of mate-

rial of great value and importance, both to the politician and the student of natural science. Published by the authority of the Indian Government, they are official in their character; so that the reader is relieved from the duty of discriminating between fact and fiction, such as must be too often exercised when travels in unknown regions are in question. Although Eastern Persia was not an absolute *terra incognita* previous to the recent visits of the Persian Boundary Commission, it had been penetrated by very few before them, and the geographical and scientific information obtained by their predecessors has stood in need of frequent supplement and correction. Even yet, notwithstanding the ample details to be found in the second of these volumes regarding the zoology and geology of the localities visited, it is not pretended that the list which is given of the mammals, birds, reptiles, and amphibians of Persia is anything but extremely imperfect. Enormous tracts of the country have never been explored by any zoologist. Our knowledge of the fauna of the plains, from the Tigris to the foot of the Zagros mountains, is very far from being exhaustive, and we know still less of the animals inhabiting these mountains. 'North-eastern Persia, too, is zoologically almost a *terra incognita*, while the dense forests in Ghilan and Mazandaran, along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, despite all the researches of Russian naturalists, have been so imperfectly explored, that (says Mr. Blandford), even amongst the few species obtained by Major St. John and myself, there are several of which the existence in the country was previously unknown.' But while it is not reasonable to expect that the great lack of information was likely to be fully supplied by one journey through Baluchistan, the present, which is the first attempt to furnish a list of the animals inhabiting the Persian territories, will be welcomed by students of science as having resulted in a great addition to our knowledge of Persian zoology. The department of geology has been less fully dealt with. What is here given, indeed, is only a sketch of the main geological features of the country, as ascertained by previous travellers as well as by Mr. Blandford; while the latter gentleman has furnished a more detailed account of his own observations on the line of route which he followed.

The chief interest of the work, however, as appealing to a much larger class of readers than the details regarding Persian zoology and geology in the second volume will do, is of a political character. The journeys of which we have here a record were performed through Eastern Persia in 1870-72 by officers of the Boundary Commission, under Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, with the object of fixing the frontier lines between Persia, Cabul, and Kalat. The settlement of definitive frontier lines between the various tribes or powers which claim authority in the territory lying immediately to the west of our Indian empire, is obviously a matter of importance to us as well as to them. Whether or

not we shall have at some future time to breast the advancing stream of Russian invasion, pouring towards our Eastern empire through Balúchistán and Afghánistán, it is desirable to reduce to the smallest number and dimensions the causes of possible contention in the future. Hence the Indian Government resolved to endeavour, by missions composed of competent officers sent to the spot, to arrange the differences regarding boundaries that had arisen between Persia, Baluch, and Afghan. The time having passed when annexation and enlargement of territory were regarded as desirable by Indian statesmen, it was resolved to try the innovation of settling such disputes by peaceful means, in the hope of thereby bringing about a reign of order for the neighbouring populations, and at the same time, without armed or abrupt interference, strengthening and securing the attachment to ourselves of normally turbulent border allies. From the time that the conquest of Sind and the annexation of the Panjáb carried our frontier to the Indus, and made Afghánistán and Balúchistán contiguous States to British India, it became the interest of England to allay the distrust and dread of her new neighbours, and to replace alienation and hostility by conciliation and amity.

The travels recorded in these volumes include three separate journeys, the incidents of which are narrated by three different writers. First, we have a narrative of a journey through Balúchistán and Southern Persia by Major Oliver St. John; secondly, a narrative of a journey in Balúchistán by Major Beresford Lovett; and, lastly, the records of the Perso-Baluch Frontier Mission, 1870-71, and the Perso-Afghan Mission, 1871-72, by Major Juan Smith. Of these three narratives the second is short, slight, and comparatively unimportant. Of the other two, that which is politically of most moment is the last; but, in our opinion, that which, in literary aspects, has the most merit, and forms the most interesting reading, is the first. Major St. John writes with spirit and lively force; and though he says truly that his journey was almost devoid of incident, the story is told in so pleasant a manner that it forms very attractive reading. The shadow of official authority would seem to have fallen more or less upon the other writers, so as, if not to damp the ardour of their travelling zeal, yet to oppress them with a sense of responsibility, which has not been favourable to literary excellence. Hence, as we hinted at the outset, the volumes before us contain a mass of valuable material rather than compose a work of great literary merit.

The most serious of the disputes regarding boundaries, which engaged the attention of the Commission, was that between Persia and Afghanistan, regarding the rights of possession to the province of Sistán. Until 1860 it was incorporated with the latter, but during that year it was acquired by Persia. Sheer Ali, as Amír of Afghánistán, was naturally eager to recover the province, and the

dispute attracted the serious attention of Lord Mayo during his Indian Viceroyalty. The question was one involving so many intricacies of an obscure description, which very few persons in England, or even in Europe, knew anything about, that it was impossible to decide it without careful local inquiry. Each of the claimants to Sistán had complained against the other to England, or to the British Indian Government, and it was finally determined to arrange the matter by arbitration. The result was that Major-General Sir Fredk. G. Goldsmid was instructed to proceed to the spot to undertake the difficult duties of arbitrator. He was also directed to endeavour, by similar pacific means, to settle the frontier line between Persia and Kalat or Makran. The volumes contain ample information as to how he did his work, what obstacles were thrown in his way by the Persian authorities, and how, in consequence of the difficulties interposed, he had to postpone eventually the larger task of arranging respecting Sistán, and to proceed first with the minor task. After the Perso-Makran Treaty had been concluded, and General Goldsmid had visited England to obtain fuller instructions, he returned early in 1872, and set to work again, starting from the Persian port of Bandar-Abbas and proceeding through the Karman desert to Sistán. The final decision at which he arrived was to divide the province between the two rival claimants, and although they both protested against the result, and an appeal was carried to the English Foreign Secretary, the finding was ultimately acquiesced in, first by the Shah, when in England in 1873, and afterwards by the Amir of Afghanistan. Success thus crowned the peaceful work of arbitration; and although it would be too much to hope that all enmities and rivalries between Persia and Afghánistán have been for ever removed, there is reason to hope that the foundations have been laid of more satisfactory relations between the turbulent races of these parts, and that England's renown as a peacemaker has not detracted from the awe in which she is held as the swift and powerful avenger of wrong and cruelty and oppression.

Without entering upon any of the interesting details of the several journeys, of which these volumes contain the narratives, we heartily recommend them to all interested in the politics of our Indian Empire as simply indispensable to the attainment of a satisfactory knowledge of the relations of India to its immediate neighbours. We would only add that the maps, which are clear and good, would have been still more serviceable if they had been on a somewhat larger scale. The volumes are illustrated by an excellent series of plates.

The Shores of Lake Aral. By HERBERT WOOD, Major, Royal Engineers. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Few geographical problems are more interesting than that of which Turkestan is the present centre. This problem, imperfectly

known both as to its facts and its processes, Major Wood has set himself to investigate, and as the result he has made a distinct addition to our scientific knowledge. He has thrown topographical light upon some points in history, and he has supplied data for calculating some important questions of the future. The element of personal travel is almost excluded from his book; it is wholly devoted to his scientific purpose, and consists of a series of minute observations of Lake Aral and the two classical rivers, the Jaxartes and the Oxus, which flow into it. We can only state briefly the questions, and thereby indicate the value of Major Wood's investigations; remarking only that both his professional knowledge and his general scientific acquirements fitted him especially for his task, and that he was enabled to accomplish it by being permitted to attach himself to a Russian expedition sent by the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in 1874.

It seems to be demonstrated that, within historic time, a vast inland sea filled the depression marked by the vast plains of Turkestan, that it included the Sea of Aral, the Caspian Sea, and the Black Sea, and that the change, which is still going on, was inaugurated by the opening of the Bosphorus, which some suppose to have been the deluge of Deucalion. Proofs of the connection of the Caspian with the basin of the Frozen Ocean, which is affirmed by Strabo and indicated by the seals and fauna of the former, seem conclusive, and it seems certain that in the days of Alexander Aral was the 'Scythic Gulf' of the Caspian. It is certain too that the Volga, which now flows into the Caspian, so late as the fifth century flowed into the Sea of Azof; a fact which indicates a vast change in the levels.

The main points which Major Wood demonstrates are the repeated changes which have taken place in the courses of the two great Turkestan rivers, the Jaxartes (Syrdarya) and the Oxus (Anni-darya). Both have formerly flowed into the Caspian, and, since they debouched into the Sea of Aral, have frequently changed their course. These changes of the water-system of Turkestan have doubtless had a great influence upon its population and upon the course of history. The process is still going on rapidly. Within the present generation large tracts were covered by the waters of Aral which are now cultivated land. With the diminution of its water supply sterility increases. Thus the character of an entire district may be changed by simply damming a branch of a river, as was once done, according to Major Wood, by a Khan of Khiva, to defend himself from the Turkomans.

We must, however, refer our readers to Major Wood's work for further information on this important and intensely interesting question. It must suffice to say that already men are pondering the possibility of artificial water ways which might change the entire aspect of the country and solve important political questions. One suggestion is to divert

one or both of the two rivers into their ancient channels, causing them to debouch into the Caspian, which would largely fertilise Turkestan, and help to solve the political question of the advance of Russia to Merv and Afghanistan. Another proposal has been made by a bold American engineer, which is, by a canal, to let the water of the Euxine flow into the Caspian, which would fill again a large portion of the area formerly submerged, and entirely change the character of the country. We have not latterly met with a more valuable contribution to geographical science than Major Wood's book.

The Journey of Augustus Raymond Margary from Shanghai to Bhamo, and back to Manwyne. From his Journal and Letters, with a brief Biographical Preface. To which is added a Concluding Chapter by Sir RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, K.C.B. With a Portrait by JEENS, and a Route Map. Macmillan and Co.

It is not often that a character reveals itself more beautifully and tenderly than Mr. Margary's does in these journals. His achievement was a great one. He was the first European who accomplished the overland trade route between India and China, and yet the beauty of his character, as it develops itself in his own letters and journals, is more prominently before us than his achievement.

He was the son of Major-General Margary, and was born at Belgaum in 1846. After spending some time at school in France, when about nine years old, he came to England, and was under the care of his uncle, the Rev. J. Layard, Rector of Swaffeld, Norfolk. After a short attendance at North Walsham Grammar School he went to Brighton College, where he remained upwards of seven years. He worked hard and played hard, and exhibited from early life the fine qualities which only developed afterwards. His parents returning to England, he resided with them in London, and attended lectures at University College. He passed a competitive examination for a student interpreter-ship in China, and was sent to China in March, 1867,—a very noble result of the competitive system. His conscientious industry and determination to be thorough soon caused him to be distinguished by his superiors. He attained a remarkable knowledge of Chinese, which in his great journey stood him in good stead. Amiable, fascinating, self-reliant, and unselfish, he almost realised one's ideal of an Indian official. He was in every way a man to be proud of. We may add, too, that he was a man of sincere and devout piety. So well did he succeed by his personal qualities, that some parts of his journey to Bhamo were like an ovation. No Chinese official seemed able to withstand him. When he writes about the 'charming people' among whom he travelled, we may possibly understand the reason. His mission was to make the journey from Shanghai to Bhamo, there to meet Colonel Brown's expedition, which he was to accompany back to

Shanghai. He accomplished his journey, started back with Colonel Brown (of whose expedition Dr. Anderson has just published a most interesting account), went in advance to Manwyne, where there were rumours of disturbance, and there he was brutally murdered. Of the details of his journey we must not speak. His death has raised it to an event of prime political importance. Sir Rutherford Alcock, in a careful dispassionate chapter, is disposed to think that we were unwarranted in demanding access to China by this route, and that the history of our progress in the East abundantly justifies the jealous exclusion which we seek to break down. He thinks the Burmese authorities acted in good faith, and that the Chinese authorities at Peking are free from blame; but that the local governors at Seray and Manwyne are guilty, and that strict retribution should be exacted. Since the publication of the book, Colonel Grosvenor has returned from Manwyne, to which he was sent officially to demand justice, but the result is not very satisfactory.

But the great charm of the book is the personal revelations of the noble and beautiful character of its hero. One mourns over the premature death of a man who gave promise of being one of our very best civil administrators.

Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot, during the Insurrection, August and September, 1875. With an Historical Review of Bosnia and [a glimpse at the Croats, Slavonians, and the Ancient Republic of Ragusa. By ARTHUR J. EVANS, B.A., F.S.A. Longmans and Co.

The tour of Mr. Evans and his brother was accidentally coincident with the insurrection. It was incited by previous visits to South Slavonic lands, by a special desire to see Slavonic Mohammedans, and by certain problems suggested by the history and present state of Illyria; the principal of which seems to have been a connection more or less fanciful between certain Manichæan heretics of Bosnia, named Bogomiles, of the eleventh century, and the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth. While preparing for their journey, the Herzegovinian insurrection broke out, and while walking through Bosnia that country also burst into insurrection. Mr. Evans and his brother travelled on foot, and especially sought to explore some of the grand mountain scenery of Bosnia between Brood and Serajev. Their desire was difficult to understand, and the circumstances of the country naturally excited jealousies. We can scarcely wonder, therefore, that more than once they were regarded as spies. They were, however, well provided with papers, and, although not without peril, achieved their journey in safety. Their determination thus to penetrate to the inner life of the country has resulted in a large mass of very valuable information concerning the real condition of the people, and gives the book a unique character. Starting from Agram in

Croatia they went by rail to Sissek; thence to Brood in Slavonia; thence, striking south, through the mountainous region that we have referred to, they passed through Boboi and Komusina to Travnik. From Travnik they went south-east to Serajev; thence, still following the mountain ranges south-west, to Mostar, the capital of Herzegovina, from whence they proceeded to Klek, the Dalmatian port which the Austrians have recently closed against the Turks. Thence they coasted to Ragusa, where the record of their tour terminates. A reference to the map will show that they thus passed through the very heart of the two countries upon which the eyes of the world are just now fixed.

Generally we may say that Mr. Evans is adequately equipped with historical and antiquarian scholarship, and that he has assiduously brought to bear upon his journey all his knowledge. This gives to his book a preponderating historical colour, and makes it permanently valuable. It is indeed so much more than a mere record of travel that it will probably find an abiding place upon the shelves of those who read it. Mr. Evans has collected so much historical matter concerning Bosnia and Herzegovina, and especially the places and districts that he visited, that his book fills a place distinctively its own, and to general readers will convey a large amount of new and interesting information. His judgment, too, is cautious, and solicitously fair; his sympathies are generous, and his style is vivacious, vigorous, and fluent. At the same time we are bound to say that, although done in a scholarly way, we get the impression that much of the information has been specially read up for the book.

Hence his theories are sometimes fanciful and his inferences rash. For example, although his account of the Bogomiles is very interesting, it smacks of book lore, and indicates a somewhat superficial acquaintance with both ecclesiastical history and theological thought, and a tendency to generalise from resemblances rather than from facts. For example, Mr. Evans seems altogether to ignore Greek Christianity and its influences. Had he, too, remembered Gibbon's fifty-fourth chapter, he would have seen how the revival of Manichæism in the Paulicians of the twelfth century rapidly spread from the East through Bulgaria and the Greek Empire into Italy, the south of France and Germany, and was a principal cause of the Albigensian war. The Bogomiles seem to have sprung from Armenian Ascetics, through Bulgarian and Servian channels. Commander Telfer, in his book elsewhere noticed, tells us that even Paganism survives in Armenia to this day. It is not, therefore, difficult to account for the genesis of a Christian heresy having Manichean roots. Nor can anything be more natural than the anti-ecclesiastical and Protestant character of many of their dogmas and observances. But it is surely very rash historically to connect the dogmas of Huss, the Albigenses, and the Lutheran reformers with this Bosnian sect on the strength of

their resemblances. Many of the early heretics, so-called, naturally anticipated the dogmas of the Reformers of the sixteenth century. Protests against growing sacerdotalism and ecclesiasticism, and efforts to counteract them, more or less intelligent and successful, have naturally occurred throughout the entire course of Christian history. There is nothing more essential for the philosophic historian than to distinguish between resemblances, or common origins, and sequences.

Mr. Evans's account of the Slavonic Mohammedans is full of interest. According to him they were Christians persecuted for their opinions by the Romish Church, until, in the fifteenth century, they embraced Mohammedanism as a refuge. 'The whole country passed in the short space of eight days irrevocably under the dominion of the Infidel.' Hence the Slav Mohammedans are not Turks, and have a hatred of their Osmanli rulers and oppressors as intense as that of the Christians. Only there is little, if any, historical evidence to sustain this statement; and certainly it does not commend the Slavs to Christian sympathies that they should thus have been willing to sell body and soul to escape persecution. The contrast with the Albigenes thus suggested is not very favourable to the Slavs. We can have little doubt about the ferocious tyranny of orthodox Christian kings and priests, nor about the venality of the Latin Church and its bishops, and their unprincipled subserviency to the Osmanli oppressors of the country, when we see the present Pope avowing his sympathy with the Turk in the struggle now going on.

Mr. Evans tells us enough about the oppression and brutality of Turkish rule. Subsequent events have given a sad confirmation to his testimony. The rule is suicidal and the misery that it causes is most piteous. It says much for Mr. Evans that he does not permit his indignation to make him unjust. While he gives us no information concerning the present war, which is subsequent to his journey, he gives us an immense amount of information which will be of great value in enabling us to understand its causes and the incidents—information which Mr. Evans's intelligence, industry, and manifest fairness make unusually reliable. He makes us feel afresh that the problem is much more than a religious one, and that its solution is profoundly difficult. His account of the Servian character is interesting. 'The slow measured utterance of the race, so far from being a proof of inferiority, has been compared by Ami Boué to that of Englishmen; and this keen observer of the Serbs speaks of the people and language as born, if any ever were, for Parliamentary Government.' We commend his book as one of very great interest in the present state of things, and as contributing permanently to our knowledge of these countries.

We had intended to have referred to the concluding chapter on Ragusa as a very favourable illustration of Mr. Evans's power in his historical sketches. It is full of very

deep interest, as are also, throughout the book, many of his incidental descriptions of the characteristics and condition of the people. But for these we must refer to what we must pronounce one of the most interesting books of travel of the season.

The Crimea and Trans-Caucasia: being the Narrative of a Journey in the Kouban, in Gouria, Georgia, Armenia Ossety, Immeritia, Swannety, and Mingrelia, and in the Tauric Range. By Commander J. BUCHAN TELFER, R.N. With Two Maps and Numerous Illustrations. Two Vols. Henry S. King and Co.

Captain Telfer has compiled a book of very sterling qualities and of considerable interest—literary, historical, archæological, and picturesque. A large section of history passes into practical oblivion; the Crimea and the Caucasus had become to the world generally a *terra incognita* until the conquest of the latter by the Russians, and the heroic defence of it by Schamyl and other chiefs, which in some degree drew to it the attention of Europe; and afterwards and more especially the Crimean War, which set everybody to the resuscitation of forgotten mythology, romance, and history, when the Crimea became as familiar to us all as Sutherlandshire—to many a good deal more so. The expatriation of so many of the Circassians by the Russians has wrought a great change in 'the frosty Caucasus,' and the fall of Sebastopol has produced effects which as yet promise years of permanence.

Captain Telfer, who resided three years in the south of Russia, made two visits to the Crimea and Trans-Caucasia. He has reduced his two visits to one orderly account, and has condensed his note-books into these two solid and very full volumes. Had his visits been made from England we should probably have had a larger proportion of mere travelling experience. His residence in the comparative vicinity of the countries visited furnished opportunity and incitement for working up his notes of travel into forms of solid and valuable information. He tells us that the mere descriptions of places and people are from his own personal observations. But he has associated with these all kinds of historical, political, and scientific information; every point has been wrought up with most painstaking care. In this quality of it, his book resembles Mr. Evans's book on Bosnia—Captain Telfer having, however, somewhat less literary power than Mr. Evans, and perhaps somewhat more of judicial discrimination. At the outset we are a little disappointed, the notes on the Crimea being scant and like those of a mere guide-book; but Captain Telfer warms to his work as he comes upon less familiar ground, his inspiration gathers, and the second volume, containing an account of his visit to the Swannety, becomes vivid in its descriptions and absorbing in interest. The result is a book of solid worth, which gives us a vast amount of genuine information, and

which, from the merit of its historical and economical elements, deserves a much more permanent place in the library than ordinary books of travel. In this respect, indeed, Mr. Evans's book on Bosnia and Captain Telfer's book are of quite exceptional value. If our readers will refer to a map, they will understand Captain Telfer's route, as he justifies us in speaking of it. Starting from Galatz and touching at Odessa, he proceeded to Eupatoria; thence to Sebastopol, whence he made excursions to various points of interest in the peninsula, visiting most of the scenes of prominent events in the Crimean War. Sailing again from Yalta (Galita) he went to Theodosia, whence he made an excursion into the interior to Starcy Grim, Elbouzly, and Soudak. From Theodosia he sailed to Kertch, the surroundings of which he thoroughly explored, going as far as Anassa. Sailing from Kertch he touched at various ports on the south coast of Circassia, disembarking at Poti. Thence he proceeded to Tiflis and Erivan, making excursions round each. From Tiflis he went north to Vladikavkaz; returning from Tiflis to Koutais, he visited the Swannety country to the north, approaching Elbrouz, the loftiest mountain of Europe. This outline Captain Telfer fills in with a vast amount of detailed information, which to most readers will be both novel and interesting. We regret that our space will permit us to cull but very few of its items.

We should say, however, that first Captain Telfer had introductions of the first quality, and was everywhere received with the utmost cordiality by the highest Russian officials, the Grand-Duke Michael, the Commander-in-Chief at Tiflis, and Governors everywhere. Two or three times he was invited to accompany high officials on tours of inspection, and of course saw everything to advantage and had every facility of travel provided for him. When, for example, he accompanied the Governor of Erivan into Armenia, he not only found the miseries of travel where there are no hotels greatly alleviated, but he was always put in charge of some specially competent guide in the excursions he wished to make. His knowledge of Russian life, and the Russian language too, gave him special facilities. He has a great personal admiration for the Emperor Alexander; but this and the courtesies and hospitalities that he received do not seem to have swayed his judgment, for he criticises freely the administration of the Russians, and exhibits the defects of their rule, and the miseries suffered under it.

He complains very justly of the shameful condition of the graves of British soldiers in the Crimea—the more shameful from contrast with those of the French, and even of the Sardinians. Thus, at Cathcart's Hill,—

‘Two handsome memorials, the one to the officers of the Coldstream Guards who fell at Inkermann, were completely overturned; broken slabs in marble and stone lay scattered, and every monument that had borne a cross was mutilated.’ An officer, however,

has since been employed to carry out the recommendations for their preservation of the Military Commission sent to Sebastopol in 1872.

We regret that we cannot epitomise the author's account of the Douhobortsky, the Malakany, and some other sects, the former of which rejects all outward observances of religion, and seems in some respects to resemble the Fifth Monarchy men of the Commonwealth: they are settled in the south-western corner of Circassia, near Novorossisk. Nor can we follow Captain Telfer in his visits to various monasteries in search of manuscripts and other antiquities, which he generally found very jealously guarded.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of his book is his account of his visit to the almost unknown district of the Swannety, a few miles north of Koutais. He accompanied the Russian officer in command on a tour of inspection, the chief object of which seems to have been to hold the municipal elections, which take place every third year. The choice is made by acclamation; but the Swannety seem as reluctant to accept municipal honours as some among ourselves, and the elected magistrate had generally to be dragged out of the crowd by gentle violence.

The law of blood revenge is in full force, and Russian rule has not been able to cope with it. Women are so commonly at the bottom of these quarrels, that it is a sufficient inquiry concerning them, ‘Who is the woman?’ Colonel Hunewsky was appealed to several times, but he was obliged to forego jurisdiction, as he had not sufficient force to carry out his decisions; and once or twice his life was threatened by lawless men, who had shut themselves up in the towers which are a frequent adjunct of the houses, and whence they covered the colonel with their rifles. The whole book is choke full of interesting matters.

Life in the Southern Seas. By the Rev. W. WYATT GILL, B.A. The Religious Tract Society.

Those who come to this beautifully got-up volume, expecting to find in it the old-fashioned commonplaces about the darkness of heathenism, will most probably be pleasantly surprised. Not that Mr. Gill does not powerfully bring out all this, but he does it in a new and more attractive way, as indeed we should expect from the writer of ‘The Myths of the South Pacific.’ He has studied the customs and ceremonies of these South Sea Islanders, till he has got to discern in many cases the dim points of truth from which they have taken departure, and have gradually been perverted—the form becoming more and more a horrible veil of the truth, instead of an aid to it. Yet in how many cases in the course of the book—notwithstanding that it is chiefly descriptive—do we see proof of the immense advantages which this kind of sympathetic knowledge may give to the missionary. Mr. Gill has afforded us a glimpse of the mythology of the South Seas, especial-

ly of his own island—Mangaia, one of the Hervey group. The chapter on the illustrations used by native preachers is in every way admirable and full of novelty; no less that on the natural history of the South Pacific, which shows a keen scientific instinct, and a faculty of clear statement. Nor should we forget to mention the chapter on New Guinea, which, beyond telling of Mr. Gill's own experience there, clearly sums up the results of more recent discovery in it by Mr. McFarlane and others. On the whole, the graceful unaffected style, and the exhaustive information of the book, are on a level with the fine spirit that characterises it, and we feel that, over and above the benefit it must confer on those who are already interested in missionary labours, it may have some effect in conciliating and interesting those who have hitherto been indifferent.

First Ten Years of a Sailor's Life at Sea. (Sampson Low and Co.) But for the mention on the title-page of three or four books by the same author, we should have judged this a first production, the unsophisticated record of a genuine experience. We have no reason to think that it is not the latter, but its lack of literary art is a little difficult to account for. It impresses one as nearly realising what is so often desired—the genuine record of an ordinary life, and although here and there tending to preachiness, it is very interesting. The author describes how he eloped from Putney workhouse, and went to sea at nine years of age, and how he went from ship to ship, with his experiences in each, until he became a captain. The narrative contains a good deal of adventure, and a little not unnatural self-complacency. But it appears very genuine, it is full of the spirit of a sailor of the olden time, and illustrates the way in which men are made.—*Life with the Hamram Arabs. An account of a Sporting Tour of some Officers of the Guards in the Soudan during the Winter of 1874-5.* By ARTHUR R. B. MYERS, Coldstream Guards. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) The party consisted of Lord Coke, Sir W. Gordon Cumming, Captain Vivian, and the Author, afterwards joined by the Earl of Ranfurly and Mr. Charles Arkwright. The volume is pleasantly written. It is a diary consisting almost entirely of sporting experiences. The party had considerable success, and met with the largest game of Africa. The author recites enterprising pursuits, patient watchings, hair-breadth escapes, and skilful shots. A sad gloom was thrown over the friends by the illness of Lord Ranfurly at Kassala, and his arduous journey to the coast at Souakim, where he died as soon as he got on board the Suez steamer. The book adds nothing to our knowledge, but it will be read with interest even by those who are not sportsmen.—*The Balearic Islands.* By CHARLES TOLL BIDWELL, F.R.G.S. With Maps and Illustrations. (Sampson Low and Co.) Mr. Bidwell is H. M. Consul at Majorca, and he

compile a handbook of the Islands, full of most interesting and useful information. Little is practically known about them. Here we have ample information—historical, political, agricultural, commercial, social, sanatorial, descriptive. The beauty of the Islands might well tempt tourists to whom they are almost unknown. Their political importance is diminished, and steam has rendered vessels less dependent upon the magnificent harbour of Port Mahon. Mr. Bidwell's book will make known to many what has been to them only a geographical expression.

POLITICS, SCIENCE, AND ART.

Disestablishment; or, a Defence of the Principle of a National Church. By GEORGE HARWOOD, M.A. Macmillan and Co.

Mr. Harwood has executed his self-imposed task with creditable industry, with a candour and moderation, which are still more honourable as they are more rare, and with an ability which, if it does not warrant the excessive eulogies of Church defenders, who have hailed their new champion with a great flourish of trumpets, yet shows him to be a man of vigorous and independent intellect. But, notwithstanding all this, no book has appeared for some time which, in our judgment, is more than this calculated to advance the movement which it was intended to check. Some of his enthusiastic admirers have compared this production of a 'young business man in his leisure' to the more celebrated work of a young Oxonian of forty years ago on 'Church Principles,' and the comparison, absurd as it is in one view, is extremely suggestive. The difference between the power of the two books is not greater than that between the views they advocate; and, if we are to believe that the friends of the Establishment are prepared to shift the defence of its principles from the ground taken by Mr. Gladstone to that now occupied by Mr. Harwood, the end of the conflict is not far distant. The position which the more recent writer takes is indeed the only one logically tenable; but, so far as he succeeds in making this apparent, he will prove to be a valuable auxiliary of the Liberation Society. Its advocates can desire nothing better than to have to deal with arguments such as those which he has so carefully elaborated, and which he urges with so much evident strength of conviction and conscientious feeling. We have seen so much of the strange fascination which the Establishment exercises over the minds of many from whom better things might have been expected, leading them to tolerate not only anomalies which offend the understanding, but gross abuses, which must disturb the conscience; also to talk of unrealised ideals as though they were veritable facts, in utter contempt of the actual state of the case; and to jump at any

argument, however inconsistent with their own principles, which could be construed into a plea on behalf of their favourite institution, that it would be rash to say that even devout men, to whom, with their spiritual conception of the Church, Mr. Harwood's views must be an unmitigated offence, will at once recoil from such a defender. Reasoning on *a priori* grounds, indeed, we should have said that High Churchmen and Evangelicals alike would rather brave all the perils of Disestablishment than tolerate the Erastianism which Mr. Harwood openly advocates. But such a conclusion would be in direct contradiction to experience; and for the time, at least, Church defenders generally will doubtless welcome their new ally, recognising only the fact that he is fighting for the Establishment, and blind to the dangers of so questionable a mode of defence. But more sober reflection must cause a very different state of feeling on the part of religious men, and, sooner or later, produce the conviction that it would be infinitely better to surrender the Establishment than to have the Church of Christ stripped of all her spiritual strength and glory in the way advocated in this volume.

All that we can attempt, in the limited space at our disposal, is very briefly to justify this view of the character of Mr. Harwood's representations. His idea is that the character of a Church depends solely upon its organisation. He admits, indeed, that there is a higher meaning of the word Church, but he insists that the outward organisation is something distinct and separate from the spiritual fellowship which Nonconformists, and others besides Nonconformists, regard as the Church of Christ. He deals with the Church of England as nothing more than a department of the State, which may, or may not, hold true doctrine, and may, or may not, be part of the spiritual Church, but which, 'in the sense of organisation, came into being and has been entirely developed under State control.' He goes even further than this, for he denies that it could have an independent existence. 'But it may be said that even if the Church has always hitherto been connected with the State, that is no reason why it should always continue so, any more than a child, when grown up, should remain in the same subjection to his parents. But the comparison is not at all correct, for whilst a child possesses from the first an individuality of its own, the development of which is the chief object of its life, the Church has no more individuality now than it had at the beginning; and it would be as reasonable to talk of the child existing without its brain as of the Church continuing to be the Church after it was deprived of the controlling power of the State.' If Nonconformists spoke of the Church in this way, they would provoke severe criticism; but this is the plea of its latest defender. If it be accepted, it will greatly simplify the question of Disendowment, for, on this showing, all the revenues of the Establishment belong to

the State. Where there is not independent existence, there can be no vested rights in private property. But it is impossible to suppose that earnest Anglicans will tamely yield positions for which they have long and earnestly contended, and be satisfied to see their Church thus treated as a mere nonentity. It must stagger the leaders of the Anglican school to see their favourite theories dismissed in this summary fashion by one who proclaims himself a defender of the Establishment. They may be able, however, to persuade themselves that the representation is untrue,—part of that Erastian heresy which is one of the Satanic delusions of these days. The difficulty will be with those who hate Mr. Harwood's principles, and yet cannot see how he is to be answered. Nonconformists ought certainly to be grateful to him, for in thus identifying the defence of the Establishment with the most naked and repulsive Erastianism, he has rendered essential service to their cause.

Bulgarian Horrors, and the Question of the East. By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. John Murray.

By the time that this notice is published Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet will have been discussed and quoted in every newspaper throughout Europe. The lengthened notice which it would otherwise demand will therefore be superfluous, especially as we have in another place discussed the general question. It is refreshing to hear from a high-minded statesman and Christian such a clear loud ringing note of moral protest and indignation. Irreparable mischief has, we fear, been done—not to our political prestige, which is a secondary matter, but to our moral character and influence, by the cynical and inhuman utterances of the man who for some inscrutable purposes is permitted to represent the policy of England. All that can be done to repair it will be done by words such as Mr. Gladstone's, and by the irrepressible outburst of national indignation of the last few weeks; only, alas! while the lightest official word is reported throughout Europe, the multitudinous voice of the people of England will be only very partially heard.

Mr. Gladstone first brings his indictment against the Government for its culpable ignorance, misrepresentation, and cynicism. Happily it is without parallel in the history of the last three centuries. England, we are thankful to say—and this makes our present humiliation deeper—has hitherto always made her voice heard in the cause of humanity. It is hardly too much to say that the world has looked to her as the leader in all that is Christian and humane; and now we have the huge task of convincing Europe that England is unchanged, and has been culpably misrepresented by her Prime Minister. The price we pay for Lord Beaconsfield is a very heavy one; first, in an almost unparalleled series of domestic blunders and tricks of low policy, and now in an almost unparalleled compromise of the humane character of

England. The moral aspects of such a Government remove judgment upon it to a sphere far higher than that of party politics. All good men must be ashamed of it. Mr. Gladstone, after establishing the facts, and bringing against the Government almost the gravest accusation that could come from a great statesman's lips, suggests the remedy. He would preserve the integrity of the Turkish Empire, for the sake of avoiding more serious complications; but he would establish the autonomy of Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, as well as of Serbia, and would not permit in any of them another day of Turkish rule, any more than in Roumania or Egypt. He would permit the Sultan to retain simply a nominal suzerainty, and that only so long as it may be expedient. His words burn with honest and intense indignation, and their eloquent humanity will, we trust, ring through Europe.

Concerning the conduct of the ministry, he says, tersely and felicitously: 'The effect, the general sense, of the answers [in Parliament] was what I may call a moral, though not a verbal, denial. Whatever they were meant to produce, they did produce the result, not of belief qualified by a reserve for occasional error, but of disbelief qualified by a reserve for purely accidental truth.' He characterises Mr. Disraeli's speech of the 12th of August, as 'a repetition of language, which is either that of ignorance, or of brutal calumny upon a people whom Turkish authorities have themselves just described as industrious, primitive, and docile.' Concerning the Turkish race, he says, 'It is not a question of Mahometanism simply, but of Mahometanism compounded with the peculiar character of a race. They are not the mild Mahometans of India, nor the chivalrous Saladins of Syria, nor the cultured Moors of Spain. They were, upon the whole, from the black day when they first entered Europe, the one great anti-human specimen of humanity. Wherever they went a broad line of blood marked the track behind them, and as far as their dominion reached civilisation disappeared from view. They represented everywhere government by force, as opposed to government by law. For the guide of this life they had a relentless fatalism; for its reward hereafter, a sensual paradise.'

After recommending the autonomy of the Christian provinces, he says, 'An old servant of the Crown and State, I entreat my countrymen, upon whom, far more than perhaps any other people of Europe, it depends, to recognise, and to insist, that our Government, which has been working in one direction, shall work in the other, and shall apply all its vigour to concur with the other States of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the Turkish executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely, by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs, and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbachis, their Kaimakams, and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out

from the province they have desolated and profaned. This thorough riddance, this most blessed deliverance, is the only reparation we can make to the memory of those heaps on heaps of dead; to the violated purity alike of matron, of maiden, and of child; to the civilisation which has been affronted and ashamed; to the laws of God, or, if you like, of Allah; to the moral sense of mankind at large. There is not a criminal in a European gaol, there is not a cannibal in the South-Sea Islands, whose indignation would not rise and overboil at the recital of that which has been done, which has, too late, been examined, but which remains unavenged; which has left behind all the foul and all the fierce passions that produced it, and which may again spring up in another murderous harvest, from the soil soaked and reeking with blood, and in the air tainted with every imaginable deed of crime and shame. That such things should be done once is a damning disgrace to the portion of our race which did them; that a door should be left open for their ever-so-barely possible repetition would spread that shame over the whole. . . . We may ransack the annals of the world, but I know not what research can furnish us with so portentous an example of the fiendish misuse of the powers established by God "for the punishment of evil-doers and for the encouragement of them that do well." No Government ever has so sinned; none has so proved itself incorrigible in sin, or, which is the same, impotent for reformation. If it be allowable that the executive power of Turkey should renew at this great crisis, by permission or authority of Europe, the charter of its existence in Bulgaria, then there is not on record, since the beginnings of political society, a protest that man has lodged against intolerable misgovernment, or a stroke he has dealt at loathsome tyranny, that ought not henceforward to be branded as a crime.'

Principles of Plutology. By WORDSWORTH DONISTHORPE. Williams and Norgate.

This is a pretentious work, regarding which we do not feel inclined to say much, because it would require more space and time than we can afford to give to it to discuss its theories with any degree of fulness; and we greatly doubt were that done if the play would be found worth the candle. Mr. Donisthorpe aspires at being not merely a reformer, but a revolutionist, in political economy. He treats all who have written on the subject since the date of publication of 'The Wealth of Nations' as worse than failures, as writers who have only made confusion worse confounded, so that, as he tells the world, the science has fallen into just contempt. The time, however, has now come for placing the science of wealth on a new basis; and this the writer professes that he is able to do, and to some degree has actually done, in the work before us. 'The title and rank of an exact science,' he says grandly, 'is claimed for Plutology. It stands on as firm a footing

as 'Chemistry. It is, what many have supposed Political Economy to be, the Science of Wealth.' Mr. Domisthorpe differs from the political economists in treating as 'a purely speculative science, dealing solely with the relations subsisting between phenomena' what they have handled as 'a practical science, or an art aiming at the solution of definite problems.' Little mercy is therefore shown to political economy in the criticism of it in the first chapter of the work. In the second and third chapters 'the nature and method of a true science of wealth' are investigated, after which the data of Plutology are dealt with, and the subsequent chapters treat of 'Combination and Analysis,' 'The Definition of Terms,' and 'Combination from the Synthetical Standpoint'—whatever that may mean. Mr. Domisthorpe is ambitious; but he must write with more clearness and show himself less under the power of terms and words if he is ever to succeed in his aim. Plutology has not yet, at all events, overthrown political economy.

The Mechanism of Man: an Answer to the Question, What am I? A Popular Introduction to Physiology and Psychology. By EDWARD W. COX, Serjeant-at-Law, President of the Psychological Society of Great Britain. Vol. I.—The Mechanism. Longmans and Co.

We suppose that the president of a society which bears a somewhat ambitious title, though we have not yet heard much about its objects and constitution, felt himself bound to write a book about psychology, or the 'science of the soul.' He says in his preface that the object of the work is to inquire what evidence, capable of scientific proof, there may be that man is something more than body and material, and contains within himself some distinct entity which is not merely a condition or product of his physical structure. If this means anything, he seems to have undertaken the impossible task of scientifically demonstrating that man has a soul. In the last page of his work (p. 495) he says, that, though scientists may sneer at psychology as being a visionary science, its subject-matter at least is real; which seems to us a *petitio principii*. The study is to be pursued in order that, if proved false, the world may cease from a vain labour; if true, 'man may have the blessed assurance that, as a fact, and not merely as a faith, he has a soul and inherits an immortality.'

It strikes us, at first sight, that all this is a little commonplace, and we are not reassured by finding the work called 'A Popular Introduction to Psychology.' Ever since Aristotle wrote his famous treatise, 'De Anima,' and long before it, thinkers have reasoned about the existence of a soul, and endeavoured, as Plato does in the 'Phædo,' to demonstrate it by logical reasoning. Science, in the rigid sense of the word, refuses to take cognisance of soul, simply because it sees no sure data for any reasoning about it. It can deal with mind or intellect, as connected with a mat-

rial organ, the brain; but it cannot pass from it to the immaterial, or tell us even what life is. It leaves, therefore, the existence and the nature of soul just in the position it has always occupied,—that of an opinion, an instinct, or it may be a divine tradition or revelation.

Mr. Cox, however, evidently holds that a consideration of the organic constitution of man, of the phenomena of nerve-force, vitality, life and death, disease and health, does lead to such facts as serve to demonstrate the existence of something beyond the mere machine we see in living and moving man. It never appears to have struck him that it is impossible on this method of procedure to separate man from animals equally endowed with intelligence, if not with reason in precisely the same sense in which we use the term in reference to ourselves. Without the doctrine of responsibility, the belief in a soul cannot be maintained as a special prerogative of man. So far as we can see, Mr. Cox's physiological treatment of the question goes too far, since he occupies ground which is common to all animated nature. It was from this feeling, no doubt, that the Greeks extended the definition of *ψυχή*, 'soul,' to even vegetables; for in all their speculations they confounded 'soul' with 'vital principle.'

A great part of Mr. Cox's work seems to us to contain truths which are more or less familiar to all medical and scientific men who have studied nerve-force and brain-power in connection with mental phenomena.

The author's chapter on the germ (p. 69) is interesting, and clearly written, without, perhaps, enunciating any really new views. Every organism, he contends (and few will dispute it), is formed by a union of two germs, one from each sex; and according as the force in one or the other predominates in the union, so the likeness to the male or female parent, or the partial characteristics of either or both, will be found to prevail. Not a few of his speculations, e.g., on the pre-existence of the soul and the time when it is united with the material body, were quite as well discussed by Plato and Epicurus as they now are by Mr. Cox. Very many of his remarks were anticipated by Lucretius, e.g., the notion that the soul permeates the body, and so has a material residence, and is in a manner conscious of the loss of members, as a leg or an arm.

The general purport of the work seems directed against materialism. But the author's repeated confessions that he is only speculating, and knows nothing about the soul, diminish the influence which it was intended to exert. We doubt if anything really new can be said, much less any discovery made, on a subject veiled, for our good, in the profoundest mystery.

Historical and Architectural Sketches. Chiefly Italian. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., LL.D. With Illustrations from drawings by the Author. Macmillan and Co.

Dr. Freeman's first literary efforts were in

the architectural field; and he has never failed to carry along with him in his purely historical researches an enlightened and growing interest in his earlier studies. These have in many ways been helpful to him; for on the principle that 'all things stand related one to another, and there is nothing single or separate,' it is easy to see how much light may be gained for history by pertinent reference to architecture. Architecture, in a very special aspect, is the *most visible* clothing of national ideas; and he who has made himself an expert in that comes to the preparatory dry work of historical research with a qualification as express as it is rare. How much Dr. Freeman is aided by this acquisition several of the papers in this most valuable volume bear witness. More particularly we would refer to those on the 'Romanesque Architecture in Venetia,' the 'Walls of Rome,' and the 'Basilican Churches,' all which lift the antiquarian element into a universal and popular atmosphere. The most interesting and masterly section in the volume, in our idea, however, is that on *Ravenna and her sisters*, where the enthusiasm of the author is supported by the most minute knowledge. Here he gives us suggestive sketches and results, rather than a completed study; but how clear and masterly is every part, and how delicate here and there is the touching! The volume would tempt to a very extended analysis; it must suffice for us, since the book reached our hands at a somewhat late period, to say that it is marked by most intimate knowledge and out-of-the-way learning, which is so framed and set as that it gives added colour and interest to the whole. We are not sure but that in some respects these short studies are more admirable in their way than Dr. Freeman's more exhaustive and elaborate essays. They are delicate and suggestive, and are calculated in quite a special sense to whet the reader's desire to extend the study further, both by actual acquaintance with the places and the buildings described, and by further reading; and this is the reason, perhaps, why Dr. Freeman has in his preface to raise a protest which we could almost have wished had not been raised, or that the cause for it had not existed. We ourselves, in noticing 'Cities of Italy,' expressed our regret that Mr. Hare should have been so incorrect in many of his citations, and we may now add, according to Dr. Freeman's published complaint, so lacking in due acknowledgment of obligations unusually extensive; and really he deserves little sympathy for the scarifying he has got, for by his short-sighted attempts to disparage the Italian Government by dubbing it the 'Sardinian Government,' and so on, and by his somewhat latitudinarian use of Dr. Freeman's materials, he himself has put the whip into Dr. Freeman's hand. We should not omit to add that the illustrations from Dr. Freeman's own sketches, though mere outlines, are singularly beautiful, at once free and graceful, and such as we cannot help think-

ing amply justify the experiment which he has here made.

Thoughts on Art, Philosophy, and Religion:

Selected from the Unpublished Papers of SIDNEY DOBELL. With Introductory Note by JOHN NICHOL, M.A. Oxon, LL.D., Professor of English Literature in the University of Glasgow. Smith, Elder, and Co.

This volume represents Mr. Dobell in the aspects of a critic and speculative thinker. It reveals a refined and very subtle mind, ever reaching out to diverse points, aiming constantly at finding the true principle of relation, and sometimes missing it through the excess of sympathy which led him not seldom to see in the object what he too specifically brought with him. Hence certain unsatisfactoriness and formlessness in his prose writing, as in his poetry. Here as elsewhere he betrays the want of the selective instinct, and we read on, now and then startled by the excessive readiness with which obscure elements are emphasised as though they were important and essential. As Professor Nichol says, he is a seeker, who talks with himself and desires to reach a certain satisfying result for his own mind, rather than to open up channels of influence over other minds. These tendencies, together with a strong desire after a kind of metaphysical completeness, led him to seek system by excess of detail and overwrought analogy, which we see here as well as in his greater poems. The essay on Poetry is full of suggestion; but it is particularly open to this criticism, though the effort made to recover a moral ground for Art is worthy of praise. 'Art for Art's Sake' has clearly no countenance from Mr. Dobell; and this essay may be regarded as one of the most subtle and conclusive protests against that doctrine. The section dealing with religious and theological matters shows a mind peculiarly reverent and subtle. He reaches beyond dogma to its underlying principle, and often unfolds a large reach of truth in a few lines. We do not always agree with him fully, but with each new extract we gain respect for the man. He was clearly sincere, and concerned only to get at truth for himself. A beautiful spirit is everywhere revealed. We doubt not that to many readers this will be the most valuable section of the volume. The shorter selected passages are very original, full of thought and suggestiveness; but the reader must receive them simply as 'thoughts.' No connected system or series of doctrines is to be gleaned from them; and, indeed, taken in the light of logic, they are not seldom contradictory and mutually exclusive. But they are always valuable as aids to the study of a beautiful self-secluded yet self-deceiving mind, which, rapt in the study of nature and beauty, never failed to find in all outward symbols suggestions of a moral idea—duty. The passages on *Journalism*, among the 'Social Notes,' are singularly incisive, as well as some of the remarks on political matters, which to the practical poli-

tician will not seem always self-consistent. The outline of the projected play, with indications of the traits of the chief characters, does not modify our conviction that Mr. Dobell's genius was in essence lyrical, and that he never could have reached the discriminative realism necessary to success in strictly dramatic poetry. Mr. Nichol's 'Introductory Note' is sufficiently sympathetic, and is distinctly enlightening. We are sorry, however, to see so many errors in quotation, and now and then bad punctuation, if not worse, in the volume, which the editor ought to have looked to. In what edition of Wordsworth does Professor Nichol find, 'The light that never was on sea or shore' ? and in what edition of Tennyson does he find 'Break, break, break,' printed as it is printed here ? and why does he omit a word from one quotation of Mr. Matthew Arnold's, and not indicate it by indentation ? These are small matters ; but good editing consists in a careful regard to such.

German Home Life. Reprinted from 'Fraser's Magazine.' Longmans and Co.

The insular prejudice of John Bull against foreigners is still blind and indiscriminating. In his annual summer tour he continues to pride himself on rarely distinguishing between one nation and another. He can call *garçon* here and *kellner* there ; but all other men are ranked in one inferior category—foreigners. Such ignorance is ably and agreeably dissipated in this bright little book ; it shows us life beyond the precincts of the hotel. We fear, however, that it will hardly convey a favourable impression of German life, or do much to lessen English prejudices. The generalisations are very broad, and in some chapters the dashing headlong style suggests that the writer is in constant fear of being convicted of Teutonic sympathy, and so conceals it under a sarcasm. Among the earlier chapters, that upon 'Language' is perhaps the most interesting and the best written. It is not clear to us why 'Men' should be spoken of so exclusively as military beings. Germany has also a world of thought and a world of commerce, which are entirely ignored ; these, however, are not 'in society,' and possibly, therefore, we hear nothing of them. The chapter on Women leaves some very painful impressions : there is so much truth in it, so many ugly facts are broadly stated which we know to be in the main true ; and yet, as we read, so many exceptions also rise up in our memory of German life that we almost doubt the fairness of including in one depreciatory sweep half the population between Bremen and Trieste, between Berlin and Strasburg. Here we can only refer to two statements, which should be placed side by side, and regarded by us as a timely warning—the complete technical education of the girls, and the intellectual stagnation of the women in Germany. Naturally we now gladly welcome every effort after fuller education for our girls ; but we cannot be too careful that it should be of the right kind. A

technical training, however perfect, if it stop with the trumpet-flourish of a public examination, is not enough. We shall accomplish little by our elaborate competitivenesses if they do not teach girls self-culture, a culture according to individual taste and capacity, carried on in one definite direction. There are few girls who would not, if rightly watched and trained, develop individual capacity, either scientific, literary, or social ; some intellectual faculty or some manual dexterity. Let it be the mastery of one foreign language and its literature, of one branch of science, or of some constructive art, embroidery designed and perfected, cookery studied and developed. Such continued progress in one direction would give a fixedness and a purpose to the life of any girl or married woman, and save her from ever sinking to that level of *kaffeeklack* which is not unknown even on this favoured side of the Channel. 'The German woman is taught,' writes the authoress, 'that to be womanly she must be helpless, to be feminine she must be feeble, to endear herself she must be dependent, to charm she must cling.' The creed of the modern English girl differs ; but is it for the better ? To be a lady she must do nothing, to be feminine she must be fashionable, to be charming she must talk slang ! Let us not draw soothing Pharisaical comparisons between German home life and our own, but believe that there is something to be learned from these interesting pages—if only by way of caution. The representation of the German *hausfrau*, however, is a warning rather than an example ; what she endures and what she inflicts are not calculated to inspire desire that our wives, mothers, and housekeepers should resemble her.

The Boarding-out of Pauper Children in Scotland. By JOHN SKELTON, Secretary of the Poor-Law Board in Scotland. With an Introduction on Pauperism. (William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh.) It is satisfactory to find that the alarming statements recently made as to the increase of pauperism in Scotland, and the decay of the old spirit of personal independence among the Scottish people, are, to say the least, great exaggerations of the true state of the case. Both the Baird Lecturer for 1875 and the essayist who contributed an article on Local Government and Taxation to the Cobden Club Essays for the same year, represented the Scottish poorer classes in a most deplorable light. They were said to have become degraded and demoralised under the operation of the Scotch Poor Law, and it was contended that the system of relief instituted in 1845 had acted as a premium on pauperism, and, at a far heavier cost to the ratepayer, had enormously increased the number of dependent paupers throughout the country. Mr. Skelton, who is known as an accomplished *litterateur*, and whose official position as Secretary to the Poor-law Board gives him good opportunities of being acquainted with the facts, combats

his adversaries with zest, as if, he enjoyed the pastime. Although Mr. Skelton's animus against the clergy is somewhat too pronounced, and his advocacy has in it more of the element of special pleading than is accordant with impartiality, he has made out a good case against the assailants of the Scotch Poor Law. His 'Introduction on Pauperism' to the valuable report on the system of boarding-out pauper children in Scotland is another illustration that anything can be proved by means of statistics; but as a *per contra* to exaggerated statements to an opposite effect it must greatly modify the impression produced by the deliverances of the Baird Lecturer and the Cobden Club Essayist. The report, which is an important document, demonstrates that in Scotland the Boarding-out system is a conspicuous and gratifying success, and we do not see the force of the arguments that have been urged against its extension to England. Altogether, this little book is a useful contribution to the literature of the difficult question of pauperism.

—*An Inquiry into the Nature and Results of Electricity and Magnetism.* By AMYCLANUS. (R. Washbourne.) Presumption rather than wisdom is the characteristic of the man who, while professing to be only an amateur, comes before the public with new theories in science. We fear that the writer of this book, in defiance of the inductive method, has formed his theories first, and then searched, not by patient experiment, but in the pages of textbooks, for whatever might seem to support his views. True science will never be advanced by such a process, and we cannot regard this book as any contribution to its literature. — *The Warfare of Science.* By A. D. WHITE, LL.D., President of Cornell University. With Prefatory Note by Professor TYNDALL. (Henry S. King and Co.) Originally chosen as the subject of an academical oration, the theme has grown, under the author's hand, to the dimensions of an octavo volume. His purpose has been to show that the warfare which has in all ages been waged against Science, even in the supposed interest of Religion, has invariably resulted in the direst evils, both to Religion and Science. The battles over the figure of the earth, its motion, and its position in relation to the other heavenly bodies, occupy the most prominent place in his historical narrative. Chemistry and Physics, Anatomy and Medicine, and then Geology, are all shown to have had to fight their way to acceptance. Some of the latter sections might have been expanded to advantage at the expense of some pages on Political Economy, and Social Science, so called, which it is never desirable to associate with the physical sciences. It is almost unnecessary to add that Dr. White fully establishes his main point, and in doing so he has shown that in all past cases Science has ultimately gained the victory. Would that the warfare had already ceased! There are now several important questions, especially in the domain of Biology, that demand most dispassionate inquiry, but which are too often op-

posed by theologians and others with the old weapons of ridicule and calumny. Individuals who are so free in handling these would do well to consider whether they are not treading in the path of those whose opposition to accepted scientific truths is so well exposed in these pages. The author has no need to apologise for the numerous footnotes; they add greatly to the value of the book.

—*Handbook of Rural Sanitary Science, illustrating the best means of securing health and of preventing disease.* By C. F. GARDNER, W. BERRY, C. N. CRESSWELL, and T. HENNELL. Edited by LORY MARSH, M.D., M.R.C.P., &c. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) Dr. Marsh offered a prize for the best essay on the subject of Rural Sanitary Science, and amongst the competitors are the four gentlemen whose names appear on the title-page. Mr. Gardner was awarded the prize, and his essay is published *in extenso*; the others received honourable mention, and their essays appear in an abbreviated form. Of the first we can speak in terms of high commendation, but the rest have either suffered grievously under the process of condensation, or are unworthy of standing side by side with it. The second essay is often so badly expressed as to become positively misleading; while the third, smartly enough written, is more suitable in style for a magazine article than for a practical treatise. Readers of the book will not fail to observe how much there is yet to be done in order to realise anything like a satisfactory condition of things in our village homes; and that the ignorance and indifference of the people unfortunately interpose great obstacles in the carrying out of the most evident improvements. It will be seen, too, that such matters as the best modes of ventilation, drainage, &c., are by no means free from difficulty in their practical application, however easy in theory when the question of cost is eliminated. One point connected with the building of new cottages appears to have been overlooked by all the essayists—the impropriety of allowing houses to be tenanted before they are dry. It is a fertile source of rheumatism and fever, and calls for legislative action. It is not enough, too, that local boards should undertake the removal of nuisances; we have known cases where they have discharged this duty with less promptness than the inhabitants would have done if left free to act for themselves, and where complaints have received but tardy attention. Some of the suggestions of Mr. Gardner for the improvement of the constitution and staff of the local boards are well worth consideration. — *A History of Asiatic Cholera.* By G. MACNAMARA, F.R.C.S. (Macmillan and Co.) The earliest mention of any disease which can be identified as Asiatic cholera appears to occur in a Portuguese Report from Calicut, in 1508, but there is every reason to suppose that it prevailed in various parts of India prior to European occupation; that, in fact, Hindostan is the permanent home of the disease in its endemic form. In its epidemic form our troops seem

to have carried it into Arabia, in 1820, the first clear instance on record of its passing west of the Indus. Since that period it has frequently visited Western Asia, Europe, and America, as we too well know. Mr. Macnamara shows very conclusively that the chief agencies for carrying it beyond its endemic area are the religious pilgrimages of the Hindoos and Mohammedans, and the movements of troops and of commercial caravans; while it is very evident that the increased and accelerated communication due to the introduction of steam conveyance tends to its becoming more widely spread, if proper precautions be not taken. What may be the true nature of the disease germ is not so clearly established, but there can be little doubt that warmth accompanied by moisture is necessary for its development, and that it is most frequently received into the system through the medium of drinking-water. The points of most practical importance brought out by the author are the necessity of seeing to the water supplies being uncontaminated, and the enforcement of the greatest possible care in all communications with infected districts. The great heathen festival of Puri is one of the hot-beds of the disease, and if this could be abolished by legislative authority the lives of thousands of our Indian subjects, as well as of many Europeans, would be annually saved. We are sorry that so valuable a treatise should be marred by geographical errors: Staten Island is twice spoken of as the quarantine ground for New Orleans instead of New York; Galatia is put for Galicia; and the names of many other places are misspelt.

POETRY, FICTION, AND BELLES LETTRES.

Pacchiarotto, and how he Worked in Distemper; with other Poems. By ROBERT BROWNING. Smith, Elder, and Co.

We allow much to Mr. Browning. His genius is arbitrary, and must follow its own bent. And we rejoice in his ability even to analyse and present the more morbid developments of human nature and human motive, when he *educates* us—that is, enlarges our sympathies, as he really did by the refining presence of *Pompilia* in what else had been a revolting subject. But, like certain acrobats, his own dexterity has proved his evil fate, and has recently led him to run too great risks and to trust for reputation merely to clever and sensational effects, in which, to speak honestly, he was more inclined to whisper in an undertone, 'How clever I am—see!' than to make his art the medium for high and generous influences. After having described a descending course from 'The Ring and the Book' through 'Fifine,' and that story of French horror, depravity, and suicide, to 'The Inn Album,' he now caps his recent exercises by low revenge, cruel personality, and pertinacious and vulgar abuse that is plain enough, *even* though it needs to hide

itself in innuendo and blank rhymes. Considering the appearance not long ago of a certain set of articles on our poets, which were in their own way rather biting, it is easy—very easy—to find a rhyme for 'smeared-in,' though why Mr. Browning did not take the hint of the printer's 'devil,' which he preserved in a note, and delete such personalities as 'Dwarf' and 'Quilp-hop-o'-ny-thumb,' is quite beyond our comprehension. Self-respect, if nothing else, should have led him to this. What can justify a man like Mr. Browning in condescending to set such an evil example? He has revived the days of Skelton and of Swift—the evil days of Grub Street at its worst, and has done his best to bring them back to us in 'Pacchiarotto.' We do not know whether in the long run Mr. Browning will have the best of it even on his own ground; but he has put a weapon into the hand of his enemies; and he may pray that the sword with which he has girded himself may not break and run into his own flesh. 'Pacchiarotto' is a satire something between the wild thrustings of Swift and the broader movement of 'Hudibras,' with, of course, something of Mr. Browning's own supreme genius superadded, whereby to despoil the critics who have offended him. It is extremely clever, here and there grotesque, but only so far as to whet its sharpness; the double rhymes are now and then dexterously used, and are often in themselves laughable; but when we discover the narrow personal purpose for which clearly the whole has been written, we laugh no more at Xantippe, the housemaid, 'With what, pan or pot, bowl or *skoramis*,' making a souse for those critics who insult her master. Great as Mr. Browning is, we feel moved to something like pity for him, in that such a mood could so persistently prolong itself, and inoculate his whole poetic genius, as it is clear that it has done. A truly healthy mind would surely have cast it forth after a brief moment's irritation, with a noble regret for having yielded to it even thus long. The rest of the poems in the volume—and some of them are of the highest quality—suffer somewhat from their relationship to this initial exercise—more especially that, in the pieces headed 'House,' and 'Shop,' and some others, including the Epilogue, we have a prolonged echo of the same note of narrow querulous personal discontent. The truth embodied in the final verses of 'House' is trite, even though we have it served up by Mr. Browning, and though the picture of the earthquake revealing the good man's privacy is good.

'Friends, the good man of the house at least
Kept house to himself till an earthquake
came;

'Tis the fall of its frontage permits you feast
On the inside arrangement you praise or
blame.

'Outside should suffice for evidence;
And who so desires to penetrate
Deeper, must dive by the spirit-sense—
No optics, like yours, at any rate!

'Hoity-toity! A street to explore,
Your house the exception! "With this same
key
Shakespeare unlocked his heart" once more!'
Did Shakespeare?—If so, the less Shake-
speare he!

Parenthetically we may remark here on a prevailing liberty Mr. Browning takes with English; and that is, to elide the 'to,' the sign of the infinitive, as in the third line above—

'Tis the fall of the frontage permits you [to]
feast!—

which is a pure colloquial Cockneyism, and not permissible in good prose—not to say in good verse. Even Shakespeare, in 'At the Mermaid,' is made to become a poor mouth-piece of Mr. Browning's peevish egotism, for he, too, rails against this, that, and the other, for—

'Slipping inside my breast,
There to catalogue and label,
What I like least, what love best.'

Which is very unlike Shakespeare, very, and makes us fancy that Mr. Browning's subtle, if somewhat ironical dramatic power, is really failing him. 'Pisgah Sights,' however, is full of his peculiar quickened insight, and is extremely suggestive and occasionally musical; and 'St. Martin Sumner' has some lines that linger in the memory. But, like 'Bifurcation,' and 'Nympholeptus,' the intellectual problem is too little relieved by imaginative colouring. They all pass into crabbedness and affectation; and this quite apart from the question of subject—on which we would give Mr. Browning the large license allowed to one who has greatly benefited us heretofore. 'Filippo Balducci, on the Privilege of Burial,' is characterised by all Mr. Browning's etcher-like process of gradually making the mind he is concerned with eat out, as it were, on a clear bright surface, its own outlines; and it is penetrated by that dry clear humour which adds so much to Mr. Browning's power. Mr. Browning, though professedly dealing with 1676, gives us here some of the finest of his own studies of Italian as well as of Jewish life and character in Italy. The story of Buti's painting of that holy picture, and its reception, is inimitable; and the contempt of the Italian for the Jew, now restrained within the bounds of passive grudge, is admirably expressed in the last two stanzas:

'Was magic here? Most like! For, since,
Somehow our city's faith grows still.
More and more lukewarm, and our Prince
Or loses heart or wants the will
To check increase of cold, 'Tis "Live
And let live!" Languidly repress
The Incident! In short,—contrive,
Christians must bear with Jews: no less!

'The end seems, any Israelite
Wants any picture,—pishes, poohs,
Purchases, hangs it full in sight
In any chamber he may choose!

In Christ's crown, one more thorn we rue!
In Mary's bosom, one more sword!
No, boy, you must not pelt a Jew!
O Lord, how long? how long, O Lord?

'A Forgiveness' is also imbued with Mr. Browning's peculiar colouring, and will, here and there, from its Sordello-like obscurity, form a puzzle for his warmest admirers. 'Cenci' is an exercise of the peculiarly morbid vein—a sort of commentary, as he phrases it, on Shelley's 'Cenci,' derived from the fact that the Pope refused the reprieve to Beatrice because of another crime committed against parents at the same time; but it, also, is bare and morbid, and without adequate relief. In the 'Epilogue,' which has some verses strong and full of flavour, Mr. Browning, as we have said, once more returns to his grievance, and belabours the critics who have taken liberties with him. He pursues his phantasy by treating them to wine, &c., and winds up thus:—

'Don't nettles make a broth
Wholesome for blood grown lazy and thick?
Maws out of sorts make mouths out of taste.
My Thirty-four Port—no need to waste
On a tongue that's fur and a palate—paste!
A magnum for friends who are sound! the sick—
I'll posset and cosset them, nothing loth,
Henceforward with nettle-broth!'

We have left for a warm word at the last, the gem of the volume—the ballad of 'Herve Riel,' which finely enshrines and preserves one of the noblest pieces of patriotic daring. Seeing that Mr. Browning does this with such originality and music, it seems a pity he should not favour us with more like it.

The Olympian and Pythian Odes of Pindar.
Translated into English Verse by the Rev.
FRANCIS DAVID MORICE, M.A., Fellow of
Queen's College, Oxford. Henry S. King
and Co.

Pindar in English Rhyme. Being an attempt
to Render the Epineikian Odes, with the
Principal Fragments of Pindar, into Eng-
lish rhymed Verse. By THOMAS CHARLES
BARING, M.A., M.P., late Fellow of Brase-
nose College, Oxford. Henry S. King and
Co.

The same university and the same publisher offer us at the same moment two vigorous, learned, sympathetic attempts to produce in English verse or rhyme the immortal Odes of Pindar. These works, with other notable efforts to translate into the English of the Victorian age the most celebrated specimens of classic antiquity, are a sign of the times. It is possible now for the unlearned to acquire a fair apprehension of the spirit, the substance, and even the form of Greek beauty, and though he remain in the outer courts of the temple he may imagine the glory of the inner shrine and obtain some hint of the incense offered there. When Teanyson and Morris, Browning, Conington, Phumpre, and Lord Derby, with a host of others, are thus delighting themselves in the art of minis-

tering to less accomplished readers; when scholars are translating for scholars as well as for the English reader, a great boon is bestowed upon the latter. If we can balance the two translations now before us, and venture to give the palm to one rather than the other, it is because Mr. Morice has laboured perhaps with greater intensity than his friendly rival Mr. Baring to reproduce the very metre and manifold form of Pindar in the English version, not only the ring of the lines, but their precise number. Mr. Baring has endeavoured to catch all the ideas of the original, ideas often embedded in the affluence of the mere diction and the fulness of meaning and fancy which are involved sometimes even in conspicuous etymology. It would be impossible to do justice here to the real merits of either translation, but a comparison of a passage may give our readers some idea of the feast which is at their disposal. Perhaps every reader will turn to the second Olympian Ode, with its wondrous jets of immortal light which Pindar made the revolving chariot wheels in the Olympian contest to emit for all coming time. We place the work of our two translators side by side, and most excellent they both are.

Mr. Baring :

'For aye, alike in gloom
And broad daylight,
Having a sun, a life of lesser toil,
The good behold:
Who worry not the soil
With tireless strength of hand, nor vex the sea
For empty livelihood.
But with the gods, with awful honours dued,
They who while living took delight
In every solemn vow performed aright,
Abide, a tearless race for all eternity.
While others suffer, sinners over-bold,
A sight-surpassing doom.'

Now, though this is very closely rendered, there are a few awkwardnesses. The construction of lines 8 and 10 is rather obscure, but it attempts to express the *kind* of probity and truthfulness on which the gods look with approval,—*χαριων εὐοπίας*. The phrase 'having a sun' is almost a bald translation of *ἔχοντες*, and the 'sight-surpassing doom' literally represents the *ἀπροσάρατον πόνον*.

In each instance Mr. Morice dispenses with the precise expression, but nevertheless he contrives, in lines which are an exact equivalent of Pindar and which strangely reproduce the effect of his metre, to convey nearly all the thought, and we must give him credit for much poetic sensibility. Thus :

'But, by day alike and night,
Upon the righteous rises ever light.
They dwell in a life unvexed of toil,
Nor need to task the weary soil
Nor waters of the main
For scant subsistence. Tearless days they gain,
With those Heaven-honoured ones in Truth
that joy;
While sinners cower 'neath weight of dire
anay.'

Mr. Morice here follows Donaldson rather than Disen in his ideas of the closing verses,

and he certainly paraphrases the last line. We should like to have compared at length passages from the magnificent Fourth Pythian, in which Pindar introduces so much of Jason's expedition as threw light on his intention of glorifying and warning Arcesilas of Cyrene. The two translators have alike told the story well, and given the celebrated riddle by which Pindar reproves the prosperous king for the folly of continuing in Persian exile the wise Demophilus; but we again must give the palm of expression to Mr. Morice, in fulness of translation to Mr. Baring. Take the simple words, 265, *εἰ τις ὄκους ἐντομῶν πελέκει ἐξερείψει κεν μεγάλας δρυὸς*—Mr. Baring—'If from a huge oak one lop away the branches stretching far around with sharpened axe.' Now the words italicised are the translator's addition. Though Mr. Morice gives a touch of his own, he drops out the accurate and suggestive word 'away,' and says, 'When with keen-edged bill a woodman lops some mighty oak.' There is a terseness and compression hardly warranted, yet there is poetic force in the line. We feel under great obligations to both translators, and we thank them heartily for works which throw not a little light on each other.

Poems of John Moultrie. New Edition. With Memoir, by the Rev. PREBENDARY COLE RIDGE. Two Vols. Macmillan and Co. Rugby: J. Billington.

John Moultrie had genuine poetic genius, but his later poems never justified the promise of his earlier ones. Such lyrical pieces as 'My Brother's Grave' show not only fine domestic sentiment, but a niceness of imaginative colouring, which imparts universality of interest without destroying the directness of personal feeling. He fell under the fascination of great models, and his individuality was to some extent refined away in a string of clever phrasing, descending often to a mere play on words, 'Maimonne' and 'Godiva,' clever as they are, must come into this category. Wordsworth's remark that 'Godiva' was superior to Byron's 'Beppo' is to us simply unintelligible; for though that poem shows remarkable metrical facility, it is totally wanting in the pervading grim earnest irony which sustains the other from first to last. It is by his poems of the domestic affections that Moultrie will maintain a place, and we are not surprised that tears should have come into Dr. Arnold's eyes as he first read 'The Three Sons'—in which Moultrie returned into his true vein. The touch in the first two lines of the third picture is exquisite :

'I have a son, a little son : his age I cannot tell,
For they reckon not by months and years where
he has gone to dwell.'

We do not say that Moultrie's lighter and more laboured pieces have no value—on the contrary, they may be cited as examples of what metrical dexterity and a wide vocabulary, together with nimble, if sometimes erratic fancy, could achieve; but a selection

should have sufficed, and we can well believe that, if this work had been judiciously done, by grouping the poems under heads according to date, the book would have found a large public. As it is, we must say that too great a demand seems to us to have been made on his behalf—nearly one thousand pages of very, very small type is not tempting for the general reader. We regret deeply that such masterpieces as 'My Brother's Grave,' 'The Hall of my Fathers,' 'The Three Sons,' and some bits of description, especially those of the Isle of Arran, should in this final edition have been so nearly buried in an immense ocean of type. We are sorry, too, that Mr. Prebendary Coleridge has almost missed his mark in the Memoir, which is appreciative enough, but it lacks totally (save indeed in Mr. Bonamy Price's little sketch, which is far too short) anything even approaching to characteristic and incisive touches. It is, however, clear and readable so far as it goes.

Fanshawe, and other Pieces. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. Boston: James Osgood and Co.

The Dolliver Romance, and other Pieces. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. Boston: James Osgood and Co.

A Study of Hawthorne. By G. PARSONS LATHROP. Osgood, Boston; Trübner and Co., London.

Anything that may throw light on so strange and elusive a personality as that of Hawthorne must be welcome to not a few readers. To get to enjoy him is like the acquiring of a new taste. He is far from exciting us by means of incident or anything of that kind, but he fascinates us by his unique way of unveiling what is mysterious and yet common,—what all have felt as terrible *possibilities* in humanity and in themselves,—and he surrounds these with a weirdness, a glamour, that at once intensifies and magnifies them. But we are not sure that these recent additions to the Hawthorne library are calculated to have altogether the effect that his friends and representatives should be most concerned to produce. 'Fanshawe' is one of his very early efforts. He himself deliberately withdrew it, as Mr. J. T. Fields tells us rather regretfully, and would never hear of its being again put before the public. Indeed he was impatient of its being even named in his presence. And one does not need to read far to find the reason. It has little that is marked by Hawthorne's later characteristics. It abounds in incident distinctively after the style of Scott; it is so loosely written that it may be referred to as an encouragement to the young who are willing to labour to attain a finished style, and thus may have a high use; it is weak in climax and without any skill in character-drawing. Dr. Melmoth—the simple, book-learned president of Harley College—which clearly is some reminiscence of Bowdoin, where Hawthorne studied, with its seclusion, its neighbouring woods, and vales and trout-

streams—has much to do in looking after his students, but he nevertheless takes under his care, in spite of protests from his shrewd and somewhat shrewish wife, the daughter of a friend who is abroad and has become a widower. Ellen Langton turns the heads of the students. Fanshawe, a studious, absorbed youth, and Edward Walcott, a dashing and spirited young Cavalier, are soon jealous of each other; but their jealousy is suddenly turned into a fellow-feeling of loving anxiety when it is discovered that an adventurer, who originally hailed from the same village, has, by means of producing letters from her father, got her to elope with him. This introduces us to Hugh Crombie, the master of the 'Hand and Bottle,' who is touched with some reality and humour. Chase is given, and after many efforts on the part of those who have joined in the pursuit, in the oddest way the couple are found in the woods by Fanshawe, who, however, rather unexpectedly and untowardly relinquishes his rights in favour of Walcott, and all ends happily for Mr. Langton's return home. There are instances of clumsiness and even of positive error in the writing, which, for Hawthorne's sake, should surely have been corrected. This, for example:—

'Edward's spirits were cheered, not by forgetfulness, by hope, *but* which would not permit him to doubt of the ultimate success of the pursuit. . . . He had proceeded but a few miles, *before* [? when] he came in sight of Fanshawe, who had been accommodated with a horse much inferior to his own. The speed to which he had been put [? at which he had been driven] had almost exhausted the poor animal, whose best pace was now *but* little beyond a walk.'

How very different is this from the sweet musical delicacy of the additional but *unrevised* sections of 'The Dolliver Romance,' which are presented to us in the second of these volumes! True, they do not conduct us to any definite point in the story, but the glimpse of Pansie's father is interesting, and we have some further instances of the efficacy of that wondrous cordial. It is strange to observe how here, too, an undecipherable, half-mystical document, like that in 'Septimius,' was meant to play its part. But the charm of many of the sentences remains in the ear like the echoes of sweet music. This, for instance:—

'How this child came by the odd name of Pansie, and whether it was really her baptismal name, I have not ascertained. More probably it was one of those pet appellations that grow out of a child's character, or out of some keen thrill of affection in the parents, an unsought-for and unconscious felicity, a kind of revelation teaching them the true name by which the child's guardian-angel would know it; a name with playfulness and love in it, that we often observe to supersede, in the practice of those who love the child best, the name that they carefully selected and caused the clergyman to plaster indelibly on the poor little forehead at the

font; the love-name whereby, if the child lives, they know it in their hearts, or by which, if it dies, God seems to have called it away, leaving the sound lingering faintly and sweetly through the house. In Pansie's case it may have been a certain pensiveness which was sometimes seen under her childish frolic, and so translated into French (*pensée*), her mother having been of Acadian kin; or, quite as probably, it merely alluded to the colour of her eyes, which, in some lights, were very like the dark petals of a tuft of pansies in the Doctor's garden. It might well be, indeed, on account of the suggested pensiveness, for the child's gaiety had no example to sustain it, no sympathy of other children or grown people, and her melancholy, had it been so dark a feeling, was but the shadow of the house and of the old man.'

The 'Tales and Sketches,' and the short biographies with which the two volumes are eked out, are very unequal, the most characteristic sketch being that of 'Graves and Goblins,' which is full of a quaint and dusky suggestiveness that would have fully justified its place among the 'Twice-told Tales.'

We have to confess ourselves not a little dissatisfied with much in Mr. Lathrop's 'Study of Hawthorne.' It is written too determinately from the family point of view merely; it exaggerates, it depreciates, and it wraps its subject in too artificial a light. Very preposterous to many will seem Mr. Lathrop's claims for Hawthorne to rank with the highest dramatic geniuses—even with Shakespeare. It is incomprehensible to us how such a claim could have been put forward; but family partiality, which has spoiled so many biographies, has here shed its steady but unmellowing light, and has ruined what might have been a very valuable work; since Mr. Lathrop has had access to all family and other papers, and has culled many a fact and anecdote, the full drift of which he often helplessly misses because of his excessive sympathy. We confess that its vein of overweening, if affectionate exaggeration, tempts us to note one or two characteristics that Mr. Lathrop has certainly not clearly seized. And our first and strongest point is that Hawthorne was singularly deficient in what we may call dramatic identifying power. By this we mean that his characters are discriminated more by what they say than by their manner of saying it. Dr. Johnson would have made his little fishes all talk like whales; Hawthorne makes all his people talk like—*Hawthorne*. And this, taken strictly by itself, is a matter in which it is clear he showed no growth. There is actually more promise of dramatic faculty in the picture of Hugh Crombie, in 'Fanshawe,' entertaining the students over their liquor, and suddenly changing the whole drift and purpose of his song, so that he might hoodwink the worthy Doctor, as, indeed, he succeeded in doing, than in any of the more recent and, in other respects, more finished and artistic works. The reason of this might furnish a fine problem for criticism. As his reach becomes

more and more limited through his dwelling broodingly on certain lines of Puritan idea, beyond which he cannot pass without very great effort—needing, as it would seem, the shadowy chill of its more repulsive phases to stir effectually his intermittently torpid imagination—so his language is limited more and more by an exacting idiosyncrasy, which will not suffer him to let his characters speak for themselves. However much they talk, they talk *through* him; it is still Hawthorne who comes before us. In truth, his characters are masks for his own moods. Through them all he is wistfully contemplating his own personality in its varied possibility. Whether it is Hester Prynne, who adorns her Scarlet Letter till her very curse becomes dear to her; or Mr. Dimmesdale, who perseveringly hides his, and presses it to his breast till it burns into his very heart; whether it is Miles Coverdale, who escapes even from the select society of Blithedale into complete solitude for refreshment; or Chillingworth, who cherishes his revenge till it has left him even without capacity to enjoy it; whether it is Hepzibah Pyncheon, who shyly retreats from the customers she would fain attract; or Phoebe, who half consciously surrenders her own brightness and hope and health for the benefit of two helpless old creatures,—it is still the same, the interest directly connects itself with the writer, who thus makes himself fascinating, if not awful, by hiding his face behind a shadowy projection of his own phantasy. He is an egotist, though of a supremely attractive order. The true point of interest in any one of his characters is not found till its relation to his own mood is clearly established in the reader's mind. The thin intangibility of his characters for the most part, the lack of flesh and blood and genuine personal traits in them, is thus to be accounted for. More reality in them would have conflicted with his self-revelation and spoiled the tone and pitch of his story. This was doubtless what he himself meant when he confessed that 'The House of the Seven Gables' gave him far more trouble than 'The Scarlet Letter.' In the case of this later story he allowed creatures with two palpable traits to come within the 'circle,' and they, over and over again, broke the charm. What he had to do was to reduce them, to eliminate the traits that would have given them token of independent dramatic existence. What would be difficult for another is easy to him; what might in a measure be easy for a far inferior mind is for him supremely difficult. He can endow a mere scarecrow—as in *Mother Rigby's* darling—with a semblance of life, which interests and carries us along, awakening an overpowering sense of the profounder meaning of existence, crossed by an odd fantastic humour common to allegory; but the moment his imagination is deeply stirred, it retreats from the real and attaches itself to some weird or awful problem, and, like certain water plants anchored below, can only move obedient to the restraint of its own rootage. It is the determi-

nate, or, at all events, half-conscious, attempt to assert some freedom for the imagination by multiplying the shadowy personages of his drama, so that the self-questionings which lie deep in his mind, and have directly stirred and charged the fancy, may come to something like clear statement; it is this that imparts that strange psychological attraction to Hawthorne's writings, but that has, in the cases of all his works save one—'The Scarlet Letter,'—rendered them unattractive, or only painful, to the ordinary reader, who cannot appreciate the speculative elusiveness of such writing, nor discern through it the gracious and redeemingly charitable purpose that pervades all. Yet not the less there the purpose lies—a bright ray beyond the darkness, a streak of silver shining through the dusky and cobwebbed gloom. Though the psychological twist, the inherited perversity, or the taint of blood is traced out in the light of its origin, and reference is constantly made to the unmeasured possibility that lurks in every human heart, Hawthorne reveals, not to condemn the individual, but to show humanity. *Man* is his subject of interest. Men and women are of comparatively slight account to him save as subjects to be observed; but his observations of real characters lie quite outside the sphere of his imagination, unless they at once adapt themselves to his use as simple symbols, trait by trait. There was much shortsightedness in the statement that Zenobia, in 'Blithedale,' was the portraiture of Margaret Fuller, for portraiture is not in Hawthorne's way; and it was only a little less of a mistake to regard Miles Coverdale too strictly as Hawthorne's *alter ego*, and to set down the words put into Coverdale's mouth as permanent utterances of Hawthorne's final views. He could no more portray himself than he could portray others; but Coverdale does reveal more explicitly than any other character certain unmistakable moods and traits of Hawthorne. And when it is said, as it has been said, that he was a 'cold, self-removed observer,' that phrase should, in view of this peculiarity, have been directly qualified, as in one case, to which Mr. Lathrop has referred with short-sighted, sinister intention, it notoriously had been. *Individuals*, to Hawthorne, are utterly indifferent in relation to his artistic purposes. When he observes with the remotest reference to this, it is for separate traits merely, which may yield him suggestions,—or, in other words, the 'handle of his symbol.' The nearest approach to real characters in his stories is undoubtedly a mixture of many traits caught from different individuals, often modifying each other, however, in a manner such as would completely destroy *ensemble*, were it not that he so stringently withdraws them into the general atmosphere of his own mood, and so softens down inconsistencies which would at once be detected did he not also studiously modify their utterances after a somewhat fixed pattern, as we have already suggested. When he comes close to the individual, the one trait in his

eye involves itself too intimately with other traits; for his sense of the complexity of traits and motives is over keen to allow ready dramatic apprehension; and to aid in the illusion which his art requires, the necessity is laid upon him to see them only in the one light of his own creating. They are embodied qualities, passions, characteristics—not persons: and here, though he brings to his task a refinement, a delicacy, and a deep perception of relations and of the compensating forces of human life, he distinctly relegates himself to the class of allegorists,—of dealers in symbol, masters of abstract truths, who reduce even the most real of impressions into affinity with these, before they can find a basis for construction. They are not creators, they are not *makers* or poets, in the highest sense. They are rather revealers of the limited world of passion and fancy as modulated by the conscious intellect; and if the stern truth must be spoken, a certain frigid fantasticality pursues them—a fineness such as sometimes overbalances itself, and has the effect of limiting them for ever for full appreciation to the class that are affected by culture—and, what is more, by the inseparable disease of culture.

Thus, though Hawthorne does suggest to us the deepest truths about human life and the fatefulness that seems to pervade it, it is but speculatively and as the result of intellectual exercises. He does not stir our sympathies by the simple revelation of primitive human feelings, as do Shakespeare, Goethe—pre-eminently in *Margaret*,—Chaucer, or Robert Burns, say, in the 'Jolly Beggars.' The mystery with him pertains to a problem stated, and but half solved. It is a mystery which constrains the intellect, the imagination being used meanwhile as its vassal; but the simple grandeur of the 'mystery of a person' revealed by the unprompted cry to heaven for help, or the agony of the wretch stricken down in the pangs of remorse for a momentary wrong—this is not in Hawthorne's way, but in Ben Jonson's, Shakespeare's, or Goethe's. He can write a graphic description—as for example, that of his fellow-officers in Salem Custom-house; but even this remains a mere framework or entrance-way to the story, which moves absolutely in its own sphere; the realistic Introduction showing more of passive antipathy than of sympathy. As Mr. R. H. Hutten has well said, his atmosphere is that of 'moonlight'—ghostly moonlight—and all must partake of the thin, shadowy fantasticality that consorts with it. Hawthorne himself well expressed this peculiarity of his own style of work when he said that a romancist was always verging on the edge of absurdity, and his great skill was seen in going close to it and not tumbling over.

Now, when we have said this much, it is clear that we are very near to the source at once of Hawthorne's strength and of his peculiar limitations. He has no dramatic grasp, he cannot discriminate character by passing faithfully from its essential mode to

its outward characteristics, and again from outward manifestation to essential mode, concerned only to make it dramatically self-consistent and real. His conceptions were alien to this, as we have seen; his language, clear and beautiful as it is, was, so far as we can judge, inadequate for this purpose. It is, therefore, very odd to find Mr. Lathrop, who has written so well generally, and has added so many most interesting facts to our biographical repertory respecting Hawthorne, as well as given us some new thoughts, after having traced out Hawthorne's method of work and his peculiar restrictions of temperament, making claims that would only sound absurd were it not for the delicate criticism by which they are approached and almost overlaid. After showing how Hawthorne was actually unable, even inadequately, to represent the sweet, beautiful side of Puritanism, as well as its moral strength, and after having admitted his dramatic defects in language, he actually proceeds to claim for Hawthorne a place nearest to Shakespeare of all our modern writers. As a subtle speculator on life Hawthorne certainly stands alone; as a writer of lithe and graceful English, few of any day could surpass him; but to claim for him a rank beside Shakespeare would seem incredible, were it not that the claim has been so calmly and deliberately made, and by one who occupies the position Mr. Lathrop does.

Azalea. By CECIL CLAYTON. Three Vols. Hurst and Blackett.

'Azalea' is not without promise, but it furnishes another proof of the evil that is done to young writers by the ambition to be spoken of as 'the author of a three-volume novel.' The plot is slight, the writing is now and then loose, and what might have passed as a fair one-volume story becomes tedious by the obvious traces of effort to lengthen out. We lay no stress on the evident *churchiness* of the author; the interjection of that is a fault which will mend itself as her ideas of art mellow and mature her views of life. It says much for Miss Clayton that she managed to carry on a courtship between Harold and his cousin, the heroine, without resorting to any of the conventional difficulties which young novelists are so wont to find aid in at a pinch. 'Azalea' is, in this respect, as bold as it is long. Some of the sketches of the Jews are clever, but very unreal. On the whole, we should be inclined to say that if 'Cecil Clayton' will be content for a time to take exercise in the art of condensing incident in the writing of short stories, we may before long be favoured with a longer story which may take a fair place.

The Bertram Family. By the Author of 'The Schönberg Cotta Family.' Daldy, Isbister, and Co.

This is professedly a continuation of 'Winifrid Bertram,' and we regret to have to say that it is an unworthy successor. Not that Mrs. Charles does not write with care, or

that she does not give evidence of wide reading and careful thought. Rather, our objection is that the reading and the thought lie too evidently on the surface, so inadequately assimilated that all dramatic situation and discrimination of character is lost or vitiated by it. The *dramatis personæ*, young and old, speak so exceedingly alike that it is difficult to follow them and to detach them from each other in the mind; there is an endless flow of half-theological, half-philosophical talk, in which all common feelings are caught up and transmogrified, and a tendency to an emasculated sentiment, to which healthy emotion and passion must give place. Mrs. Charles is afraid of the touch of common clay; but it is the fearless and faithful touch of such that raises the artist above the sermoniser, whatever disguises he may seek; so that, after all, he it is who preaches the perpetual sermon. Mrs. Charles must study books less and human beings and nature more if she would reclaim the ground she has recently lost.

Hogan, M.P. A Novel in Three Volumes. Henry S. King and Co.

The excerpts from English, German, and classical literature prefixed to the chapters of this novel are abundant and curious; but if intended to indicate the theme or progress of the story, they are extremely disappointing. Shakespeare, Goethe, Scotus, Erigena, and Lord Bacon introduce the reader to a series of entirely uninteresting events, which are meant to illustrate the social life of Ireland and the miserable jealousies and selfishness of the most vulgar and snobbish classes of Dublin society. It is true that we are introduced to ball-rooms where the Viceregal party are present; and a bishop, a barrister, a lawyer, and a stockbroker appear on the scene. Reverend mothers and young girls at a convent school are thrown into irreverent conjunction with worldly people. Old flirts and young scapegraces meet and mingle. There are incidents enough to satisfy the voracious novel-reader, from the examination of a girls' school to an Irish election; and there are even an intrigue with a miserable wife, horse-racing, and suicide to whet the jaded appetite; but we cannot see one spark of honour, sincerity, truth or nobleness in the vast array of characters and succession of scenes. Even the boys at 'Trinity,' before they have, as Charles Lamb said, become 'degenerated into frivolous members of Parliament' deserve a sound whipping. The bishop thinks of nothing for his nephew but a fortunate marriage. This hero is a heartless fool, and the only character who excites even a passing interest is a beautiful South American girl, who has been victimised by a cruel drunken sot, who had married her and gambled away her fortune; but even she has not principle enough to resist a base intrigue. Politics, Home Rule, education, dancing, horse-racing, are all discussed. The only sign of Irish pleasantry is the intolerable grammar spoken by those who are represented as moving in some sort of Irish society.

There is hardly one gleam of Irish fun or frolic in the three volumes, and, if the representation were correct, there is not one grain of common sense or shred of honour in the party spirit, social circles, and sacred conventions of priest or politician. The homes are rotten to the core; 'the whole head is sick and the whole heart faint; there is no soundness in it, but wounds, bruises, putrifying sores, neither bound up nor to be mollified with any ointment.' Surely 'Owld Ireland' is not so bad as this.

The Adventures of Tom Sawyer. By MARK TWAIN. Chatto and Windus.

Tom Sawyer is a bit of a scamp, a kind of juvenile Gil Blas, an *enfant terrible*, a schoolboy full of practical jokes and solemn impositions, who wins a Sunday-school Bible by buying tickets, and proves his assiduous study by the astounding answer to the question, 'Who were the first two apostles?' 'David and Goliath.' He absconds from school, and with a village ne'er-do-well sets up for a pirate on an island in the river, then steals home at night to listen to his old aunt weeping over him as drowned, and is furtively present on Sunday to hear his funeral sermon preached. In one of his escapades he is witness of a midnight murder—gets lost in a cave on the Mississippi, finds the murderer and his treasure, and ends his schoolboy days by being a hero. The book is full of roaring fun, interspersed with touches of true pathos. It will have the effect of making boys think that an unscrupulous scapegrace is sure to turn out a noble man; it might therefore have given more emphasis to truth and straightforwardness. But it is irresistible; fully up to the mark of the 'Innocents Abroad.'

Stray Studies from England and Italy. By JOHN RICHARD GREEN. Macmillan and Co.

These 'Stray Studies' are a series of gracefully-written and pleasing little essays, reprinted from 'Macmillan's Magazine' and the 'Saturday Review.' The subjects handled, 'Sketches in Sunshine,' 'Children by the Sea,' 'The Florence of Dante,' 'Buttercups,' &c., are evanescent, and the mode of dealing with them does not make them more substantial. There is no thought 'in solution' in them, and the amount of thought of any kind is slight. It pleases the author, it is to be assumed, and his friends to see them in a more permanent form than in the pages of the weekly or monthly periodical; but there will literally be no end to 'the making of books' if every writer indulges himself in the same gratification. For an odd hour, in which one has nothing better to do, Mr. Green's descriptions and reflections may, however, furnish agreeable employment.

Three Centuries of English Poetry: being Selections from Chaucer to Herrick. With Introductions and Notes by ROSALINE ORME MASSON; and a General Preface by DAVID

MASSON, M.A., LL.D., Professor of English Literature in the University of Edinburgh. Macmillan and Co.

This is calculated to be a very useful handbook. It does not profess to be philological, but purely literary, presenting well-chosen specimens of our best-known poets from Chaucer to Herrick, with carefully and tastefully written introductions and notes. Mrs. Masson has evidently read the old poets with loving appreciation, and has informed herself well respecting the history of the various periods with which she is concerned. She shows not only good taste, but fulness of knowledge. Her introduction to the section from Chaucer is every way admirable, clearly condensing a vast amount of reading. And she shows a good deal of critical discrimination: We entirely agree with her in her estimate of Dr. Donne as against De Quincey's somewhat high-flown panegyric, which is one of the few instances with him in which *mere* rhetoric took the place of critical insight. Particularly pleased, too, have we been with the sketches of Langland and Skelton. As to the Scotch poets, Barbour, Dunbar, Henryson, and Douglas, this manual should do much to recommend them. Drummond of Hawthornden, with his luscious artifice, seems to us over-estimated; but we can make full allowance for that, considering a recent volume. We are not sure that for the purpose of such a handbook some of the space given to extracts from poets whose works are in every decent library—Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Spenser, for example—might not have been saved and indicated by references, and devoted to further extracts from such inaccessible writers as Occleve, Bockville, Dyer, and others. We think the book might have been almost as well without the *General Preface*, which is loose here and there, and is sometimes affected. What good authority can the writer give us for the verb *pedestalled*, which, besides, is surely wrongly used to mean *set up* on a pedestal? This is but a sample of sentences to be found here, and is not good! 'Life on earth as a whole, or on any part of it, is an incessantly *advancing* roar of the present throwing off behind it an ever longer and longer wake of silence, and the historical sense consists in being able to imagine the *roar back at its full to any one point in the past.*' This is a sort of fine imaginative writing which cannot be said to be edifying for any, save very young persons.

Ida Craven. By H. M. CADELL. Two Vols. (Henry S. King and Co.) We do not clearly make out whether this is intended as a warning or an encouragement. Colonel Craven, an Indian officer of thirty-six, marries Ida Bygroves, a girl of sixteen, who has already had a kind of flirtation with Hugh Linwood. Love is almost out of the question. Ida simply does not know what it is, and she finds afterwards, despite her strong moral purpose and fidelity to her husband, that she feels

something like love for Hugh. Two or three years of married unhappiness is the result, and her relations to Hugh in India become perilous. At length her husband, who really loves her, does inspire her with something like affection. But the whole conception and the delineations are unhealthy. Such marriages are a mistake, almost a moral wrong, and a novel which should be an ideal of life should have nothing but reprobation for them. They have no right to come right.

—*A Voice from the Sea; or, the Wreck of the 'Eglantine.'* By the author of 'Margery's Christmas Box.' With a Preface by SAMUEL PLIMSOLL, M.P. (Hodder and Stoughton.) This is a very simple narrative of the despatch and wreck of an unseaworthy ship; with just sufficient of personal interest in the shape of heroism and love-making to entitle it to the designation of a story. It is gracefully and touchingly told, and will serve to point the moral that we are just now pondering. Mr. Plimsoll vouches for the counterpart in real life of every statement and suggestion of circumstance; indeed, that the facts are stranger than any fiction.—*Lady Silverdale's Sweetheart, and other Stories.* By WILLIAM BLACK. (Sampson Low and Co.) Mr. Black has reprinted from periodicals to which they have been contributed half-a-dozen slight stories. The longest, 'The Marriage of Moira Fergus,' is the best. We need not say that the author of 'A Daughter of Heth' writes with a cunning hand; his dainty touch and clever conception, half humour, half pathos, is seen in the shortest as well as in the longest of his stories. 'The Man who was like Shakespeare' and 'The Strange Horse of Loch Suainabhal' are full of rich covert humour; and 'The Highlands of the City' is a bit of quaint beautiful pathos. Mr. Black seems to imagine that in romance and congruity wives fail more often than husbands. His first two stories, in different forms, teach the same lesson. The stories are hardly substantial enough to justify reproduction, but there are quiet lights of genius playing about them.—*The Elegies of Sertius Propertius.* Translated into English Verse, with Life of the Poet and Illustrative Notes. By JAMES CRANSTOUN, B.A., LL.D. (William Blackwood and Sons.) A versified translation of any author, ancient or modern, must be judged by poetical excellency and not by philological tests. The poetical form may indeed give the reader a suggestion of the original, but this must generally be by considerable freedoms taken with it. When translations of great works become classical English poems—like Chapman's Homer or Fairfax's Tasso—they retain very little philological resemblance to their originals. Mr. Cranstoun gives us the ideas of Propertius; his unquestionable scholarship has grappled vigorously even with his obscurities; but he has not given us an English poem, any more than Francis Rous, or Sternhold and Hopkins have given us poetical versions of the Psalms. If we want to know exactly what Propertius said we prefer Mr. F. A. Paley. If

we want to read a poem we shall scarcely go to Mr. Cranstoun, for certainly he gives us no adequate conception of the poetic form of his author.—*Sonnets, Songs, and Stories.* By CORA KENNEDY AITKEN. (Hodder and Stoughton.) We cannot say much for Miss Aitken's second adventure, it falls far below her first both in thought, form, and versification.—*Reverberations.* Revised, with a Chapter from my Autobiography. By W. M. W. CALL, Cambridge. (Trübner and Co.) The poems which Mr. Call here reprints were first published twenty-five years ago, and are of fair merit but without much emotional power. In the chapter of autobiography which he prefixes to them he tells us how he renounced the theology of the Established Church and embraced a Positivist Creed. We will say only that the predominance of his intellectual over his emotional nature, which we observe in his poetry, accounts for more than he suspects in his theological creed. He is a man of keen intellect and high honour; but intellectual criteria are not the only valid tests, and there are some things that will not yield to them as solvents.—*Camera Obscura.* By DORA GREENWELL. (Daldy, Isbister, and Co.) Miss Greenwell's poems are characterised by thoughtfulness, tenderness, musical rhythm, delicacy, and soul, but also by obscurity of allusion and mysticism of feeling. She is not always easy to understand, and our mental perplexity somewhat restrains excitement of feeling; but in this little volume there are bits exquisite in both form and feeling—'The Wren' for example, and 'Daria.' Reading Miss Greenwell is like gathering violets under a hedge; but the violets are worth seeking for.—*Sonnets of the Sacred Year.* By the Rev. S. J. STONE, M.A. (Religious Tract Society.) Sonnets are the cameos of poetic art, artistic and interesting, but their scale is too limited for either freedom or passion. Mr. Stone works with delicacy and genuine poetic inspiration and devout feeling. He has produced an Evangelical 'Christian Year' in sonnets.—*Rivers of Ice.* A Tale Illustrative of Alpine Adventure and Glacier Action. By R. M. BALLANTYNE. With Illustrations. (James Nisbet and Co.) No method of conveying instruction can be better than that of arranging description of phenomena and incidents of adventure in a connected story, and few writers for young folk do it more successfully than Mr. Ballantyne and Mr. Kingston. Here we have vivid pictures of the ice world, including the phenomena of the *Mer de Glace*, and an ascent of Mont Blanc. Mr. Ballantyne restricts himself to the actual even in his creation of imaginary circumstances. It is a book that young folks will read with absorbing interest.—*The Gates of Praise, and other Original Hymns, Poems, and Fragments of Verses.* By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D. (James Nisbet and Co.) Old Fuller said of Sternhold and Hopkins that their 'piety was better than their poetry, and they had drunk more of the Jordan than of Helicon.' The same, although in a

less degree, may be said of Dr. Macduff. His verses rarely rise above the fluency of prose; they are meagre and feeble, they do not gleam with pearls of either imagination or expression. The lines are sometimes limp, and the rhymes are sometimes doubtful, e.g., 'fallen' and 'call in,' 'uncover' and 'other.' We can say of the volume little more than that it expresses much devout Evangelical feeling in smooth verses. By the way, we had not heard that Dr. Guthrie was employed as an Evangelist in other worlds.—*Under the Surface*. By FRANCES RIDLEY HAVERGAL. Second Edition. (J. Nisbet and Co.) Far higher is our estimate of Miss Havergal's poems, of which we had to speak in strong commendation when they first appeared. With intense devoutness of feeling and rich Evangelical sentiments, she has a true gift of poetical expression. The writer's prayer, 'Lord, speak to me, that I may speak,' is one of the best conceived and expressed hymns of late years; it has already found a place in several hymnals, and will doubtless become a permanent song of the Church. This is a cheap edition of a very charming little book.—*The Border Land, and other Poems*. By L. N. R. Second Edition. (J. Nisbet and Co.) Mrs. Ranyard's monogram is as well known as her family name. We make no apology therefore for using the latter. She too has a genuine gift of song, both beautiful and sweet. Some of the pieces have charmed us much. They are distinctly conceived and happily expressed,—'The Border Land,' for instance, which is a reminiscence of sickness which seemed unto death. The little volume gathers up the compositions of some forty years. Its themes are various, and touch life at most of its phases, domestic as well as devotional, literary as well as religious. It is a very pleasant little *vade mecum* for the thoughtful and devout.—*Immanuel's Land, and other Pieces*. By A. R. C. (James Nisbet and Co.) The little piece from which this volume takes its name was a great favourite with the late Dr. James Hamilton, and was on his dying lips. A canto from it has found a place in modern hymnals. It expresses the quiet mystic feeling, lit with touches of heavenly sunshine, with which we anticipate the 'rest that remaineth.' It has distinctiveness, fervour, and beauty, and is a true lyric of faith. Mrs. Cousins has here collected her lyrical productions, some of which have been published before, into a volume; many of the pieces are felicitous in conception and expression. They are all suffused with a very tender love to Him who died for us.—*Holden with the Cords*. By W. M. L. JAY. (James Nisbet and Co.) A cheap edition of an American novel, of the intellectual characteristics and moral qualities of which we were constrained to speak very highly when it first appeared. The popular verdict has justified our commendation. It is fresh, clever, and wholesome.—*Echoes from the Heart; or, Original and Selected Poems*. Arranged and Compiled by EMMA MOODY. (Sampson Low and Co.) A well-

selected volume of sacred lyrics chiefly from living writers, but also including several classical pieces by familiar poets of the last generation. One can test the editing only by readings. We are surprised to find in a selection which is not a hymn-book Dr. Newman's hymn, 'Lead, kindly light,' rendered 'Lead, Saviour, lead,' without any intimation of alteration. The piece given anonymously, p. 15, is in two of its verses an almost verbal plagiarism from a well-known hymn of Charles Wesley in the Wesleyan Hymn-book. Notwithstanding these oversights many will highly and justly value this selection.—*The Cambrian Sketch Book*. Tales, Scenes, and Legends of Wild Wales. By R. RICE DAVIES. (Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.) Mr. Davies has gathered some legends of his native land which are fresh and interesting, some of which have come down to us in history, others are collected from folk-lore; and he has prefaced them by a very mild description of an ascent of Snowdon, such as is achieved a dozen times a day in the season, and which is not redeemed by any particular merit of description. Mr. Davies does not write with much vigour, but his stories will interest young people.—*Early English Poets*. The Complete Works of Giles Fletcher, D.D. Edited, with Memorial, Introduction, and Notes, by the Rev. ALEXANDER B. GROSART. (Chatto and Windus.) This is the first volume of some cheap reprints of the Faller's Worthies' Library. This volume of Giles Fletcher will be followed by volumes of Phineas Fletcher, Sir John Davies, and Sir Philip Sydney. In this way works which have for the first time been competently edited and completely reproduced, will become accessible to general readers at a low price. This reprint, moreover, has the advantage of careful revision and correction. We most heartily commend the series.—*The Battle of the Standard*. A Legend of the Days of King Stephen. By WILLIAM ALFRED GIBBS, Author of 'Arlon Grange,' &c. In Seven Parts. (Provost and Co.) Mr. Gibbs supposes the Colonel Reynell of his 'Arlon Grange' to have recited the Prelude of the present poem in the 'Legend of the Castle by the Sea.' 'The Battle of the Standard' is the great conflict waged by the supporters of Stephen's Crown with the rough insurgents and invaders of the North. The romantic incidents of the battle consist of the march to York of Stephen's beautiful Queen, and the introduction to the battle-field of the Sacred Ægis of Christian hope:—

'Like to a ship on wheels, whose tap'ring mast
Should bear on high a standard with the cross,
And precious relics, holy sacraments,
With consecrated banners placed below.
Upon these relics, and beneath the cross,
The knights had sworn to guard this with their
lives.'

Under these inspirations they gain the victory. The interest of the poem turns on a variety of spirited interludes, where love con-

tends with treachery, and chivalry is rewarded by trust. The whole poem throws one back, not into the Arthurian or Carlovingian cycle, but into the days of knightly struggle for power and fame, while Norman blood was becoming enamoured of England and more English than that of its Saxon Thames. The appearance of the volume, like that of other of Mr. Gibbs's poems, is singularly attractive. — *Baby May; with Poems and Ballads*. By W. C. BENNETT. (Henry S. King and Co.) 'Baby May' appeared twenty-five years ago in 'Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine,' and won a very unusual popularity from literary authorities whose praise was fame. Mr. Bennett may fairly claim to be the poet-laureate of the cradle. It is very sweet and tender, and in its present form will doubtless find an enlarged circle of readers. Many may not have read it once, but very few have read it only once. 'Baby's Shoes' is exquisite in its pathos, and has opened the fount of tears in hundreds of mothers' hearts. The poems included with 'Baby May' also won warm commendation from men like Landor and Dickens, Hawthorne and Thackeray, Bulwer and Ruskin, Whittier and Holmes. Mr. Bennett is a lyrical poet of a very high order, and this collection of his verses will live. He tells us that an 'over-affectionate Canadian sent through the Canadian newspapers "The Worn Wedding-Ring," with his own name appended to it.' — *Arlon Grange; and a Christmas Legend*. By WILLIAM ALFRED GIBBS. Artist's Edition. (Provost and Co.) Mr. Gibbs's poem is somewhat cruelly treated by these rough and blurred autotype illustrations, which would certainly be rejected by a penny newspaper. The volume is elegantly bound in ivory, and the poem merits reperusal; but why should Mr. Gibbs have so disfigured it? — Messrs. Sampson Low and Co. have added to their almost classical 'Rose Library' Miss Alcott's 'Aunt Joe's Scrap Bag;' Mrs. Beecher Stowe's 'Pearl of Orr's Island;' M. Saintain's 'Picciola,' and, what is to us a new story, 'The Two Children of Saint Domingo.' From the French of Mademoiselle Julia Gouraud 'A Story of the Revolution of Toussaint L'Ouverture in 1791.' Some volumes of Mrs. BEECHER STOWE's, *We and Our Neighbours; My Wife and I; Captain Kidd's Money, and other Stories; The Ghost in the Mill, and other Stories; Betty's Bright Ideas, and Deacon Pitkin's Flum;* also Mrs. MAPES DODGE's *Hans Brinker, or, Silver Skates*; a capital Dutch story, one of the best of their Christmas books last year; WENDELL HOLMES' *Guardian Angel*; and LOWELL's *My Study Window*. Every one of which will be heartily welcome in this cheap form. — *Helen Blantyre*. By A. E. A. MAIR. Two Vols. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) A love story, full of cross-purposes and tangles. George Elrington loves Helen; Miss Travers loves him; Helen loves Harold Wynchester, who, before meeting her, has made an offer to Cecile Villars, who loves Le Comte de la Barre. Harold does not care much for Cecile, and when he sees Helen

falls violently in love with her. Cecile, disappointed in her love, accepts Harold's offer, which she has taken a fortnight to consider. So Harold, engaged to one young lady whom he cannot in honour refuse, is in love with another; and as the tangle is complete, the whole story is simply the working out of these complications and of sundry misunderstandings connected with them. The authoress cuts the knot of the difficulty by killing Harold in a railway accident, not, however, before Helen has begun to discover his weakness; then, after three years, George's wooing is successful. We need only add that the story is well and vigorously written. — *Laura Linwood; or, the Price of an Accomplishment*. By the Author of 'The White Cross and Dove of Pearls,' &c. (Hodder and Stoughton.) This story seems intended to show that young ladies may learn the faculty of conversing in French and German at the cost of family peace, honesty of purpose, and holy living; that Romish priests have consciences which are not afflicted with any compunction, if by surreptitious underhand tricks they can seduce the credulous victims of their religious promises from all domestic ties; that it is their method to induce or encourage young and secret converts to abscond at midnight from their home and take refuge for the soul's advantage within the walls of neighbouring convents; that fathers of such maidens may die of fits, and mothers pine with broken hearts, but Rome is obdurate. At least, so it was with one of the heroines of this story, who came forth, however, purified at last in the fire of disappointment, from her Romish predilections. Interesting insight is given into the life of Wesleyan Methodism and into the delicate refinement of its cultivated classes, and the narrative is not without its use in these days, when young people are striving with new and eager longings after the diversified fruit of the tree of knowledge. — *Nothing but Leaves*. By SARAH DOUDNEY. (Hodder and Stoughton.) — *The Great Salt-erns*. By SARAH DOUDNEY. (Religious Tract Society.) Two brief stories by the same authoress, beautifully printed and bound, and delicately illustrated, calculated to interest young people in the loveliness of high Christian principle, and to warn them against the shallowness of a pretentious and fussy 'usefulness,' which is not dictated by true unselfishness or genuine piety. The little Pharisee of 'Nothing but Leaves' learns the error of her ways by personal misfortune and good advice, and turns over a new leaf of her life, to the great advantage of her home and her ragged school. There is an attempt at harmless sensation in 'Great Salt-erns,' thus we have an artificial ghost story, a cruel thunder-storm which kills off the heroine somewhat unmeaningly, and an incognito, which is laboriously and clumsily contrived. Still, the tone of the story is pure and the spirit of its teaching eminently Evangelical. There is an exuberance of religious phrase and a plethora of hymns and devout advice appearing on almost every page; but

the obvious design of the writer is to exhibit the power of patience and of prayer, of fellowship with Christ, and practical Christian honesty; and so far she has succeeded.—*The Dramatic and Poetical Works of Westland Marston*. Two Volumes. Collected Edition. (Chatto and Windus.) Mr. Marston has here collected the productions of the last thirty years, during which he has contributed to the stage many dramas, of which a dozen are contained in these volumes, together with some dramatic fragments and sonnets. Some of them have not before appeared in print; those that have, have been carefully revised. Miss Helen Faucit, Macready, Phelps, Sothorn, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean have sustained his principal characters. The dramas fairly belong to literature as well as to the stage; they indicate no great genius; they are not inlaid with sentences that pass into the quotations of literary men; they have no special force which penetrates and takes possession of you; but they are fluent, graceful, and dignified. They aim at literary excellence, and now and then striking passages and happy touches occur. The separate dramas offer salient points for well-deserved criticism. We can say only, that, as a whole, they are a favourable specimen of a not very dramatic age. The poetry is genuine, the tone is pure, and the dramatic presentation is artistic and striking. We are glad to possess the volumes.—*The Poetical Works of Ray Palmer*. Complete Edition. (R. D. Dickinson.) Mr. Dickinson has reprinted, in a cheap and elegant volume, the collected edition of Ray Palmer's works, which, in its sumptuous American form, we strongly commended in our last number.—*Songs of Religion and Life*. By JOHN STUART BLACKIE. (Edmonton and Douglas.) Everything that Mr. Stuart Blackie writes is forcible and fearless. In this volume he embodies opinions which must be somewhat repugnant to Scottish presbyteries, in language that is sometimes strong even to dogmatism. We should have preferred their exposition in Mr. Stuart Blackie's vigorous and racy prose; for, as old Fuller said of Sternhold and Hopkins, his piety is better than his poetry, although some of the lyrics have in them the true fire of song; and if Mr. Blackie were as patient in labour at artistic form as he is enthusiastic in his afflatus, they might live beyond their day.—*Shakespeare Manual*. By F. G. FLEAY, M.A. (Macmillan and Co.) This is strictly a handbook in a popular and condensed form. Of matters collateral to Shakespeare's plays, it includes within the compass of a small volume the results of a whole library of Shakesperian literature—biographical facts, the bibliography of the plays, contemporary allusions, historical information concerning theatres, actors, and other related matters. Everything, in short, that can illustrate Shakespeare or interest his readers is here, with remarkable lucidity, vigour, and critical independence, brought within every student's reach.—*Poems of the Months*. By M. A. BAINES; the Etchings by WILHELMINA

BAINES. (Sampson Low and Co.) We can commend only the etchings of this tasteful volume, and them only with a qualification,—the flowers are fairly well done; but the letterpress is unpleasant to read, as a face marked with the small-pox is unpleasant to look upon. The unrhymed verses are irredeemably common-place.—*The Vulture Maiden (Die Geier-Wally)*. By WILHELMINE VON HILLERN. From the German, by C. BELL and E. F. POYNTER. Tauchnitz Edition. (Sampson Low and Co.) This is a Tyrolese story of singular weirdness and power. Its scene is the Oetzthal and the Hoch-Joch glacier, which rises to a height of eleven thousand feet, upon which the Vulture Maiden finds her refuge from the brutal tyranny of her father; and the magnificent scenery of which is vividly and powerfully described, and idealised with that blending of superstition which hangs about mountain scenery, and which is the legitimate domain of Romance. The semi-heroic character of Wally is finely conceived, and the moral process of her training is well wrought out. In her father, Vincenz, the villagers, the Klatz family of Rofen, and even Joseph, for whom she conceives so wild a passion, the stern and dark side of Tyrolese peasant character are exhibited. The picture, which Madame Hillern has dedicated to her master, Bernard Auerbach, is one of great power, and suggests many points for extended criticism. We can only commend it to our readers as one of the most original and fascinating stories that has latterly come under our notice. It is redolent of the wild scenery and romance of its mountain solitudes.—In their series of 'Standard Novels' the same publishers have reproduced two of the best novels of the last season, Mr. BLACKMORE's *Alice Lorraine*, in which the excellence of *Lorna Doone* is nearly reached; and Mr. BLACK's *Three Feathers*, in which he surpasses himself.—*Stray Papers*. By JOHN ORMSBY. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) One cannot do much better in spare quarters of an hour than read one of Mr. Ormsby's short papers. They have been collected from the 'Cornhill', 'Fraser', the 'Pall Mall Gazette', the 'Saturday Review', and other journals, to which they were originally contributed. They combine, in an unusual degree, a faculty for keen observation, a feeling for the humorous side of things, and a dainty touch of reflectiveness, which, while often very suggestive, never degenerates into moralising. The papers about London streets, especially the zoological one, are very clever and very amusing. Very few short magazine papers are worth collecting in a volume. We mean to emphasise a compliment to Mr. Ormsby when we say that these are.—*Human Nature: a Mosaic of Sayings, Maxims, Opinions, and Reflections on Life and Character*. Selected and Arranged by DAVID W. MITCHELL. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) Mr. Mitchell has selected and classified many hundreds of paragraphs from the entire range of literature, with wide knowledge and considerable skill, the whole forming a kind

of common-place book for human nature and life; good things are to be found on every page.—*Esther's Journal; or, a Tale of Swiss Pension Life.* By a RESIDENT. With a preface by Miss WHATELEY. (James Nisbet and Co.) A pleasant series of sketches of pension life, showing what a ministering kindness and goodness may always find, and not without its little love romance. It is a very pleasant little volume, although we should have liked it better had poetical justice been meted out to Miss Lucy.—*Lily.* By the Rev. W. LUCAS COLLINS. M.A. (William Blackwood and Sons.) We gladly welcome this first volume of a supplemental series of Ancient Classics for English readers. The twenty volumes already published have probably disseminated, among those for whom they were intended, more knowledge of classical literature than any publications in our, or in any other, period. The volumes are so small as to be easily read, and the summaries and specimens of authors are done with that great measure of skill, completeness, and vividness which is possible only to accomplished scholars. This volume on *Livy* is done by the general editor, and follows the method of the first series—first giving us all necessary information about the author, and then summarising his work; of course here with the usual comments on the last Decades. It is admirably done.—*Oliver of the Mill.* A Tale. By MARIA LOUISA CHARLESWORTH. (Seeley, Jackson, and Co.) It is difficult to specify the charm of Miss Charlesworth's stories. Both the sentiment and the preaching are somewhat in excess. Her stories have not much unity: the course of events meanders, as indeed it does in life. In 'Oliver of the Mill' it runs through two or three generations; she is a little Churchy, very Evangelical in doctrine, and in one or two places, e.g., on p. 270, she evinces a tendency either to Plymouth Brethrenism or to Sacerdotalism, we are not sure which, for she emphasises the benefit of the sacrament irrespective of its administrator. We cannot resist the temptation to skip here and there, but still her writing has a charm. It is, we think, the kind of hazy religious sentiment and unctuous religious feeling which characterises the fervid Evangelical school. This, we think, is a drawback to the otherwise good religious influence of her books. 'Oliver of the Mill' has in it a good deal that is both charming and touching. Of the story we can give no account; it is subordinate to the sentiment. We have no doubt that this new story will find thousands of interested readers.—*A. Madrigal, and other Stories.* By the author of the 'Rose Garden.' (Smith, Elder, and Co.) Seven very charming little stories,—four of them reprinted from magazines, three not published before—from the graceful pen of the author of the 'Rose Garden.' Her skill in putting in delicate touches which insensibly perfect her portraits, gives her character-drawing a great charm; for instance, 'Under the Mountains,' the way in which the breach between Elsie and Chris-

tian widens, and the dumb instincts which work towards its healing, are most subtly and admirably done. The change wrought on Lady Harrington is less delicately traced; but the undertone of tender sentiment which runs through it is very charming to us, for whom the careful writing of this authoress has a great charm. The volume is very acceptable.—*French Pictures in English Chalk.* By the Author of 'The Member for Paris,' &c. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) The author of 'The Member for Paris' is an acute observer, and a good deal of a satirist. He has lived in Paris, and made himself so familiar with all its outs and ins, that he can cleverly sketch off real persons under thin disguises, and reveal them to us as significant types. In no work of his has the playful satire and the serious intent had more scope than here. 'French Pictures' abound in humour of an almost unique kind. The author is severe, but never savage; the air of complete superiority to personality imparts a rare savour to the bitterest thrusts. Martin Boulet jockeying the candidates is exquisite; and the fun is sustained and never undignified, which is the great temptation in this kind of writing. 'Our Secret Society' gives a good idea of the student life of the Quartier Latin of today, and from 'Recollections of the Siege of Paris' not a little may be learned, and readers will not fail to be all the more touched by certain passages, inasmuch as the author does not affect the pathetic, but the reverse. 'Our Bishop' and 'Le Ministre Malgre Lui' are pervaded by refined amusement, which few who have watched French news during the past few years, will fail to appreciate. This author not only knows French contemporary history, he is a bit of a dramatist also, and can make his personages silly reveal themselves in word and act. The book is one of the cleverest we have read for a long time, and deserves, as it is sure to receive, a very wide welcome.—*Parley Magna.* A Novel. By EDWARD WHITAKER. Two Volumes. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) Mr. Whitaker has committed the too foolish mistake of pitching into the critics who review books without reading them, and of praising his own novel; which prevents our doing more than pointing out the defects of his book, as of course were we to praise its excellences we should be liable to the suspicion of deprecating his censures. Premising the assurance that we have honestly read his book, and that we have been interested in a good deal of its characterisation, we must tell him that he has seriously marred it, first, by a certain cynicism which often becomes a sneer; next, by a continuous attempt at fine writing. The consciousness that he ought to say something smart seems always present to him, and he is ever striving to achieve it. This gives not only an unpleasant falsetto to his style, but an exaggeration to his descriptions of men and things which is sometimes farcical. It is not the keenness which penetrates so much as the smartness which caricatures. What Mr. Whitaker may really know

about Somersetshire rustic life and Nonconformity we do not know; we are certain only that nothing at all resembling his sketches was ever embodied in human life, or in religious society. If Mr. Whitaker had been writing a farce for a third-class theatre it might have passed as not exceeding the understood margin caricature for such exhibitions; but that he should have filled dialogues and pages with such 'bosh' in a novel of men and manners, is creditable neither to his information not to his sense of dramatic propriety. Mr. Whitaker has some good qualities, and would produce a good novel if he would avoid this perpetual striving after smartness, and cultivate that sense of congruity which prevents fair caricature from passing into incredible extravagance.—*A Mad World and its Inhabitants*. By JULIUS CHAMBERS. (Sampson Low and Co.) Under the pseudonym of 'Felix Somers,' Mr. Chambers supplied one of the New York newspapers with a report of the sordid selfishness and cruelty of Dr. Baldrie's Private Asylum for the Insane, for which he had qualified himself by successfully feigning madness, and securing for himself admission as a patient—after the manner of Mr. Greenwood in the Casual Ward. He details his preparations, examinations, experiences in the mad-house, and the exposé before the magistrate. The book is written in a somewhat mad style of sensationalism, but its revelations, we are told, produced a great excitement and important reforms.—*Silver Pitchers and other stories*. By LOUISA M. ALCOTT. (Sampson Low and Co.) Miss Alcott's stories are of very unequal merit. The first, 'Silver Pitchers,' which is a teetotal story, is possible. The next, 'Anna's Whim,' a love story, is capital. The third, 'Transcendental Wild Oats,' is simple extravagance and nonsense. 'My Rococo Watch' is a quiz on travelling follies. All, however, are native to their American soil, and point to characteristics and blots of American social life, into the full significance of which we can scarcely enter. Of course, Miss Alcott is ingenious in devising her incidents and graceful in telling them.—*My Sister Rosalind*. By the Author of 'Christina North.' Two vols. (Henry S. King and Co.) The sad career of Rosalind, as portrayed by her sister, fascinates and haunts the mind of the reader of this story. The incident is trifling and the plot improbable, if such a word can be rightly used to describe the bitter experience and crushing disaster which accompany the declaration of love on the part of two well-born youths to the same orphaned but light-hearted maiden. Her sister tells the story of the effects wrought in this sweet heart by this complication, by the untimely death of one suitor, by the murderous satisfaction of the other, by the ill-omened marriage, and by the tardy confession of the husband of his guilty, soul-devouring remembrance. There was perhaps nothing then to be done but to kill Rosalind. There is great beauty of expression, and strong, clever characterisation, but anything more melancholy it is difficult

to conceive. The author is too fond of killing heroines.—*Women in the Reign of Victoria*. By MADAME R. A. CAPLIN. Assisted by Dr. JOHN MILL. (Dean and Son.) Let not those who take up Madame Caplin's book be deterred by its introductory chapter, which is awkward, miscellaneous, and superficial. She has really some sensible things to say and some wholesome advice to give. She would have English girls take warning from the results of bad training upon the physique of American women; and in order to do this she points out the causes of female debility as induced by modern life and habits; gives good advice on bodily culture; discourses concerning professional women, art workwomen, female assistants, female labourers and servants, lone women, the sphere of women, marriage, motherhood, and education, in a very sensible and valuable way. The book may stand by the side of Dr. Richardson's 'Diseases of Modern Life.'—*Thornwall Abbas*. By GHANT LLOYD. Two vols. (Sampson Low and Co.) 'Thornwall Abbas' is cleverly constructed and well written. It lays hold of us and satisfies us, and this is saying a good deal; for the flimsy structure and slipshod English of many of the novels one is doomed to read are often very trying. Lady Grizel, an old Scottish grandmother, who in her youth was told the fortunes of her house by one gifted with second sight, changes her grandson at his birth. The story turns upon the history of the two youths and their contrasted characters. The device, after causing the old lady infinite remorse, really fulfils the destiny it was meant to avert. The story is notable in well-drawn and well-sustained characters.—*The Odyssey of Homer*. By MORDAUNT BARNARD, M.A. (Williams and Norgate.) The author says, in his very brief preface, that his object is twofold, 'to assist backward students in mastering the original, and to give English readers a simple and unambitious version, often differing little from mere prose.' Neither of these ends is very ambitious; as a mere 'crib' in verse it can hardly claim a high literary position, and, as intended for English readers, we can only say of it that verse translations of the *Odyssey* are so extremely numerous that it really has become difficult to count them. A new translation was simply not wanted. The blank verse chosen for the metre does not seem to us to rise beyond a moderately easy effort; the lines are such as any tolerably good scholar could write off at the rate of a hundred per hour. We take a specimen without selection,—the opening of Book iv.—

To Lacedæmon, full of deep ravines,
They drove, where famous Menelaus dwelt.
They found him at a marriage festival
(Given to many friends and neighbours there)
Of son and blameless daughter in his house.'

The volume has neither introduction nor notes. We cannot say that its merits, as a whole, seem of a high order. Nor is the scholarship very advanced that renders

πικρὸς βέλος by 'bitter arrow,' and is satisfied with 'guarding throughout with willow rods' (p. 86) a raft to which Ulysses had added, from end to end, a fence or bulwark of osier hurdles.—*London Lyrics*. By FREDERICK LOCKYER. A new edition enlarged and finally revised. (Henry S. King.) Mr. Lockyer's place as the poet of London clubs, drawing-rooms, and streets is pretty well determined. For a while his verses will keep their place. They are clever, witty, and sparkling, but in the nature of things, *vers de société* are evanescent. He is, however, something more than the poet of passing manners. Not infrequently an abiding moral underlies the passing mood, as, for instance, in 'Beggars,' and a touch of tenderness in light fancy, as in 'To my Grandmother.' He has the genuine faculty of the poet, and satisfies both our sentiment and our art feeling.—*Poetical Remains of Edward Churton*. M.A. (John Murray.) Many besides the personal friends of the late Archdeacon Churton will be glad to possess this volume of his collected poems. His gift of song was a genuine one; not, however, eminent enough to win for him a very prominent place, but musical and tender. His chief contributions to poetical literature are his translations, especially from the Spanish. Some of his translated hymns have found a place in several hymnals.—*Florimel Jones*. A Novel. By J.A. (Sampson Low and Co.) The author apologises for his little tale on the ground that it is a first attempt. The indications of unpractised authorship are evident, but there is a certain vigor, both of thought and judgment, which is a good augury. The delineation of Mrs. Clarke is better than that of Edward Villiers: the latter is a little too raw in artistic conception. Mr. Smith is a little too much of a paragon, his flirtation with Sally notwithstanding. The scene is Newfoundland, and the story will be read with interest.—*Poems and Sonnets*. By GEORGE BARLOW. Three Volumes. (J. Camden Hotten.) *A Life's Love*. By GEORGE BARLOW. (J. Camden Hotten.) *Under the Dawn*. By GEORGE BARLOW. (Chatto and Windus.) It is impossible to state in a brief notice our impression of five volumes of poetry, for the most part consisting of separate pieces, and adopting largely the form of the sonnet. The author deserves all the praise he has received for pleasant versification, for mellifluousness of expression, for gentle thought and tender touching insight into the depth of a pure soul. If 'poets are all who love, who think great truths and tell them, and the truth of truths be love,' then Mr. Barlow is a poet of no mean order. The smile, the response, the kiss of love, are to him more than all things in heaven and earth, and ought to suffice. It is possible to be satiated with this feast of marrow and fatness, these garlands and kisses innumerable, but we do not see that, with all his eye for colour and his heart for love, there is either meaning or verisimilitude in the charge sometimes brought against him of being a mere disciple either of Rossetti or Swinburne.

In one of his prefaces he very strongly, and in a manly way, proclaims and proves his independence of both of his contemporaries. It is right of him to claim his privilege of clinging to theism if he has relinquished Christianity. It is very sad to read his melancholy return to the love of earth and the worship of nature after tasting the powers of the world to come. The world does not move backwards though. This strange return to pre-Christian consolations is one of the passions of our modern renaissance of Paganism. The poems entitled 'Christologia' are among the saddest wails we know, because there is laughter mingled with it. We cannot refuse to Mr. Barlow the praise of real poetic sentiment, but the impression left by his lines seems singularly evanescent.

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND PHILOLOGY.

The Christian Doctrine of Sin. By JOHN TULLOCH, D.D. William Blackwood and Sons.

Dr. Tulloch's very thoughtful, scholarly, and able volume deserves a much more detailed notice than we can here give to it. It is a distinct contribution, not only to the discussion, but to the settlement, of some of the vital questions at issue between scepticism and faith. The title of the volume, although strictly relevant, will not be very promising to those unfamiliar with theological thought, and will not convey an adequate idea of the breadth of ground traversed, and of the depth and reach of the principles discussed. Human sin is the correlative of all doctrine concerning God in His relations to men. A theology that had no distinct reference to the moral evil which is characteristic of men might be abstractly true, but would have no practical relevance. The anthropological side of the relation is as vital as the theological side of it. Starting from this standpoint, Dr. Tulloch first discusses the fundamental question whether or not man is a spiritual being, upon the answer to which all theology and moral philosophy depend; and in maintaining the affirmative he demonstrates the inadequacy of naturalistic theories of evolution to explain man's nature, the insufficiency of mere moral religion, and the necessary issue of both religious and moral truths in metaphysics; for the validity of which he strikes a good blow as against the mere materialist.

Dr. Tulloch chooses and vindicates, in preference to the method of Dr. J. Müller on the same subject, the method of pure historical development, rather than that of an analysis and co-ordination of Scripture texts; that is, he does not deduce conclusions from Scripture premises, he uses the teachings of Scripture to throw light upon the phenomena and history of human nature. In this he is right. Human nature, as developed in its

history, is the prime factor of his arguments, and the Scripture is simply a light from God thrown upon it.

The second chapter, therefore, deals with the idea of evil outside revelation, and is a very masterly summary of the teachings and conclusions of comparative theology on the subject of evil, arranged so as to exhibit the development of the sin-consciousness in the history of men, and through the various philosophies and theologies propounded to him, from the conceptions of primitive religions, through the systems of Egypt, Phenicia, India, Greece, Zoroastrianism, Manichæism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Gnosticism, down to the grand, although gloomy and inadequate, conceptions of Greek tragedy. The chapter is full of condensed information, keen insight, and philosophical breadth. We find that we have marked for quotation and comment passages upon almost every page, but we must forbear.

We commend to the consideration of the advocates of mere natural development the third chapter on the Old Testament Doctrine of Sin, and its striking demonstration of the new moral atmosphere that pervades the Hebrew Scriptures; its vigorous grasp of the great principles embodied in the account of the Fall and Temptation in Genesis,—whatever its historic or scientific character,—in Mosaism, and in prophecy, and its masterly Exposition of their development. So also the chapter on the Doctrine of Sin, as taught by our Lord, so much more profound and spiritual than that of Judaism. The last two lectures discuss the doctrine of Paul's epistles, which is also done with great power and some originality; especially Paul's doctrine of the 'flesh,' in which views are maintained analogous to those propounded by Mr. Binney in one of the greatest sermons he ever preached, the one on Carnality, contained in the posthumous volume of his sermons. We commend also the vigorous analysis of the struggle depicted in Romans vii., which appears to us more lucid and satisfactory than almost any that we have seen.

Perhaps the weakest part of Dr. Tulloch's theme is his treatment of original sin in the last lecture; probably because a satisfactory theory is impossible. Dr. Tulloch confesses the weakness of human thinking on what is equally an indisputable fact and an insoluble mystery. Perhaps he says as much about it, and throws as much light upon the notions propounded by Paul as is possible, but we confess we do not feel that we are much helped, save, indeed, to the conclusion that we soon reach the limit of possible knowledge.

We have not recently read a volume so wise and strong in its firm and liberal orthodoxy. Holding fast by the great cardinal doctrines of revelation, Dr. Tulloch refuses to compromise them by the accretions of tradition or of scholastic theology. He produces upon us again the very strong impression that the cardinal truths of God and of humanity are presented in their truest idea

when liberated from accidental forms, even of revelation, and that they are never safer than in the keeping of free and reverent living thought. We do not wonder that the largest church in Edinburgh was inadequate for the multitude that crowded to listen to these eloquent and able discourses.

An Analysis of Religious Belief. By VISCOUNT AMBERLEY. Two Vols. Trübner and Co.

This work of the late Lord Amberley has excited less sensation than was probably expected by his friends. The circumstances under which it appeared might have been relied upon to attract to it a certain amount of temporary attention and popularity. Cut off in the flower of early manhood, after following to the tomb the gifted lady who had shared his labours and his sorrows, and to whose memory this book is dedicated; the possibilities of a career, which bade fair to be distinguished, being thus nipped in the bud, while all that fortune and favourable circumstances could supply to render life pleasant were present; it was natural that a measure of sympathetic interest should attach to Lord Amberley's memory. He was known to be an 'advanced' thinker, and the subject he has grappled with is the greatest which can occupy human thought. Lord Amberley's 'inscription' of the book shows that he himself regarded it as his chief work. He had long looked forward to his wife's welcome of 'the completed work,' which had occupied both of them 'during many years of preparatory toil,' as 'his one great reward;' and although, in the literal sense, the work had not the benefit of the author's final corrections further than the three hundred and thirty-sixth page of the first volume, it is not probable that the alterations he would have made, 'either as to thought or style,' would have affected the estimate that will be entertained of the book. Consequently, this 'Analysis of Religious Belief' gives us, as it were, the whole mind of the late Viscount on religious matters. The incidental references to his personal position in the prefatory address to the reader, by the Countess Russell, are rather fitted to add to our curiosity and interest in regard to his individual position and point of view. A semi-suppressed apology is offered for the things in the book which seem to call in question or to condemn 'the most cherished beliefs' of others and to 'set at naught' their 'surest consolations' on the plea that Lord Amberley had 'not shrunk from pain and anguish to himself, as one by one he parted with portions of that faith which, in boyhood and early youth, had been the main-spring of his life.' We are solemnly assured that, however long he might have lived, 'his search after truth would only have ended with his existence,' that he would have welcomed the freest criticism of his own conclusions, and that when 'he assails much which may be reckoned unassailable,' he does so in the cause of goodness, nobleness, love, truth, and of the mental progress of mankind.' The statement of what he has uttered, 'after

earnest and laborious thought,' was (we are told) to Lord Amberley 'a sacred duty;' and, finally, the sanctions of Christian charity are invoked in favour of a friendly construction of differences of opinion.

All this is calculated to raise expectation and to excite sympathy. But when we come to the work itself we cannot avoid feeling deeply disappointed. It is not only, or, perhaps, chiefly, that we must sometimes refuse to respond to the touching appeal contained in the introductory address, seeing that we find Lord Amberley writing about sacred things in a spirit more akin to the scoffing temper of the Voltairean school than consonant with the earnestness and singlemindedness we had been led to expect; nor even—however severely we must condemn it—that he treats of the character of our Lord with a levity that is painfully repugnant, and with, it must be said, a seemingly settled purpose to interpret everything in the most favourable manner for His persecutors and murderers. These things indicate grave faults of temper and treatment; and when we remember that if Lord Amberley had only observed the respect which is due to opinions and feelings entertained with sincerity and sacred emotion—whatever he might think of their intrinsic worth—he could not have been guilty of them, we cannot fail to hold him deserving of grave reprehension. Apart, however, from and beyond all these considerations, it is impossible not to deplore, and to feel deep disappointment because of the absence in Lord Amberley's handling of religious phenomena of the impartiality of the scientific inquirer, and the seeming incapacity to appreciate the difference between the higher and the lower manifestations of (to place them on no more lofty level) the religious instincts and feelings of men. He evidently started on his investigations with the predetermination to recognise no differences in kind between the religious experiences and the contents of the moral and spiritual consciousness of different peoples and different individuals. Consequently, because there are other 'holy books' (so-called) than the Old and New Testaments, the contents of the latter must be reduced to the level of the former. Because other religions, besides Christianity, boast of heroes and reformers, there is admitted to exist no differential element in the character of Christ to distinguish Him from Confucius and Buddha. It is the same with the treatment of 'holy events,' 'holy places,' and 'holy persons,' found, or alleged, to be common to all the religions of the world. Instead of estimating the lower phenomena in the light poured upon them by the manifestations of the higher, Lord Amberley threw all into the same crucible to fuse them together, in order to show that all religions are very much alike. Following the tendency of the age, which assumes that everything is explained when analogies, unjustifiably converted into identities, are traced between various classes of phenomena that have anything in common, and that the

differences between them may be eliminated and simply disregarded, Lord Amberley has given us a sort of 'natural history of religion' in the spirit of David Hume, but without the metaphysical acuteness by which Hume was distinguished.

We do not deem it necessary under these circumstances to follow with any closeness the course of Viscount Amberley in gathering together the materials, through the analysis of which he supposed he had attained some elements of substantive truth, and a basis on which certain rudimentary claims of religion to general acceptance might be justified. There is really nothing either original or profound—scarcely anything that is distinctive—in his treatment of the 'means of communication' 'upwards' and 'downwards' between man and God on the one hand, and God and man on the other. The object for which the data were collected was to establish the analogies, or identities, between the religious phenomena of different people and classes at different periods of the world's history, in order to find the common elements that existed in all of them. Now, in doing this, not only did Lord Amberley neglect and leave out of sight the elements of a moral and spiritual nature which cannot be reduced to the lower level, he seems to us to have performed a work of supererogation in his collection of materials at all. In so far as he gathered together a multitude of particular facts, more or less illustrative of the movements of the religious spirit or instinct, he may be supposed to have done something in furtherance of the processes of inquiry undertaken in connection with what is called Comparative Religions. But the upshot of and the reason for all this was to supply a basis for the analysis of the 'Religious Sentiment Itself,' to which the last hundred pages of the second volume of the work are devoted. It would be easy to point out errors in details, misrepresentations and misinterpretations of the actual facts under examination; but it is not worth while doing this, seeing that Lord Amberley has so notably failed in the main object for which he wrote. His analysis of the Religious Sentiment is, after all, the analysis not of the Religious Sentiment in its historical manifestations, but as it shows itself in the individual consciousness; and so far as that is concerned there was no need for all that has gone before. If we analyse the Religious Sentiment as it exists in any man of mature intelligence, the least that we can extract from it is the belief in a power outside of us which must be accepted as the cause or origin of all things. The reduction of the Religious Sentiment, therefore, to the 'objective element' of a power or force existing external to us; a spiritual entity, which is the 'subjective element,' within us, and the correlation of these two ultimates does not require any investigation of historical facts, and it is characteristic of Lord Amberley's analysis that it accepts no guidance or instruction from these facts. It is simply the analysis of the neces-

sary belief entertained by every individual who reflects at all, which is the conclusion of philosophical inquiry as well as the postulate of religious feeling. We are thankful to find that even the inveterate scepticism of Lord Amberley cannot rid us of the belief in the objective ultimate as a Cause, Force, or Power; that the assertion by thought of the necessity for such an existence is accepted as a valid argument for its reality; and that between the two ultimates he admits there is a correspondence or mutual communication which no doubts or denials or metaphysical refinings can destroy, seeing that a denial of its reality lands us in the abyss of absolute scepticism, which questions the fact of any knowing or any being whatsoever. Religion, therefore, has the same sure ground for affirming the reality of its objects as we have for asserting the reality of our own existence.

It is something to get these 'beggarly elements' of the Religious Sentiment. But Lord Amberley was not warranted in accepting even as much as these without going on to the acceptance of a great deal more. Precisely upon the same grounds on which he claims reality for his Ultimate Cause, or Power, are we entitled to claim that that Power is a Moral and Spiritual Reality. Lord Amberley regards it as presiding over the destinies of the universe, as evolving the higher from the lower, as educating the human race, and preparing for a time when, at the least, men must be a great deal better and happier than they are now. Therefore his Absolute (if we may so call it) must be more than a mere Nature-Spirit—the Soul of the World; it must be endowed with moral and spiritual qualities, seeing that it evolves moral and spiritual purposes, and presides over the development of the universe from a lower to a higher stage of existence. Consciousness, as the highest mode of being, must be ascribed to this Ultimate or Absolute; for Lord Amberley shuts himself up to the dilemma that his Absolute is either not the highest or it must be self-conscious. In the same way, in following out his own ideals of truth, love, and nobleness, he must allow that they are included in the Objective Element. And if the view is extended to the historical sphere, we must attribute to the Absolute possession of the powers or qualities which educe the highest phenomena of moral and spiritual nobility. We cannot make our argument complete within the limits at our disposal here; but we have said enough to show how very incomplete was Lord Amberley's analysis, since he neglected the most important elements offered to us, both by the individual consciousness, and, yet more, by the moral and spiritual experiences of mankind. His book is worthy of notice as a temporary phenomenon, the illustration of a passing phase of the scientific tendencies of the age; but it has no permanent value, and will very soon be forgotten.

Quicksands; or, Prevalent Fallacies in Belief and Worship Pointed out, with their Remedy.

By the Rev. STEPHEN JENNER, M.A. Longmans and Co.

This bulky volume contains ten well-considered essays on famous theological and ecclesiastical problems. The author writes with great independence and not a little dogmatism, but he makes many valuable 'points.' 'The Certainty and Criteria of Truth' appear to us to be treated in such a vague and vapid manner, that we were ready to disregard the entire volume. Let not readers be discouraged by this inauspicious commencement, for the author has much to say on the 'ideal and the real of the Church' that is worthy of consideration; and, from the standpoint of a believer in the Articles and Liturgy of the Church of England, he makes a really able defence of the representative and symbolic and 'exhibitive' character of the sacraments. He draws a strong distinction between regeneration by baptism—which he utterly repudiates—and 'baptismal regeneration,' which he cordially accepts. The adjective here, according to our author, qualifies and characterises, and describes the sense in which regeneration is used. We do not believe however that the author can rationally retain this distinction when he offers the thanksgiving after baptizing an infant in accordance with the Anglican rite.

The essay on the 'True Cross' is very able, and handles with fine penetrative insight the meaning of the 'true Cross.' It is an uncompromising and eloquent vindication of the Christian doctrine of the Atonement, at once a protest against superstitious travesties of the Cross by traditional observance, and against all the minimising of its significance by those who shrink from admitting the vicarious sacrifice of the Son of God. 'Those who feel a repugnance,' says our author, 'to the doctrine of the Atonement by means of a ransom paid by the innocent for the guilty, and object to it on the ground of their own feelings, overlook the fact that the death of the Son of God in our place is the great crowning act of that law of self-sacrifice, springing out of love, which runs through all the Divine beneficences. To deny this doctrine, and to substitute some milder method of salvation, is to do the very thing they aim to avoid, that is, to deny God's infinite love.' This is well said.

Religion and Science: their Relations to each Other at the Present Day. Three Essays on the Grounds of Religious Belief. By STANLEY T. GIBSON, B.D., Rector of Sandon, Essex. Longmans.

There is such a thing in these days as a 'reconciliation of religion and science' which is a surrender of the real claims of the former to the assumed requirements of the latter. Without presuming to pass any judgment upon Mr. Gibson's religious attitude (for the Christian life may flourish in defiance of logic), we must yet say that, if Christians are to yield all that in the volume before us he indicates a willingness to throw overboard, it

will be hard to give any reasonable ground for clinging to what would then remain. The acceptance of the doctrine of the Reign of Law, and the gradual evolution of the system of nature, such as we now see it, by 'short steps through immense periods of time,' may require a change in the mode of using the old evidential arguments for the truth of Christianity, as well as for the truths of natural theology; but if 'manifest fairness and moderation' in meeting 'sceptical arguments' compel us to give up the argument from design, as well as all *a priori* proofs of the being of a God; and if the Christian miracles are to be swept away, or reduced to the effects of natural causes, and the foundation of Christianity—belief in the Resurrection of our Lord—be held as a mere 'perhaps,' we fail to see what there is left to 'reconcile' with science. Mr. Gibson, no doubt, refers us to 'other grounds' for holding by Christianity after he has given up Bishop Butler and Archdeacon Paley. The 'witness of the moral faculty' is appealed to in behalf of 'the moral teaching of our religion and the truth of its principal doctrines.' But 'moral faculty' differs in different persons; and as the moral faculty of Mr. Gibson tells him he must not only give up the doctrine of the everlasting misery of the wicked, but also that of our Lord's Atonement, so far as it is considered to be in any sense a vicarious sacrifice, in which 'the Just suffered for the unjust,' most Christians will pray to be saved from 'reconciliations' of religion and science by such friends. 'My conclusion,' writes this defender of the faith (p. 281), 'is that the argument from miracles cannot in these days be relied upon as the foundation for Christian belief. This, I would once more point out, is not by any means the same thing as concluding that nothing of the nature of the true supernatural has occurred in connection with Christianity. This I must not be understood to assert,' but only that, 'as matters stand,' the argument from miracles is fitted 'rather to confirm the believer than to convince the sceptic.' And in speaking of the Atonement Mr. Gibson says that, though he has 'no explanation to give of the efficacy of Christ's death in a transcendental scheme of the forgiveness of sins, still he does most fully recognise the beauty and instructiveness of that death when looked at from a moral point of view.' So also did Rousseau, and so also, consistently enough, might even Strauss and Renan. It is not surprising, however, that Mr. Gibson feels driven to such a position, seeing that he is by no means confident that the resurrection of our Lord may not be capable of 'natural explanation.' *Non tali auxilio* are the just claims of religious belief to be maintained. We have no doubt that the form and mode of applying the evidential arguments for Christianity may be varied with the varying requirements of the time, but the 'grounds' of belief are not to be sought for either in the 'moral faculty' or in the arguments from design and from miracles. An

absolute demonstration either of the existence of God or of the truth of Christianity is not to be desired, even were it possible of attainment. It has, been well said that, if the fundamental principles of religion could be reduced to the level of mathematical propositions, they would render religion impossible, for there would be no place for faith. Mere argument cannot make a man a believer, because faith is only possible where there is the capacity for spiritual discernment as the precondition of spiritual life. Therefore, so far from saying that miracles are for the believer rather than for the sceptic, we hold that, while the believer accepts joyfully the instruction they convey to him, he does not need them in the way the sceptic does. But unless the whole constitution of things is different from what the believer feels it is when he has fellowship with the Father through the Son, it must be possible for natural reason to trace, to some extent, the workings of Infinite Intelligence, and to show the finger of God in the natural; so that we acknowledge that He is above the system of nature, and employs it as the instrument for fulfilling His ends. Therefore the arguments for both natural and revealed religion must be capable of such exhibition as secures for them a high degree of probability, but not demonstration from logical and intellectual grounds. Mr. Gibson's point of view seems to us to be altogether false and misleading. No such demonstrative proof of spiritual realities as he craves for is possible or desirable; but, because that is so, to say we must surrender any of the 'ground of our religious beliefs,' is contrary alike to sound reason and devout thought. We think it is a great pity this work has been published; for while it may do harm by giving cause of exultation to sceptics, we fail to see what possible good it can accomplish for any one.

The Mosaic Account of Creation, the Miracle of To-day; or, the New Witness to the Oneness of Genesis and Science. To which is added an Inquiry as to the Cause and Epoch of the Present Inclination of the Earth's Axis. By CHARLES B. WARRING. New York: Schermerhorn and Co.

This attempt to establish the intense realism and perfect accuracy of the Mosaic account of Creation is the work of a very competent scientist, and a thinker not unused to the high physical speculations of modern times. The book is not to be classed with those treatises which force into the text of Genesis ideas which are utterly foreign to the mind of the probable writer, and no effort is made to twist scientific facts; but the hypothesis maintained is, that the literal statements of the Inspired Record 'no more, and no less,' accurately translated, exactly correspond with the most enlightened inductive and inferential science of the Victorian age; that not until this year of grace have we been able to see the whole of the mystery of knowledge wrapped up in these venerable words.

Some of the reconciliations and interpretations are novel, *e.g.*, Light, as the result of motion, involving the doctrine of correlation of the Forces—the commencement of day and night on the cooling of the earth, and consequent origination of its non-luminous crust. The fourth-day phenomena, due to the alteration of the axis of the earth, corresponding with the phenomena that have followed the glacial epoch. A special scientific demonstration of the last fact is reserved for the latter part of the volume. The 'days' are taken in each case, not as the periods of twenty-four hours during which Elohim performed His creative processes, but the great epochs of completion at which the Almighty surveyed and approved His own work. The interesting exception in the case of the second day is very ingeniously handled. The volume is marvellously clever. If the positions can be sustained, the first chapter of Genesis is a supernatural thing, a miraculous phenomenon, which no human intelligence can possibly account for. This book deserves attention; it is modest as well as ingenious, and takes the old motto, 'Strike, but hear me.' We should be glad to know what Mr. Waring makes of the Chaldean account of the genesis of all things, as recently interpreted by Mr. George Smith.

Christian Theology for the People. By WILLIS LORD, D.D., LL.D., late President of the University of Wooster. New York: R. Carter and Co.

This is a solid octavo volume of 600 pages, in which systematic theology is handled in a popular manner. The good old bodies of divinity, we suppose, have had their day, like the 'little systems' of which they were the embodiment. They 'have had their day and ceased to be.' 'Broken lights' at best, they have long since paled their ineffectual fires, and a growing conviction has seized all earnest minds that since we can only know in part, the time for a complete system has not yet come. Revelation is, in fact, in progress. God is unfolding His Word; and as Robinson of Leyden left this legacy to the Congregational Churches to wait for more light to 'break forth from His word,' so we hold that systems of divinity are at best but as the ephod in which the sword of Goliath was wrapped up. We must take it out of its covering before it will do much execution again.

On this account we do not see much use in such attempts to popularize systematic divinity as this of Dr. Lord's. Still, as there are some worthy people who like to have their thinking done for them, and a ready book of reference to turn to on any controversial topic, this epitome will answer this end. Turning, for instance, to the vexed sense of the word baptize, Dr. Lord has a long and laboured argument to turn the edge of our Baptist brethren's inference that the word *baptizo* always refers to dipping, never to sprinkling. The dispute on either side implies a narrow sense of the flexibility of lan-

guage. No scholar will dispute that the proper and primary sense is that of dipping, and we think that Dr. Lord makes rather a lame defence of the practice of sprinkling infants on the grounds of mere philology. He does not seem to see that the question is not one which can be argued on the narrow grounds of the strict sense of the word *baptizo*. He is quite as dogmatic a Pedobaptist as some of the old school of Baptists were dogmatic the other way. We select this as an instance of the tone in which this book is written. For those who wish a clear cut and definite system of theology, with precise views of justification, sanctification, the Church, the sacraments, and so forth, this is the very book to suit them. For instance, on the subject of justification he sets out with assuming that the word must have a forensic sense, and rather sweepingly asserts that it is only Socinian and Romish divines who hold the contrary. Whether Osiander, or Bishop Bull, or Alexander Knox, or Thomas Erskine, or a cloud of other names we could quote, are to be classed with Socinians and Romaniasts, we hardly like to say. But these are assertions of a kind which make us suspicious of these systems of divinity. We feel the same distrust of them as an old Chancery practitioner does of the *obiter dicta* of some layman who has read a law-book or two, and is as ready to lay down the law as if he were a Mansfield or a Sugden. It is the same in medicine. The temerity of half knowledge is alternately amusing and amazing, according as we think it harmless or the reverse. As Dr. Lord is irreproachably orthodox, and never intentionally uncharitable or unjust, we part with him in the hope that those who take his system will take it on his own terms. 'The theology of this volume,' he tells us in the preface, 'is meant to be that which has its Divine expression in Holy Scripture, and its authority, therefore, in God.' With this excellent sentiment we can only hope that those who use it will use it under these conditions, and endeavour so to compare Scripture with Scripture, so as in the end to make a system for themselves. The history of doctrine is one thing, dogmatic theology another, but this elementary distinction has not dawned on writers like Dr. Lord, who have not yet broken the shell of early dogmatism.

The Prayers of St. Paul: being an Analysis and Exposition of the Devotional Portion of the Apostle's Writings. By W. B. POPE, Theological Tutor, Didsbury College, Manchester. Wesleyan Conference Office.

St. Paul's great note of distinction among the Scripture writers is his prayerfulness, not merely in devoutness of feeling, but in out-breaking supplication. The Psalms are formally devotional; but excepting these, no book of Scripture in any way resembles the writings of Paul in this respect, so that this devotional element may be taken as a sufficient criterion of his writings. We do not know why Mr. Pope should not frankly admit that it was a pre-eminence of devotional

feeling, and not merely a peculiar expression of a common feeling. 'It is not,' he says, 'that the other writers of Scripture were in a lower sphere. They also lived and moved and had their being in prayer. But the Holy Spirit has not caused them to leave us the same legacy of their example.' We seriously demur to the attribute of religious arbitrariness in the inspiring Spirit. No doubt all the Scripture writers were devout men—as all true religious men are—but they were not equally devout. We do not even affirm that Paul's pre-eminent and distinctive prayerfulness was a higher form of goodness than, say, John's spiritual meditateness and indwelling; but it was a different form of goodness, and beyond doubt his writings express a genuine distinctive characteristic, and it is so emphatic that we quite agree with Mr. Pope that it is an evidential criterion.

Upon this characteristic Mr. Pope has founded a series of scholarly and instructive papers. Selecting the *Preces Paulinas*, he has subjected each to a full analysis and exposition, in connection with its circumstances of occasion and thought. The papers were originally contributed to the 'Methodist Magazine.' We are under obligation to Mr. Pope for thus collecting and reprinting them. The volume is one of much interest and value.

The Scriptural Religions, Histories, and Prophecies. Analysed and Examined. By J. W. WILLCOCK, Q.C. Three Vols. Vol. I. Williams and Norgate.

If Mr. Willcock has any regard for his reputation he will not publish the second and third volumes, with which he threatens us. We observe he is a Q.C., and it was an evil day when he allowed himself to be beguiled by the vanity of authorship into undertaking to write a big book on subjects which (we mean no disrespect) he certainly does not understand. The spirit and character of the work may be judged from its interrogative sub-title: 'Are Incredible Narratives of Jews to be treated with more respect than Incredible Narratives of other Authors? If so, Why?' which assumes all that he has undertaken to prove. If Mr. Willcock starts with the dogmatic assumption that the 'Narratives'—which excite his wrath as a red rag rouses a bull—are 'incredible,' there is of course no room for argument; but we venture to affirm that he has not once attempted to prove them to be so. Not only so; we fear we must also add that Mr. Willcock shows himself incapable of handling the questions he has undertaken to answer with any degree of intelligent impartiality. His learning is second-hand, he does not write decent English, on his own confession he is a wholesale plagiarist, and his book is devoid of the smallest trace of philosophical capacity, while it is deformed throughout by manifestations of the most crude and passionate prejudices. A writer who not only 'acknowledges deep obligations' to Kitto, and Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' and to the

works of Rawlinson, Kenrick, Wilkinson, Volney, and Heeren, but admits he has made extracts from all of them 'without special acknowledgment,' on the plea that they are public property, as 'the productions of the highest intellects which have been engaged in these inquiries,' is not—whatever else he may be—an original writer.

The Confessions of St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo. Translated and Annotated by J. G. PILKINGTON, M.A., Vicar of St. Mark's, West Hackney. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

This is the fourteenth volume of the St. Augustine Series. It claims to be a new translation. Mr. Pilkington tells us that, 'after carefully translating the whole of the book, it has been compared line by line with the translations of Watts (one of the most nervous translations of the seventeenth century), and that of Dr. Pusey, which is confessedly founded upon that of Watts.' Other translations have been referred to. The annotations are Mr. Pilkington's own; those of Dr. Pusey, which are given, consisting almost entirely of quotations from Augustine's other works. Some of the notes are taken from Pusey and Watts—such being indicated by their respective initials. The work has been carefully done. We do not presume, without a far more minute acquaintance than a first inspection gives us, to pronounce upon the comparative merits of the translation. We will say only that the style is smooth, and that the scholarly impress of the work is a strong presumption of accuracy. The index is remarkably full and good.

The New Reformation: a Narrative of the Old Catholic Movement, from 1870 to the Present Time, with a Historical Introduction. By THEODORES. Longmans and Co.

Report of the Proceedings at the Reunion Conference held at Bonn, in September, 1874. Translated from the German of Professor REUSCH by E. M. B. With a Preface by H. P. LIDDON. Rivingtons.

The first of these volumes deserves the careful perusal of all who take an interest in the ecclesiastical and religious movements of the day. Commencing with a valuable and lucid introduction, it sketches with accuracy and minuteness the Vatican Council, the Congresses of Munich, Cologne, Constance, and Freiburg, and the Synod and Conference at Bonn. Whilst the reader of the volume must admit the excellence of the avowed aim of the Old Catholics in seeking to elicit the sympathies and secure the union and co-operation of the Churches of Christendom, it is obvious that the dogmas and traditions of the past, to which Greeks and Catholics and Anglicans tenaciously cling, forbid the idea of ecclesiastical union, or the possibility of a simple and general acceptance of fundamental truths as the ground of Christian fellowship. Judging from the discussions contained in this volume, until some mighty change has passed over Christendom, we can

expect union only on moral and practical questions. But this would be a great gain, and would probably lead to something higher.

The second volume is very much inferior in value and interest to that by 'Theodorus.' It is confined to the Conference at Bonn, and the Report is only an outline of the proceedings. The Preface, by Canon Liddon, is a singular, and to us a remarkably inconsistent piece of strained composition. On the surface he seems to sigh for the union of Christendom, and yet he maintains opinions which have rent the Church in all ages, and are for ever fatally antagonistic to union. How is it possible for a man so thoroughly imbued with high notions of the Divine origin of Episcopacy, the real Presence, Apostolical Succession, and all the kindred dogmas of sacerdotalism, to expect the realization of true, comprehensive, Christian union? He would unchurch and excommunicate half his fellow-countrymen and the greater part of American and colonial Christians. Is it not, then, passing strange to find such a man dreaming of union? As well and as consistently might a high-caste Brahman, retaining all his prejudices, talk of equality and social oneness. If the views of the Old Catholics are identical with those of Canon Liddon they are only adding another to the already existing sects and proclaiming the impossibility of union.

The Greek Testament. Hebraistic Edition.

Exhibiting and Illustrating (1) the Hebraisms in the Sacred Text, (2) the Influence of the Septuagint on its Character and Construction, (3) the Deviations in it from pure Greek Style. St. Matthew. By WILLIAM HENRY GUILLEMAUD, D.D. Deighton, Bell, and Co.

We wish Dr. Guillemaud strength to complete the undertaking thus auspiciously commenced. There is ample room for just such a work as he proposes to execute. There is great talk of Hebraisms, but ordinarily little exact proof given of their recurrence. If a competent scholar would translate the most Hebraistic book in the New Testament into the purest Greek of the first century, he would confer a great boon upon young scholars. In the work before us nothing is more remarkable than the brevity and sparseness of the passages which need the special exposition proposed by this writer: e.g., there is hardly any point requiring comment in chapters xxii. xxvi. xxviii.

Joannis Coleti opuscula quædam Theologica. Letters to Radulphus on the Mosaic Account of the Creation, together with other Treatises. By JOHN COLET, M.A., afterwards Dean of St. Paul's. Now first published, with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes by J. H. LUPTON, M.A., Sub-Master of St. Paul's School. George Bell and Sons.

Like the other treatises, for the publication and translation of which we are indebted to the patient and scholarly labour of Mr. Lup-

ton, the volume before us is more curious than instructive. It throws light upon theological and biblical studies towards the close of the fifteenth century, and on the spirit with which they were pursued in Oxford in the early dawn of the Reformation. It is vastly interesting to see how the great and ardent spirits of that time had been drawn towards Pauline thought, as developed in the Epistle to the Romans. Three years ago Mr. Lupton published the brief comments of Colet on that Epistle; here we have a more detailed exposition of the first five chapters, in which the 'righteousness from faith,' the work wrought in the believer by God's grace, which 'comes from faith, not from the reason of the Gentiles, nor from the law of the Jews,' is the germ, the life-giving principle, the cause rather than the effect of the good works done by persons who are made righteous in Christ. The writer avers tired of the position that righteousness in us, righteousness developed in human life, is the consequence, not the occasion of our justification; but his view closely approached the Tridentine doctrine as to the essence of justification itself. In the relation of justification to sanctification he prepared the way for Lutheran definitions, but he had no sympathy with a merely forensic view of justification. In the curious treatise on 'Christ's Mystical Body—the Church,' he dealt with the dynamic and spiritual force of justification. As a soul holds the various parts of a body together and arrests dissolution, so the Spirit of God does 'what human nature fails to do'—arranges 'men in fair order in a commonwealth.' God's call preliminary to justification is the creative force. He 'justifies those whom He has called; that of men so justified He may form in and for Himself a righteous commonwealth, to be called the city of God.' Without the Spirit, 'the Church, which is God's body, would fall to pieces like a dead corpse in dismemberment and dissolution.' This tractate is profoundly interesting from the prominence given throughout to the power and authority of the Spirit, and from the author's conspicuous silence about the ministry, the sacraments, and all the ordinary analogous themes of the Church casuist. We wish that Mr. Lupton's instructive notes had not been so much confined to elucidating the style and illustrations adopted by the Dean, and had in addition traced the signs of his author's theological position.

The letters to Radulphus, on the Mosaic account of the creation, before the dawn even of the true science of the earth, or of its motions, or of its history, are amusing and ingenious. The method by which Colet tried to persuade Radulphus that 'all things but God' might fitly be called '*waters*,' even the very angels themselves, who are in a fluid, dependent frail condition apart from the solidity given by God's will to them, is almost equal to some modern attempts to harmonise this wondrous Mosaic oracle with contemporary science.

Ethical Studies. By F. H. BRADLEY, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. H. S. King and Co.

A quotation from Hegel on the title-page furnishes the key to the character of this work. 'Philosophy'—so runs the extract—'does not first supply substantive truth, nor have men had to wait for philosophy, in order to obtain the consciousness of truth.' Philosophy is an interpreter, and its business is to put in such a form as will be intelligible to reflection what is present in actual experience. Philosophy does not therefore precede but follows experience, and its purpose is to construe the real in terms of thought, which, if explanation is to be forthcoming at all, must be the ultimate test or measure of all things. But it must not be supposed that in these essays Mr. Bradley has given us a complete system of Moral Philosophy. That, he tells us in his Preface, was not his object; and he has not attempted an exhaustive treatment of ethical questions. He is not, he says, so much as prepared to define what does fall within the sphere of Moral Philosophy, and what does not. What he has done is in the nature of criticism rather than of scientific construction; or, to use the author's own words, 'a critical discussion of some leading question in ethics,' in the light of 'views which' though they are now more than half a century old, 'it is too much the fashion to take no account of,' and the neglect of which he is convinced 'has done much to preclude the possibility of a solution.' We agree with Mr. Bradley that for such a solution—if it is to be in any sense complete or satisfactory—a philosophy which shall be a system of metaphysics is essential, and that the ethical theories most commonly accepted among us will be found to rest on certain psychological and metaphysical preconceptions, which are frequently as confused as they are untrustworthy. It is plain that the philosophy Mr. Bradley accepts is the Hegelian. Not that we are warranted in calling him a Hegelian; but so far as he is under the influence of any scheme of metaphysical thought in his treatment of ethical questions, it is mainly that of the great German thinker. Mr. Bradley thinks for himself; and while he deprecates being regarded as a system-maker, he has nevertheless applied his own thoughts, with much freshness and force, to the consideration of some of the fundamental questions of moral philosophy. He may be entitled to claim that in philosophy, whether ethical or metaphysical, he calls no man master; but it is nevertheless true that he has taken to the consideration of ethical subjects habits of thought and points of view that have been largely influenced by an intelligent study of Hegel. For Mr. Bradley has not accepted the common traditional interpretations of Hegelianism; and those who have derived their impressions of the German from the synopses presented in current histories of philosophy, will not always be able to recognise the views which are derived from Hegel.

Having made this explanation, we may add that these essays, or 'studies,' contain an acute polemic against the commonly received utilitarian theory of morals; and yet it is not the polemic of an 'intuitionalist' in the ordinary acceptance of that term. Mr. Bradley begins with an inquiry into the significance and scope of the ideas in ethics which are commonly held to be valid, and as they are held. His first essay is on 'The Vulgar Notion of Responsibility in connection with the theories of Free Will and Necessity,' and he seeks, first, to ascertain 'what it is that, roughly and in general, the vulgar mean when they talk of being responsible,' and then compares the doctrines of Freedom and Necessity as current among ourselves with their notions. Without entering upon the details, it is enough to say that the author maintains the reality of accountability; and in succeeding essays on 'Why should I be Moral?' 'Pleasure for Pleasure's Sake,' 'Duty for Duty's Sake,' 'My Station and its Duties,' 'Ideal Morality,' and 'Selfishness and Self-sacrifice,' he develops a theory of morality which saves freedom, maintains responsibility, and allows full scope to mental and moral progress. One of the ideas on which he most frequently insists—in this following Schelling and Hegel—is the material, in opposition to the merely formal, character of freedom. As freedom without motives is irrational and absurd, so freedom to choose one of two opposite courses wholly irrespective of motives, is unthinkable, and not to be desired if it were possible. Man is free because he acts under the influence of motives, because his power of choice is rational, and not a merely arbitrary and haphazard determination. What, then, it may be asked, is the standard of virtue, what is the end of moral progress? We must have such a standard, which is not a merely subjective feeling but an objective fact, and the only end we can contemplate—in the sphere of pure morality—is the realisation, not of an abstract idea, but of that which is suitable for us as men; the assertion and education of our own Egoism as determined by our social environment and the inter-relations in which we are towards one another as members of the family of mankind. Not pleasure for pleasure's sake, nor even duty for duty's sake, but the duties of the station in which we are placed, and to the knowledge of which we are led by the higher self that works within us against the lower self, and which has its basis in thought, are what we are bound to fulfil.

These explanations will indicate the nature of the work Mr. Bradley has undertaken, and, so far, accomplished. He shows by example—which is better than precept—that an intelligent apprehension of such 'idealism' as Hegel taught does not necessarily explain away everything into abstractions, but clings to the revelations that are everywhere offered to us in the realities of experience as the only sure means of attaining to any valid theories of morality. And though he does not deal with religion in any systematic manner, there

are indications in the last essays of the volume that in the author's view it is only from religion that the true key can be derived for laying open the mysteries of life and duty. We very heartily recommend a book which is full of vigour and freshness, and which, though far from complete, stimulates thought and quickens inquiry in healthy ways and wholesome directions.

The Economy of Thought. By J. HUGHES, Author of 'The Human Will; its Functions and Freedom,' &c. Hodder and Stoughton.

We are reluctantly compelled to pass an adverse criticism on Mr. Hughes's treatise on 'The Human Will.' He does not seem to have improved his style, or acquired any more accurate conception of the meaning of words, or of their historical or technical value, than when he ventured on previous occasions into the regions of philosophical debate. In the preface he tells us 'that every author who has any independence and originality in him, and is not a slavish imitator and copyist of others, has something identical (*etc*) in his style as well as his matter, . . . and that 'grave and weighty matter will not allow of frothy and artificial dress.' He adds that all 'I aimed at was naturalness and faithfulness to my conviction and the matter it contains.' If the style be inartificial and destitute of froth, it ought to be grammatical and accurate. We have hardly opened a page where there is not some flagrant violation of the laws of the English language. What he means by 'thought viewed as an *identical* fact,' we have not the remotest idea. 'Thought' is 'impersonal,' and yet it 'thinks,' and has numerous characteristics and conditions. Now, in endeavouring to expound its place in the universe, the author has said many things about it and distinguished many things from it; but has confused his reader by the rambling, loose, and incoherent way in which he has handled a theme which, in the present state of science, requires the utmost care and a wide range of reading for its adequate exposition. We think the following sentence will confirm our unfavourable judgment of the value of this pretentious volume. 'Thought, in brief, is a spiritual utterance in the lips of the understanding, known only in itself to the consciousness of the thinker and expressed through various symbols, as shrieks, gestures, words,' &c., 'to others. It is a secret act produced by the reason and will, which are the right and left hands of the mind.'

We can assure our readers that there is a great deal more almost as amusing as this luminous definition of 'thought' appears to be. Chapter xxxviii. is entitled, 'The Self-Guardian Principles of Safety and Security Thought contains, in Itself and Relations.' Passages might be quoted by the hundred which would entertain the student of philosophy, but let this suffice, p. 361: 'Thought and will appear to differ in their characteristic temperament.

Thought sympathises with the calm and quiet; the will is active and energetic, and fit to live in war and storms, and directs and governs well or badly the same. Thought sits down in a snug corner,' &c.; 'the will stirs itself about, meddling with every business, . . . always employed in something or other.'

Outline of the Evolution Philosophy. By Dr. M. E. CAZELLES. Translated from the French by the Rev. O. B. FROTHINGHAM. (Trübner and Co.) This is an able little book, and is well rendered from the original French. Its chief purpose is to examine and describe the philosophy of Herbert Spencer; but some other and related subjects are glanced at; amongst them the system of Comte. It deserves reading by thoughtful minds.—*A Manual of Christian Baptism.* By JOHN M. CHARLTON, M.A., Western College. (Hodder and Stoughton.) Nothing could be better fitted to put into the hands of young people than this little treatise on Christian baptism. The whole subject is discussed with remarkable candour and clearness. No asperity or uncharitableness mars its pages, whilst the argument is forcible and conclusive. Mr. Charlton, since removed from us, did good work in preparing this treatise for the youth of Congregationalists.—*Endowed Territorial Work, its Supreme Importance to the Church and Country, being the Baird Lecture for 1875.* By the Rev. W. SMITH, D.D. (W. Blackwood and Sons.) These lectures, with others that have appeared, are the fruits of Mr. Baird's magnificent gift of £500,000 to the Established Church of Scotland. They contain a good deal of valuable information respecting the history and constitution of that Church. The main object of the author, however, is to laud and defend national endowments as essential to the progress of religion and to the social well-being of the community, and to decry and condemn all voluntary effort as unsound and vicious. That a man with his eyes open could bring himself to write in such a strain is only a proof that men under the influence of prejudice are the blindest, of seeing mortals. He must be profoundly ignorant, or wilfully blind, if he does not know that national endowments have hitherto failed; that, instead of aiding religion, they have crippled and corrupted it; and that voluntaryism is covering this and other lands with its fruits and triumphs. Mr. Smith is a plain defects of one. In his preface he apologises for his tone in reference to voluntaryism, and sighs for the union of all Presbyterians in a 'grand national Church.' His apology is as needless as his sighings are vain.—*The Mirror of our Lord in relation to Modern Criticism.* By F. L. STRICKMEYER, D.D., Ordinary Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated, with the permission of the author, from the German, by L. A. WHEATLEY. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.) The author of this volume stands high as a scholar and theologian, and therefore it might be expected that

his treatment of the subject of miracles would be of a superior order; nor will the reader of the volume be disappointed. Throughout there is candour, fulness of investigation, and intellectual force combined with learning. He does not enter into any philosophical explanation of miracles, but assuming Omnipotence as his standpoint, or *ultima ratio*, he contends for the probability of Christ's giving miraculous attestations of His power. He arranges the miracles in four groups. The first he considers as signs of the kingdom of heaven; the second as symbols; the third as witnesses of the power of the kingdom of heaven; and the fourth as prophecies. In the classifications and discussions under these groupings much will be found that is interesting and instructive. Sometimes, perhaps, there is a little too much of German elaboration and detail; and although, on the whole, Mr. Wheatley has done his work well, his style savours too much of the original, and has occasionally the cumbersome of a translation. The volume is valuable, and the translator has done well to put it into an English dress.—*An Examination into the Doctrine and Practice of Confession.* By WILLIAM EDWARD JELF, B.D., author of 'Quousque,' sometime Censor of Christ Church; Bampton Lecturer, 1857; Whitehall Preacher, 1846. (Longmans, Green, and Co.) This volume contains a thorough examination and complete exposure of the evils of confession. The whole subject, its origin, progress, tendencies, and results, are traced and exposed in a most masterly manner, and the grounds of its advocates are shown to be of the most flimsy and baseless description. No one who reads this admirable and well-timed volume can fail to see that confession is a practice of unmitigated evil, and fraught with the direst mischief, theologically, evangelically, ecclesiastically, religiously, and nationally. It is, as Mr. Jelf justly and eloquently represents it, 'in practice an act of disbelief in God's revealed promises; in theory a superseding of God's ordained means for the forgiveness of sin and restoration to a state of grace, placing instead thereof a human concealed device, not to be found in Scriptural Christianity, not known in the Primitive Church, struck out of our own Church system at the Reformation—a system and a practice which it is wickedness to attempt to reintroduce, and madness to permit its introduction, seeing that it was in its earliest existence the offspring of a debased Christianity—afterwards the parent and the nurse of a Christianity still more debased.' Mr. Jelf has done a good work in exposing the infamous and demoralising practice of confession which has crept, and is still fast creeping, over the Episcopal Church. His volume should be read and pondered especially by those who are disposed to think lightly or indulgently of this pest and virus of Romish superstition.—*The Morning with my Flock: on St. Paul's the Colossians: a Series of Discourses, moral and theological.* By an expected 7 an Exposition of that Epistle. By SPENCE, M.A., D.D. (Hodder and

Stoughton.) Among the many able expositions of Scripture which have recently appeared on the Continent and in this country, that now before us cannot fail to take a high place. It had long engaged the devout and scholarly attention of its esteemed author, who, after careful revision during his seclusion from pastoral work, gave it to the world. As the fruit of such prolonged study, directed by ability and attainments of a superior order, it is ripe and mellow, and in all respects worthy of the beautiful apostolic epistle on which it is founded. Whilst the spirit and design of the epistle are fully unfolded, and its great lessons impressively enforced, all important questions of exegesis are met and solved with a clearness and accuracy truly admirable. Throughout there is nothing dull or tedious, or needlessly critical; every page is pervaded by the light of devout intelligence and the strength of matured thought, and expressed in a style graceful and flowing. The exposition, as a whole, is so truthful and complete, so free from strain and extravagance and forced interpretation, and so fitted to draw the reader into sympathy with the mind and teaching of the Apostle, that we very cordially commend it to the notice, not only of clergymen, but of private Christians.—*Waking and Working; or, from Girlhood to Womanhood.* By Mrs. G. S. REANY. (Henry S. King and Co.) No one, especially of those for whom this volume is intended, can read it without being quickened into serious thought as to the great purposes and mission of life. The fine exhibition of principle and character running throughout its pages is eminently fitted to lead to 'that light which gives to all lives unfading beauty, holy power, and priceless joy.'—*Christian Truth viewed in Relation to Plymouthism.* By the Rev. PETER MEARNS. (Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Co.) In small space Mr. Mearns has furnished a thorough exposure of the heresies and obnoxious opinions of Brethrenism. The arrogance, mischievous effects, and immoral tendencies of the sect cannot be too severely or widely condemned. We commend his little book as fitted to aid in the work of abating the evil.—*The Sins of Trade and Business. A Sermon.* By the Hon. and Rev. W. H. LYTTELTON; and, *The Morals of Trade.* By HERBERT SPENCER. (W. Isbister and Co.) The chief value of this little book consists in the essay of Mr. Spencer. The Sermon is good and practical, but the Essay is such a revelation of the fraud and deception by which 'trade and business' are dishonoured and corrupted, that it should be universally read, in order to awaken public disgust and indignation.—*Cure of Evils in the Church of Scotland, and other Papers.* By the Rev. JOSEPH MILLER, B.D. First Series. (Williams and Norgate.) The suggestions and recommendations contained in this little volume are judicious and highly valuable. The evils to which they refer are not confined to the Church of Scotland, and therefore may be read and acted upon with advantage by other communities. The writer is a man of

erudition, and thoroughly competent to give advice on the grave and important subjects he has touched. We do not, however, discover anything like the 'originality in style' to which he so *naïvely* lays claim, nor do we think that what he assumes on behalf of the Kirk as a national institution can be sustained.

—*Christianity in the Nineteenth Century: a Religious and Philosophical Survey of the Immediate Past according to the Spirit of Jesus.* By ETIENNE CHASTEL, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Geneva. Translated from the French by JOHN R. BEARD, D.D. (Williams and Norgate.) This volume, which is the fourth of a series published by Professor Chastel, contains a rapid but interesting and instructive sketch of the struggles, oscillations, and varying fortunes of ecclesiastical systems, and of the progress of liberty, truth, and religious life and morals in the nineteenth century; together with a brief statement of the present attitude and influence of Christianity among Jews, Mohammedans, and Polytheists. The spirit and tone of the volume are fair and dispassionate, but a Unitarian leaning is obvious, and the estimate formed of the results of missions is meagre and defective. The translation is somewhat stiff, and wanting in ease and fluency. Occasionally there is a coinage of terms which give it an air of pedantry.—*A Brief Defence of Supernatural Christianity, being a Review of the Philosophical Principles and Historical Arguments of the book entitled 'Supernatural Religion.'* By JOHN KENNEDY, M.A., D.D. (Daldy, Isbister, and Co.) One of the multitudinous replies to the elaborate work of shallow scholarship and special pleading, which at first seemed to be a very grave assault upon Christianity. Not only will it not bear severe tests, but, like many other attacks of its kind, it elicits defences which become a permanent part of true apologetics, and will do service when the occasion of them is forgotten. The main question raised is the question of miracles. With clear, keen criticism, with reverent zeal, and with adequate scholarship, Dr. Kennedy exposes the somewhat crude learning and hasty generalizations of the author, who, we imagine, after the exposure of Dr. Lightfoot and others, will be more anxious than at first to preserve his incognito. Dr. Kennedy's tractate will be a useful manual for those who have not access to more extended replies.—*Problems of Faith: a Contribution to Present Controversies: being a Third Series of Lectures to Young Men, delivered at the Presbyterian College, Queen's-Square House, London.* With a Preface by the Rev. J. OSWALD DYKES, D.D. (Hodder and Stoughton.) The Duke of Argyll lectures on Anthropomorphism in Theology; Professor Watts on the Hypothesis that Animals are Automata; Dr. Donald Fraser on Superstitions in Christendom; Mr. Carruthers on Scientific Unbelief. These lectures are really valuable summaries and criticisms on certain aspects of great theological questions, which the controversies of the day bring into prominence. Books cannot be

written upon every subject, nor can every subject be treated exhaustively. A lecture may suffice to indicate the fundamental truth or falsity of a theory. The names of the lecturers in these different series are a guarantee of the quality of their lectures, some of which are very good indeed.—*The Divine Culture of a Human Life, as Exemplified in the History of Jacob.* By the Rev. W. ROBERTS. (J. Clarke and Co.) Mr. Roberts grasps firmly the conception of Divine purpose and culture in the experiences of Jacob, and thus generalizes in a natural and useful way their great lessons. Thus the ancestry of Jacob is made a text for a discussion on the great question of moral heritage. The lectures are clear, vigorous, picturesque, and useful.—*Some Passages of the Life and Death of the Right Honourable John Earl of Rochester.* Reprinted in facsimile from the Edition of 1680; with an Introductory Preface by Lord RONALD GOWER. (Elliot Stock.) In appearance this volume is a reminiscence of youth and early home. We well remember the impression made by a perusal of Bishop Burnet's 'Life of Rochester,' in our young days—and for moral as well as bibliographical reasons we are not sorry to see it included in Mr. Stock's series of facsimile reprints. The death of a young nobleman through licentious excess at the age of thirty-two, as Lord Ronald Gower intimates, is a warning that needs to be often urged, although it may not always be regarded. And his genuine repentance is also a lesson concerning the power and value of the salvation of Christ. Johnson's sonorous criticism has been a hundred times repeated. The book, he said, 'should be read by the critic for its eloquence, the philosopher for its argument, and the saint for its piety.' Whatever discount may be allowed for the Johnsonian sweep of the sentence, a book that could elicit from Johnson any judgment which could in any way be put into such expression, needs no other commendation.—*The Year of Salvation: Words of Life for Every Day. A Book of Household Devotion.* By J. J. VAN OOSTERZEE, D.D. Two vols. Translated by C. SPENCE. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.) Two volumes of an interesting and valuable new series of works which the publishers are issuing under the name of the 'Foreign Devotional Library,' intended to put into the hands of English readers the best of the devotional works in which Germany and Holland are rich. The selection of Dr. Oosterzee's work is happy—for while it avoids the weak sentimentality to which German devotional writers are prone, it is thoroughly devout, with a strong, healthy kind of devoutness. It is a series of daily meditations on texts of Scripture, strong in thought and rich in feeling, each occupying about a couple of pages, suitable therefore for family reading. Dr. Oosterzee, following a Church order, begins with Advent, December 1st, and ends with Nov. 30.—*On the Revision of the Authorised Version of the Scriptures, with an Account of the Revision now in Progress.* By HENRY CHARLES FOX,

L.L.B. (Hodder and Stoughton.) This little volume comprises a lecture on the above subject, addressed to a society in Plymouth, and though there is little original research, as the author follows in the tracks of Archbishop Trench, Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop Ellicott, and Dr. Davidson, yet he has made such good use of his materials, that we know no publication from which those who desire a brief recital of the whole question can more easily and profitably obtain it. The information touching the Revision Companies is very interesting. It does not reveal secrets or conclusions, but describes methods, principles, and prospects. — *Hints for Thoughtful Believers on the Pre-existent Messiah; or, What should be Believed concerning God.* (Nisbet and Co.) An attempt, with copious use of Scripture, to establish a doctrine of the Godhead which is not far removed from the creed of Arius. The writer does not admit the justice of using either the term 'Person,' or 'Subsistency' of the Father, Son, or Holy Ghost, and draws a distinction between the Eternal Son and the 'Word.' 'The Word' is the first begotten, and 'only begotten Son of God;' the Divine Person who is originated in time, was not a creature, but the 'Form' or manifestation of the entire Godhead, — Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Creator of the world, the Jehovah of the Old Testament, the angel of the Covenant, the pre-existent Messiah, and Lord and Father of Israel; and it is He who takes the manhood of Jesus of Nazareth into union with Himself. He always had the form of God, and the form of man before His incarnation as well as afterwards. During His incarnation on earth, He was absent from heaven; after His crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension, He reassumes the glory which He had before the world was. His place is in heaven definitely conceived, as somewhere above the Mount of Olives! This last supposition, coupled with the doctrinal use of 1 John v. 7, reveals something of the weakness and method of the writer. We are afraid that, instead of saving orthodoxy by the repudiation of some troublesome terms, he has fallen by his effort to avoid Tri-theism into Di-theism, if not Quatri-theism. The Nicene theology requires more masterly handling if a disputant wishes to modify its main features. — *Morals of Mottoes.* By SAMUEL B. JAMES, M.A., Vicar of Northampton. (Religious Tract Society.) Mr. James's idea is a happy one—lending itself to great variety of interesting disquisition and moralizing. The mottoes selected are chiefly those of our noble families. These, again, have been adopted from various sources and languages. They give occasions for historical reminiscences and personal anecdote, as well as for sermon uses. The papers were originally published in the 'Sunday at Home,' and here make a very interesting volume. — *The Greatest of the Prophets.* By the Author of 'Essays on the Church.' (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) A sketch of the life of Moses, by a writer who is always careful and reverent, and who gives indications of con-

siderable reading. We cannot say, however, that this life of Moses evinces any very profound spiritual perception. Its interpretations and lessons either lie on the surface of things, or are such as can be deduced from collected materials. We are, for instance, disappointed with the very meagre and superficial treatment of the great vision of God on Sinai. There is no piercing vision—no profound sympathetic spiritual suggestion; they are all ordinary pulpit lessons of an intelligent, but somewhat commonplace, mind. Often the most literal of interpretations suffices, and the underlying spiritual principle is overlooked. All that we can say of the book is, that it is good, sensible, and religious. — *Elijah the Tishbite.* From the German of Dr. F. W. KRUMMACHER. Revised by the Rev. R. F. WALKER, A.M. (Religious Tract Society.) The characteristic of this edition is some slight abridgment, and some freedom of translation in rendering Dr. Krummacher's style into idiomatic English. — *The Pilgrim's Progress.* By JOHN BUNYAN. (Religious Tract Society.) A carefully collated, large-print edition of the 'Pilgrim,' apparently a closer approximation to the original text than the ordinary editions are. — *The Prophet of Sorrow; or, the Life and Times of Jeremiah.* By the Rev. HORNBY SMITH. (Wesleyan Conference Office.) Mr. Smith's volumes on Joseph, Moses, and Joshua will secure for this monograph on Jeremiah a favourable reception. He is, if not a very profound, yet a careful and lively expositor of Old Testament biographies. No one has hitherto attempted to present the life of Jeremiah in a connected form, or to reduce the prophecies from which alone it can be gathered to a strict chronological order. The latter are perplexing from their somewhat heterogeneous character, as English readers of Keil, and German readers of Naegelsbach well know. Mr. Smith seems to have availed himself of the latest and highest authorities for the conclusions he has reached. It is intended for general readers, but it will also be valuable to students in facilitating reference and in presenting a more coherent portraiture of the great prophet of the Captivity. — *The Christian Life: an Exposition of 'The Pilgrim's Progress.'* By the Rev. JAMES BLACK, D.D. Vol. II. (James Nisbet and Co.) It is appalling to think of 1000 somewhat closely-printed pages devoted to the exposition of 'The Pilgrim's Progress.' Certainly Bunyan never dreamed of this; but then, to be sure, it is equally appalling to think of the long sermons that are preached from short texts. Mr. Black has no difficulty in evolving out of 'The Pilgrim's Progress' an entire philosophy of Christian life; and of course he brings a great deal to it, as for instance, 'Whether it was in connection with public services of the sanctuary that relief from doubt and revival of strength came to Christian and Hopeful we are not told.' We can only say that he has done his work vigorously, wisely, and practically; his book is both readable and edifying. — In a second

edition of his Fernley Lecture on *The Person of Christ* (Wesleyan Conference Office), Mr. POPE has completed his cycle of thought by two elaborate Essays on 'The Biblical and Ecclesiastical Development of the Revelation of Christ's Person.' Thus the work 'exhibits consecutively the dogmatic, Biblical, and historical elements of this fundamental doctrine.' These essays double the bulk of the volume. The first is a minute and careful catena of scriptural indications concerning the nature of Christ's person, with a strict regard to the Biblical law of development, beginning with the promise of the seed of the woman, and ending with the writings of the Apostles. This is done with considerable critical skill and intellectual force. The chapter on the History of the Dogma is necessarily more of an outline; but as such, it is very complete and valuable. The author traces the entire line of Christian thought about Christ from the Ebionitism, Gnosticism, and Docetism of the apostolic and post-apostolic ages to the latest German theories of Depotentialism. We see no reason to qualify our former judgment of this strong and scholarly book. The additions are peculiarly valuable to the student of Christology.—*Regeneration*. By the late Rev. WILLIAM ANDERSON, LL.D., of Glasgow. With an Introductory Sketch by the Rev. JOHN KER, D.D. (Hodder and Stoughton.) Even after the perusal of Mr. Gilfillan's brilliant biographical memoir of Dr. Anderson, those who knew the subject of it will read the introductory sketch of his life-work, by Dr. John Ker, with extreme interest. The electric flash of genius lights up every page, consecrated here to the loving memory of a great and worthy man. The posthumous edition of this valuable treatise is enriched, moreover, by a most appreciative review of the purpose of its writer. Dr. Anderson kept within the lines of well-accepted theological conclusions, but he proves how possible it is to divest the discussion of a great theme like this of the technicalities of the schools, and to discuss the essence, the characteristics, the agent, the instrument, and the manifestation of regeneration in the language of daily life. 'This is a book,' says Dr. Ker, 'full of thought on the greatest of all subjects, made very clear and brought home to the heart by forcible incident and illustration.'—*Six Lectures on Questions Indicative of Character*, Delivered in Camberwell, by the Rev. WILLIAM HARRIS. (R. D. Dickinson.) These lectures are fresh and forcible, with homely illustrations and strong, practical advice. The careers of Joseph, Joshua, Saul, Ahab, Nehemiah, and the dying thieves have supplied the questions which are held by the author to illustrate the leading features of their several characters. Such preaching, plain, racy, Evangelical, and earnest, is greatly needed in 'the iron churches' and elsewhere.—*The Martyrdom of Jesus of Nazareth. A Historical-Critical Treatise on the Last Chapters of the Gospels*. By the Rev. Dr. ISAAC M. WISE. (Cincinnati: Block and

Co.) The writer of this pamphlet is a Jew, prejudiced and inflamed against Christianity as the imagined cause of the persecutions and atrocities to which his race has been subjected. Nor is he less under the influence of an inflated and pretentious conceit and a malignant bitterness, which utterly disqualify him for an honest investigation of truth. Imagining that he is doing something original, and ignorant of the fact that the same thing has been done scores of times by sceptics of the same school and class, he hunts up all discrepancies, seeming or real, to be found in the Evangelists, and, like the unclean harpies, if he cannot destroy, leaves a foul taint behind him. Incapable of appreciating the simplest principles of criticism, he pronounces the Evangelists impostors and their narratives untrue, because they do not record all events in precisely the same order and words, not seeing, in his purblind folly, that he thus reduces all history to fiction, and forbids the acceptance of all evidence in courts of law and in everyday life. Nor is this all; whilst in an arrogant tone he trumpets his possession of extraordinary erudition, he is evidently ignorant of the simplest scientific terms and forms. Some of his objections are based on an utter misconception of well-known idioms of the Greek language. In short, his assumptions, misrepresentations, blustering violence, and perversion of historic facts are such as to exclude him from the arena of truth-seeking inquiry, and to assign him his place among the coarsest and most vulgar sceptics of the day. No one, indeed, of the few that may read his pamphlet can fail to rise from its perusal without the conviction that it could not have been penned by a candid or an honest man. It is not redeemed even by common intelligence from gross inconsistency and flat self-contradiction, for, whilst the author absolutely denies the truth of the Four Gospels, the main drift of his tirade is to vindicate the Jews from the charge of compassing the death of Christ.—*The Kingdom of Christ on Earth*. Twelve Lectures, delivered before the Students of the Theological Seminary, Andover. By SAMUEL HARRIS, Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale College. (Dickinson and Higham.) These lectures, delivered before a class of students, and published at their request, are of a superior order. They are comprehensive in range, skilful in treatment, and clear, sharp, and philosophic in tone and style. Several of the lectures are worthy of careful study. That on the 'Sacrificial Love of Christ' struck us as remarkable for the force, beauty, and felicity of its treatment of the greatest and most essential element of Christianity. That on 'Milleannism' evinces more than ordinary power, and is conclusive as to the unfounded and unscriptural character of that system. The book, as a whole, is worthy of a perusal by theological students.—*The Divine Origin of Christianity*. Being the Essay to which was awarded the Ryan Prize in the University of Dublin. By ISAAC ASHB, A.B., Ch.M. and M.D. T.C.D. (Simpkin, Marshall, and

Co.) This essay, from the pen of a scientific and cultured layman, has intrinsic value, and is, moreover, free from the imputation of professional bias. The subject is discussed with ability, candour, and breadth. The view of miracles presented meets some of the objections commonly urged, and will be admitted to have weight by men of science. The doctrine of the Atonement advocated is somewhat peculiar, and will not, we think, prove satisfactory to either of the two great contending parties on this momentous subject. The style in which the essay is written is vigorous and flowing, although sometimes running into sentences of too great length and complexity.

—*The Second Death and the Restitution of all Things.* By ANDREW JUKES. Fourth Edition. (Longmans, Green, and Co.) It sufficiently indicates the interest of religious people in all problems which Mr. Jukes's universalism seeks to solve that his thoughtful and reverent, although, as we think, utterly mistaken little book, should have reached a fourth edition. —*Lectures, Exegetical and Practical, on the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians.* With a revised Translation of the Epistle, and Notes on the Greek text. By the Rev. ROBERT JOHNSTONE, LL.B. (Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Co.) Mr. Johnstone possesses all the essential qualifications of an able expositor—scholarship, insight, high intelligence, and devoutness. All these qualities were evinced by his Exposition of the Epistle of St. James, which we examined at the time of its publication, nor are they less manifest in the volume now before us. The practical tone and character of the exposition are truly admirable, whilst the translation and the notes, which are thoroughly scholarly, will be found highly valuable by Biblical students. We thank Mr. Johnstone for what he has done, and give his book our hearty commendation. —*Christendom and the Drink Curse: an Appeal to the Christian World for Efficient Action against the Causes of Intemperance.* By the Rev. DAWSON BURNS, M.A. (Partridge and Co.) Mr. Burns has ably, in this volume, discussed all the aspects and bearings of the Temperance question, especially in relation to the duty of Christians, nor can it be doubted that the ground he occupies is sound and solid; but the combined opposition of prejudice, customs, and vested interests is so great that the progress of Temperance must be slow. It must, however, be aided by a work of such extensive information, forcible appeal, conclusive argument, and general excellence as that of Mr. Burns. —*The Women of India, and Christian Work in the Zenana.* By Mrs. WRITBRIGHT. (James Nisbet and Co.) The work of educating the women of India, so happily and successfully commenced, will be aided and stimulated by the general perusal of this striking and interesting little volume. The past and present condition of the women of India is clearly presented, together with an account of what is being done for their improvement. The value of the volume is greatly enhanced by admirable biographical sketches of ten

Christian ladies who have taken part in Christian work in the Zenana. —*The Life of Christ: Selections from the Gospels, Chronologically Arranged.* With Supplementary Notices from Parallel Passages. By the Rev. ROBERT GARDINER, M.A., Assistant Master in the Upper School, Dulwich College. (Longmans, Green, and Co.) Many readers of the Gospels have no orderly or chronological conception of the life of Christ. The arrangement here presented by Mr. Gardiner will be found valuable, not only by young students but by adults. —*Within the Wicket-Gate; or, Beginning to Live for Christ.* A Book for Young Christians. By ROBERT TUCK, B.A. (James Clarke and Co.) A healthy and vigorous tone of Christian teaching pervades this little book. The origin, growth, influence, and responsibilities of spiritual life are exhibited and enforced with clearness, and in a style at once chaste and graceful. —*Backsliding.* By W. P. LOCKHART. (Hodder and Stoughton.) The subject discussed by Mr. Lockhart in this little is one of serious, practical importance. It requires skill, delicacy, and faithfulness in its handling. These elements enter into his mode of treatment, and therefore we can with confidence recommend his book to the notice of our readers. —*The Types of Genesis briefly considered as Revealing the Development of Human Nature.* By ANDREW JUKES. Third Edition. (Longmans and Co.) It is not easy to prevent the spiritual passing into the mystical, or to distinguish between the underlying principle and the purposed type. Mr. Jukes has, we think, failed in this, and erred in the Swedenborgian purpose and significance which he gives to the book and the characters which he studies. His theory tends to make history a spiritual enigma, revealing most, not to the most spiritual merely, but to the most spiritually ingenious. No doubt most of the lessons he derives are legitimately taught; our difference from him, and it is great, is in the way they are taught. His book, however, will commend itself to all thoughtful men in virtue of its spiritual insight and sympathy. —*The Graver Thoughts of a Country Parson.* By the Author of 'The Recreations of a Country Parson.' Third Series. (Longmans and Co.) We have felt some disposition to resent the unmitigated and merciless scorn with which it has become the fashion to mention the names of Mr. Tupper and Mr. Boyd. We have felt it difficult to believe that either could have attained his popularity without some strong qualities. We have, moreover, memories, if not of some of Mr. Boyd's 'concernings,' yet of a certain enjoyment in reading them, which we scarcely like to think mere 'weakness.' But the 'Country Parson's Recreations' must have been better than his 'Graver Thoughts'—for these sermons are more than we can achieve; they are very watery, garrulous, and self-conscious; they are couched in a style of condescending colloquialism, such as a senior Sunday-school class would have some ground for resenting; they contain a very undue pro-

portion of first personal pronouns, in passages of such bad taste as this,—"I trust none of you ever come to church when I am to preach unwillingly, because you think you must. Don't come here if you would rather go elsewhere. Never dream that you will give me offence. I am not afraid of having to do so, but, if need were, I would infinitely rather preach to a small sympathetic congregation than to a large reluctant one." In another place he tells his congregation, 'For some days past I have felt a wish to preach to you from this text,' as if it was an unusual thing for preachers to forecast their sermons, or at all important for a congregation to know that they did so. Surely, when a man is in the pulpit, his little self should be forgotten in the great work that he has to do there. Mr. Bowd seems to have relinquished all attempts to grasp principles and discuss great subjects. A trickle of small talk, in a sequence of spontaneous associations, goes on from beginning to end; and there is no reason why it should not go on for ever. Then there are careless lapses into grammatical incoherence, such as this,—the opening sentence on the wife of Phineas,—'We do not know her name, nor her years, nor her previous career; the poor broken-hearted woman that died with these words on her lips.' Mr. Boyd does not improve: there may be good sermons in the volume: we have not lighted upon them.—*Delivery; or, Lecture-Room Hints on Public Speaking in its Relation to the Duties of the Christian Pulpit.* By SAMUEL MCALL, Principal of Hackney College. (Hodder and Stoughton.) These are admirable hints, which young preachers will do well to consider. Great emphasis is laid upon a peril besetting early oratorical efforts from the temptation to meaningless monotonous emphasis, and a tendency even to construct sentences in harmony with the periodic intonation or musical movement to which the speaker has accustomed himself. We are not ready to indorse all the advice, but there is so much that is excellent and timely, that we trust the whole will receive the attention it challenges. The Appendix puzzles us. It is a curious *melange* of 'passages' on which young students may exercise their gifts, and wise suggestions on things in general. What is intended by the page on 'Truth stranger than fiction,' we cannot divine. This part of

the volume has the appearance of the miscellaneous filling up of an almanac from a well-stored commonplace book.—*God's Word through Preaching.* By JOHN HALL, D.D., Brooklyn, New York.—*Conditions of Success in Preaching without Notes.* By RICHARD S. STORRS, D.D., LL.D., of Brooklyn, New York. (R. D. Dickinson.) Mr. Dickinson has put together, in a cheap little volume, two courses of lectures delivered to the Yale Divinity School. Three courses of lectures on homiletics have been delivered on the Lyman Beecher Foundation, the idea being to secure for this service some of the most successful preachers of the day. Mr. Beecher's wise and brilliant lectures were the first, and now are followed by lectures from Drs. Hall and Storrs. Better selections could not have been made; the lectures are much less in compass, and altogether without pretensions to the eloquence of Mr. Beecher; they deal with the ordinary elements of preaching—and in a simple, practical, unpretentious way.—*Some Reasons for our Christian Hope. Being the Hulsean Lectures for 1875.* By EDWARD T. VAUGHAN, M.A. (Macmillan and Co.) Mr. Vaughan undertakes to justify from the evidence of reason, of consciousness, and of testimony, the great hopes which Christianity awakens. After stating the principal articles of the Christian creed, he deals with the history of our Lord as the basis of Christian belief, and as the only explanation of it; next examines the evidence for its truth furnished by the New Testament, then the corroborative evidence furnished by the Old Testament. He then discusses the difficulties connected with Revelation and Inspiration; the entire survey being made in the light of the sceptical questionings of the present time. We have not found our interest greatly excited by the perusal of the lectures. We are in general sympathy with the positions maintained by the author. But, first, he confuses his reader, if not himself, by attempting too much; next, he does not firmly grasp a great principle—at any rate, he does not make you feel that he does. There is nervelessness in his grip, and a weak wordiness in his a style which make it difficult to avoid falling asleep over his book. He has of course suggested valuable and important replies to sceptical objections, but he has not himself urged them with any great force.

Note on the 'Dublin Review' and our Article on Ignatius.

The 'Dublin Review' of last July has briefly criticised the article on Ignatius in our number for last April. So far as our contemporary deals in generalities we have no occasion to discuss his remarks. Vague assertion and a tone of lofty contemptuousness* prove nothing.

* This pervading tone may be instanced in the remark that the writer of our article 'actually quotes triumphantly two verses of a hymn, written, as it seems, by some "Nonconformist" divine, in which the Holy

ing. In regard to the few instances in which he condescends to particulars we have a little to say in reply.

The first is thus introduced: 'We will give one instance, and that taken from an attack which he makes, not upon us, but a person no less illustrious than Father Newman.' Dr.

Communion is spoken of as a banquet of Christ's flesh and blood,' both the hymn and its writer's name being almost as familiarly known as any in the language.

Newman had remarked on Ignatius, Eph. xviii., where it is said that Christ was borne in the womb by Mary, *κατ' οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ*, that 'here is an additional word which afterwards is known to have a technical meaning.' We are accused of attributing to him an absurdity in supposing that he referred to the very common patristic use of the word in the sense of secrecy and reserve, which was notoriously made much of by the school of Anglican divines to which Dr. Newman belonged when the essay containing his remark was written, while it is well known that the word *οἰκονομία* was technically used to denote the Incarnation. We could put no other meaning that was reasonable on Dr. Newman's words than the one we supposed. The use of the word as applied to the Incarnation was distinguished from its use in several passages of St. Paul's writings only by its being sometimes employed *simpliciter* and without an adjunct to denote the Incarnation specifically. There was nothing like this in the words of Ignatius, who does not call the Incarnation *οἰκονομία*, but says it took place *κατ' οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ*, according to God's dispensation, or a Divine economy, this phrase, *κατ' οἰκονομίαν*, being an established technical formula when the word was used in the sense of concealment. We have no reason to suppose indeed that Ignatius used the expression otherwise than as it appeared in Col. i. 25 with the article, and exactly as here in 1 Tim. i. 4, according to the approved reading of that text, both being referred to by Hefele, *in loco*. But as in the next sentence Ignatius says that the child-bearing of Mary was unknown to the prince of this world, having been accomplished in the silence of God, there was at least some colour for assuming that the idea of secrecy was implied in this case also. Indeed this Epistle of Ignatius, and it can only be this part, is cited as an authority for such concealment in the famous tract on Reserve, No. 87 of the 'Tracts for the Times,' p. 4. Moreover, it seems clear that the idea of secrecy was likewise involved in the later use of this word to denote the Incarnation. We may refer to the passage of Basilii of Seleucia, to be found in Suicer, the authority to which our contemporary refers, where *οἰκονομία* is opposed to *ὁσιότης*. In Orat. xxxii. he says, 'It belongs to the flesh to be circumscribed, not to Godhead. The words (St. John xiv. 28) have respect *πρὸς τὴν οἰκονομίαν, οὐ τὴν ὁσίαν*.' These words are thus translated *apud Binium*: *Economiam non essentiam respiciunt ista voces*. Even if we here give with Suicer the technical meaning of 'incarnation' to the word economy, it plainly involved the idea of concealment. The word was used to denote a veiling or dissembling of the Divine under the human in our Lord's person and actions. Observing that Dr. Newman also noticed what he thought was a recognition of the *disciplina arcani* in another passage, if we have wronged him in thinking that he knew what he was about better than our contemporary would have us suppose,

the blame must be laid on his own economy in this particular.*

What we said of the use of the word altar by Ignatius, partly in a mystical sense and partly as denoting the *sacrarium* and not the holy table, the latter usage being closely connected with the former, is next noticed. If the reviewer does not admit, he does not attempt to disprove our remarks on this usage, but asks in reference to it, What have we gained? This much, that the only ground on which the notion of a sacrificial character of a material kind in the Eucharist can be attributed to Ignatius being the use of the word altar, so far as we have shown that in his use of the word in a purely material sense it did not denote the holy table, we have neutralised the argument founded on the word as supposed to imply a material sacrifice. We noticed every instance in which he uses the word, and there is no other use of it for the holy table till long after.

He next adverts to our remarks on the passage where Ignatius speaks of the Eucharist as 'an antidote whereby we may not die, but live for ever in Jesus Christ.' The drift of what we said of the reviewer's treatment of this passage was that when he gave as an additional predicate the word *pledge*, which is at best but a possible alternative translation of the one word for antidote, even this enlargement of the words of Ignatius could not make him speak more strongly than the Anglican catechism. The reviewer now says that no Zwinglian who holds the doctrine of justification by faith would allow that the Eucharist is an antidote against death. It does not concern us to inquire whether a Zwinglian would or would not make such an admission. We ascribed to Ignatius no opinions inconsistent with his making it; we only showed that he gave no evidence of the opinion ascribed to him by our contemporary.

In the last place the reviewer animadverts on our remarks upon the crucial test which he proposes of the views of Ignatius regarding the real presence. He finds this in what he alleges that Ignatius says of the conduct of the Docetæ in respect to the Eucharist. And here he complains of our remarking that we did not allow Ignatius to speak for himself without introducing words to make his meaning more explicit, though he had enclosed the words in brackets and given them without inverted commas. We certainly printed his translation of the passage as he says he

* A perusal of this whole discourse of Basil, on our Lord's declining the cup in the garden, and another on the thanksgiving at the grave of Lazarus, in which, though the word is not used, the teaching is the same, will leave no doubt of what we have said. We refer also to the *Expositio Fidei* printed with the works of Justin Martyr, Ed. Morell, pp. 381-388. We might multiply these authorities, but it will suffice to refer to the explanation of the word by Petavius, *De Incarnatione*, L. ii. c. i. §. 4. It is the Dublin reviewer himself that has chosen to call this an absurdity.

gave it, and in this instance only noticed his precaution to anticipate a possible view of the meaning different from what he took himself—a habit in this writer which we said frequently betrayed itself. We might have added that he did not always mark the words introduced as he did in the present case, and as we had noticed from time to time. But he says that in our translation of the passage we omitted several words without notice. He has not said what they were, but has left his readers to suppose that they were material. Our translation was this: 'They have no cure for charity, nor for widow, or orphan, or oppressed, or bound or loosed, or hungry or thirsty. They abstain from thanksgiving and prayer, because they do not confess that the thanksgiving (τὴν εὐχαριστίαν) is the flesh of Christ which suffered for our sins.' The only words which we omitted were *for* before orphan, oppressed, bound and hungry, and the words 'our Saviour Jesus' before Christ, none in any way needful or material, as regards the sense, and only omitted for the sake of brevity. 'If it were worth while, we might ask why has the reviewer omitted the article *the* before thanksgiving, representing us as saying in our translation that thanksgiving is the flesh of Christ, though we had explained the use of the article in this case?

We are accused of imperfect knowledge of grammar in arguing from the absence of the article before εὐχαριστίας in this passage that it is highly probable it does not here signify the Eucharist, but thanksgiving in general, and we are referred to Winer on the absence of the article from definite nouns. We certainly never committed ourselves to the rash assertion that it could not denote the Eucharist without the article. We did say that in such a case as this it was to have been expected. And so it was if this meaning was to be made clear, inasmuch as the combination of εὐχαριστίας and προσευχῇ in this general and indefinite way, so clearly re-echoing like combinations in the New Testament, would naturally be rendered 'thanksgiving and prayer.' Apart from this passage, I find two instances in which Ignatius uses the word to denote the Eucharist. In Philad. iv. we have μὴ εὐχαριστία χρῆσθαι, where it is a predicate, and so properly loses the article. The same is the case in the other; ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω. And it is curious that in the three instances supplied by the reviewer there are also grammatical reasons for the omission of the article. In the first from Justin Martyr, ἡ τροφή αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῶν εὐχαριστία, the subject has the article, while the predicate loses it according to the general rule. Again in Clem. Strom. iv. Melchizedek is said to have given the bread and wine εἰς τύπον εὐχαριστίας. Here the rule applies, 'When the noun governing is indefinite, the governed becomes anarthrous.' (See Rose's Middleton, p. 49.) We are then referred to Irenæus, v. 8, where we have both γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία and εὐχαριστία γίνεται. But in the

former the word has the article because it is the subject, in the latter it wants it, because it is the predicate. If therefore grammatical incorrectness has been betrayed, it is by the Dublin reviewer and not by us.

We referred to the passages in which Ignatius spoke of the gospel and faith and charity as the flesh and blood of Christ in illustration of the possible use of the same manner of speaking in regard to thanksgiving. Our contemporary says that supposing Ignatius used this mystical way of speaking, 'he could not have expected others as a matter of course to have confessed that thanksgiving is the flesh of Christ, unless he had taken leave of his senses.' He did not expect them to make a confession in these words, no doubt; but he describes the disbelief of the Docetæ, from his own subjectivity by a metonymy quite natural to himself, in which thanksgiving stands for the great cause of thanksgiving, which the Docetæ not confessing, they wanted the motive which it supplied for giving of thanks as well as for the other duties which he says they neglected. But this was all on one highly probable hypothesis of the meaning of Ignatius. We also supposed it possible that Ignatius had the Eucharist itself in view, and we are told that we have not attempted to show how it could have presented any difficulty to the Docetæ if it was merely a commemorative rite. But Ignatius does not speak of any difficulty they felt, but of the simple neglect of that in common with other Christian duties. Our previous remark on the want of motive applied equally to the neglect of Holy Communion as to thanksgiving in general and the other duties specified. But we did show that so far from difficulty in respect to the Eucharist, there was much to commend it to them, if the modern notion of transubstantiation had then been dreamed of. For they would have seen in it a true instance of δόκησις, in which the sensible appearance was quite unreal. On the other hand there was no reason for attributing to the flesh of Christ hidden under those appearances any greater reality than they attributed to it while our Lord was on earth. In regard to Doddridge's hymn which we quoted, the reviewer says that Ignatius was not using devotional language, but was giving a plain reason why the Docetæ abstained from the Holy Eucharist. It is true he gives a language which it does not follow that he might not have expressed it in plain reason, but devotional usage had made familiar. These are all the particulars which he has thought it well to notice in our pretty lengthened article.

In conclusion, we have only to say that if, as our contemporary tells us, abler men than we have tried in vain to prove that Ignatius was not a Catholic Father, we had no intention of proving any such thing. What we did try to prove, and we think successfully, was that as far as his genuine writings gave evidence, he was in no sense what is now called a Roman Catholic.

MAR 21 1950

